

## The Elections and the International Situation

TONIGHT I propose to discuss the elections of November 8 in the light of the world situation as it develops since the Munich Pact and the destruction of Czechoslovakia.

Everyone begins to see that the issues of our elections are the same as divide the whole world; the regrouping of the peoples and governments of the world into two opposing camps follow the same general lines as the regrouping within American politics into two new camps. The issue in the world situation is fascist war-making aggression and its allies, against the peace-loving and democratic peoples. And that is the issue and the alignment in our own November elections.

The forces of the people are great, but as yet unorganized. The forces of reaction are limited, but highly compact, organized, and knowing what they want and how they propose to get it.

Our problem, therefore, becomes that of obtaining and preserving the unity of the majority of the people, against all the wiles and ferocity of attack of the reactionaries. If the majority of decent, progressive, democratically-minded people can unite and act together, they can rule the United States and solve all our problems. If they divide, then reaction and the power of the economic royalists will ride rough-shod into power, and take our country toward fascism.

I have just returned from a visit to Europe. There I saw country after country falling into the ferocious clutches of fascism, as a result of retreat and surrender of their trusted leaders. And these peoples were unable to halt these retreats

and surrenders, because they had allowed themselves to be divided.

We have been told that peace was brought to a distracted world by the Pact of Munich. But that bandit agreement of Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain and Daladier destroyed the Czechoslovak republic, the last remnant of democracy in Central Europe. That Pact delivered the largest part of Europe under control of Hitler the war-maker, and enormously multiplied his ability to make war. It destroyed the last structure of peace in Europe.

They call this "peace"! But this is not peace! What is going on is war, war on three continents, uninterrupted war. It began as civil war against the German people, and subjected them to a regime so horrible as to shock the whole world. The war was carried into Spain, as a war of invasion. It marched into Austria, wiping out that state overnight. It has destroyed Czechoslovakia. It has invaded Africa, and destroyed the Ethiopian people. It has involved half of Asia, and brought death to millions of Chinese men, women and children.

This is war, brutal, relentless, catastrophic. But the extension of this war, the triumph of the war-makers, is handed to the world as the achievement of "peace!" Falsehood can descend to no lower depths than this!

Examine for a moment the results of the Munich Pact, in the few short weeks that have elapsed. Japanese armies, contemptuous now of all restraining influences, have extended their invasion to South China, occupied Canton, control all Chinese ports, captured Hankow, and announce themselves masters of China, threatening all who dare give aid to China as called for by the League of Nations. The Munich Powers announced a project for "peace" in Spain according to the Czechoslovakian example. Hitler begins openly to dictate not only the policies but also the personnel of the British and French governments. Mussolini insultingly warns the United States that

the fate of China awaits us. And in Berlin the plans for conquest of Latin America, long prepared, are put in motion, with the assurance of at least the neutrality of the British Navy, if not its collaboration. Americans who have been saying "Thank God for the Atlantic and Pacific oceans," thinking of these water as barriers to fascist aggression, suddenly wake up to find them transformed into broad highways.

The universal opinion of mankind on the Munich Pact, behind all the hypocritical slobber about "peace," is the decisions taken by every government to multiply their armaments immediately.

The facts are undoubted and incontestable. The only difference of opinion that is possible is this: Shall the United States approve and follow the path of the Munich Powers, or shall we condemn and resist the path of Munich? Shall we surrender to the war-makers and become their servants, or shall we seriously take up the fight for a real, that is a democratic, peace? Last week we heard the voices of two spokesmen representing the two opposite sides on this question which involves the fate of the world. Herbert Hoover spoke up as the champion of Munich and the policy of Chamberlain. President Roosevelt declared there can be no peace under threat of force, as a result of surrender to the threat of war.

Herbert Hoover won the loud and immediate applause of Berlin. President Roosevelt received the enthusiastic approbation of the peace-loving masses of the people everywhere his voice could penetrate.

Make no mistake about it, all those who are conducting such a vicious campaign of hatred against President Roosevelt and the New Deal, represent the same forces that brought us the "peace" of Munich and all its consequences.

That is the significance of the Munich Pact, and the world situation, in relation to the elections on November 8. Those men, groups or parties, who stand for a democratic peace and against

a Hitler "peace," are the same who fight for fuller democracy and a better life for the American people in our domestic affairs, while those who advocate "peace" through submission to Hitler are the same who would limit, choke and try to destroy American democracy, trade unionism and the American standard of living, in the interests of the economic royalists.

The democracy of the United States is faced with the necessary choice either to surrender or fight. To surrender is simple: "peace" of the Munich type can always be purchased so long as people are ready to pay the price, and then Hitler will solve all other problems for us. To fight, and to win through to victory, is hard and difficult, and requires the close alliance and unity of all forces, that can be rallied, in America and throughout the world.

The situation calls for the unity of all progressive and democratic forces in the United States, to guarantee that, come what may, our country will never surrender to Hitlerism. We of the Communist Party, for our part, support such unity as the first law of political life, to which everything else must be subordinated.

There are people who call themselves anti-fascists and democrats, but who cry out that it is impossible for them to accept the co-operation of the Communists. Let us face the issue squarely, gentlemen! Do you really think it is possible to resist and defeat the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis without the co-operation of the Soviet Union? Do you really think you will be better off in such a struggle without the aid of 180 million people who are building a prosperous and powerful society on one-sixth of the earth? Of course, you do not; that is the sheerest nonsense. Do you then, when you accept Hitler's demand to exclude the Communists from your midst, apply it only to the small and weak Communist Party of the United States? But in that case, you are informed by the Dies Committee on Un-Americanism that the most dangerous Reds of all are none

other than President Roosevelt, Governor Murphy of Michigan, Next-Governor Olson of California, John L. Lewis and Shirley Temple.

The Communist Party has withdrawn most of its ticket from the ballot in New York, in the interests of defeating the reactionary Republican candidates and helping to bring about complete unity of all progressive and democratic forces around the labor-progressive candidates. We are putting forward one important candidate, Israel Amter, for Congressman-at-Large. We do this in the interests of the fight for complete progressive unity against the reactionaries. A large vote for Israel Amter will be a verdict for complete unity against fascism—and the only way at this moment to render such a verdict.

As we march to the polls to cast our ballots for progress and democracy, against reaction and fascism, let us remember the heroic peoples of Spain and China, who are conducting their part of this world-wide struggle on military battlefields at enormous costs of starvation and death. They are fighting our battle. If they lose, the war will be brought by the fascists to America. If they win, the victory is also ours. The least that we of the United States must do, is to use some of our enormous surplus wheat and cotton to feed and clothe Spain. The least we must do for China is to stop the shameful commerce of death by which we furnish Japan with more than half of its economic means of aggression, which is finally directed against America also—by an embargo on trade with Japan.

All together to defeat the reactionaries, agents of the economic royalists! All together, to win New York and the nation for a real New Deal, and for American leadership in the struggle for world peace!

Radio address delivered over station WMCA, New York, November 1, 1938.