

the complete refutation of all pessimists and prophets of evil, who would weaken our will to victory now by picturing disasters to come after the war.

“The freedom-loving nations, whether capitalist like the U.S.A. or socialist like the Soviet Union, or some intermediate forms that may appear, are pledging themselves to peaceful co-existence and collaboration in the post-war world. All men who deeply desire the full extirpation of Nazism in all its varieties from the world will not only greet this announced program as an ideal but will shape their every word and deed to help bring about its full realization in life.”\*

## CHAPTER VI

### THE PROBLEMS OF NATIONAL UNITY

IN ORDER to be victorious in this war, the people of our nation must be united for that purpose. The nation's will to victory is just as strong, and no stronger, than the unity of its people to exert that will. Without national unity, all the other elements of national strength are cancelled out.

Our country cannot achieve the spurious unity of a Nazi Germany, which is imposed by force and terror from above, by a military dictatorship based on the most vicious monopoly interests, and using medieval torture combined with the most modern scientific technique—destroying the will of the people to substitute for it the will of the Nazi gang

\* Earl Browder, *Victory Must Be Won*, pp. 7-15, New York, 1942.

of cutthroats. All efforts at an American Nazism only helps the German Nazis to conquer the world.

Neither can our nation in this war hope to find those springs of national unity which the Soviet peoples found in their socialist way of life, which enabled them to win the admiration of free peoples all over the world for their glorious heroism in meeting and throwing back the hordes of Nazi world conquest. For the United States is a capitalist nation, and must face the problem of winning this war as a capitalist nation. Such a profound revolution as the change from a capitalist economy and social system to that of socialism in the United States is impossible even to debate on a national scale, without endangering the effort for victory, until this war has been won.

National unity in our country, therefore, cannot follow the pattern either of the enemy, or of our strongest fighting ally, the Soviet Union. Clearly, we must find our own distinctive way to this necessary precondition for victory, national unity.

But when we examine the basic factors for welding our own national unity, we will find that we share with the Soviet people the most powerful factor of all, a deep patriotism, a sense of common destiny for the whole population, an unconquerable determination that this destiny will be worked out by the American people themselves and not by any conquering invader. That is the soul of the magnificent heroism and glorious achievements of the Soviet peoples in this war, and it is and must be the soul of the national unity of the United States by which we will earn our own full share of the glory of victory which will cleanse the earth of Nazism and its Axis poison. We will speak of this factor hereafter by its most simple name—patriotism.

The prevailing "American way of life," which is dominated by its capitalist foundation in many and most decisive ways, determines that our national unity cannot find expression in the forms and modes followed by the Soviet peoples. This fact I consider it necessary to emphasize and to examine in detail, for several reasons: First, because the general reader may suspect that the writer, as a spokesman for American Communists, may have a desire or tendency toward uncritical imitation of the Soviet Union, and an opinion that policy in the United States should be built upon that model. We must reject any such idea, and we must dissolve all such suspicions among non-Communists, before we can reach a basis for discussing national unity for our country. Secondly, as a practical matter, national unity in the United States is above all a problem of *adjusting class interests* without the severe struggles by which this has usually been accomplished, and since such class interests do not exist in the Soviet Union, we cannot find in their practice any guide for us in the United States. In the United States, national unity can be achieved only through compromise between the conflicting interests, demands, and aspirations of various class groupings (primarily between those usually spoken of as "capital and labor"), a compromise which agrees to reach at least a provisional settlement of all disputes through arbitration. The motive power behind such compromise can only be something which all parties hold in common—that is, patriotism, the common determination to win the war in order that the nation may survive, that the American people may determine their own destiny and not become slaves of the Axis.

The foundations for such unity, in broad outline, have been laid down in the policies enunciated by President

Roosevelt. In their most concrete application to difficult and touchy problems, these principles are expressed in the President's famous Seven Point Program submitted to Congress on April 27, 1942, and elaborated the following day in his radio address to the country. It is the program often popularly spoken of by the phrase "equality of sacrifice." When adopted and carried out it offers a guarantee to each class grouping that all will be mobilized for victory, that policies will be determined only by the necessities of victory, that special interests will be subordinated to that aim.

We American Communists make our first contribution to this national unity by explicitly subordinating our most distinctive programmatic demand—the advocacy of socialism for our country—to the common patriotic goal of victory. We declare that we will not bring forward our socialist proposals in any way which could undermine or weaken the national unity. We were among the first and most energetic in urging upon the labor movement the most complete co-operation with the government and the employers for the common tasks of the war.

American labor, expressed in the organized trade union movement, has accepted the President's program for national unity, by declaring that until victory is achieved its characteristic weapon for protecting and improving labor conditions—the strike—will not be used. This is the common position of the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the Railroad Brotherhoods, comprising almost the entire organized labor movement.

A large and growing section of American industrialists, financiers, and their public spokesmen and thinkers have accepted the basic principles of this program, even though

many of them still haggle about its detailed application.

This is a foundation for national unity in the United States. If this foundation is consistently built upon, there is no reason why we cannot find that measure of national unity which is so necessary to victory.

It is not an easy program to work out. "Business as usual" and "politics as usual" are phrases that express deeply ingrained habits of life, which only with great difficulty are brought into subordination under the necessities of the victory program. And all tendencies to revive the pre-war animosities and struggles find willing leaders among those who reject the goal of victory or the means of victory, national unity. And since national unity is so popular today, even its enemies begin their attacks by paying lip-service to it.

Today, more than ever before, words must be checked with deeds before they can be trusted. "A truce to words, mere empty sound; let deeds at length appear, my friends." This motto, from the great Goethe, of a civilized Germany, may well be taken as a necessary guide of the war against Nazi Germany, the negation of everything for which Goethe labored. Or, to put the same thought in the idiom of our own Missouri, we should meet every purveyor of bright promises and beautiful words with the sharp demand: "Show me!" There can be no effective national unity on "a credit basis"; the "hard cash" of deeds must back up every word.

This is the problem of national unity, as it is of victory, to bring about the performance that measures up to the promise. For as this horrible storm of war was inflicted upon the world, because of the default of fair promises, so victory can only come to the peace-loving peoples when they learn to enforce political promises with all the re-

lentlessness of an ordinary American court foreclosing a mortgage.

At the same time, it must be recognized that the terms of the national unity (as this represents compromise between conflicting interests) are not subject to exact weights and measures. The phrase "equality of sacrifice" is not a scientific formula, and only a rule-of-thumb guide at best. It expresses roughly the thought that established rights and benefits, as they are distributed among the main class groupings of the population, will not be fundamentally altered as a consequence of the abandonment by these groups, for the duration of the war, of the previous methods of protecting them which involved conflicts and struggles.

Any attempt to interpret literally the phrase "equality of sacrifice" would, of course, not help prosecute the war to victory, but would hopelessly sabotage it. There is not, and cannot be, any literal equality of sacrifice as between workers and capitalists in this war. The workers must make the main sacrifices, and they have enough common sense to know it, and enough patriotism not to object to it. The workers and farmers, the men and women who toil, are already making and will continue to make the major sacrifices without which victory in this war would be impossible. They are not haggling, and will not haggle, about the precise measurement of each sacrifice. They are interested only in victory, and they are prepared to pay the necessary price whatever it may be. But they are also determined that *the entire nation* shall contribute to victory to the fullest possible extent, that no special interests shall be allowed to obstruct, hamper, or delay this victory.

The more scientific formulation of this principle of "equality" would therefore be something like this: "Every

group and individual is equally obligated to give whatever is necessary for victory, whether this be life, labor, or property." And to round out the conception, it must be added: "All incomes should be limited during the war to the minimum required to enable each person to perform his maximum service in his respective field."

The President has defined his proposals with a great liberality toward the owning classes, by agreeing that a \$25,000 per year income, after paying all taxes, must be allowed to the most wealthy individuals, in order to maintain their loyalty and patriotism, and insure their support of the war. That is a fairly comfortable ceiling over their incomes, and it is to be hoped that it will attain the desired end. Congress has so far refused to believe that upper class loyalty to their country is compatible with such a "low standard" of living, but it seems the country as a whole agrees with the President and will bring Congress into line. The labor movement has not protested this generous allowance to the privileged classes, understanding that even in besieged civilization such persons trained to luxury and idleness must be handled gently and indulgently. Even the Communists have shown no disposition to urge more drastic restrictions on the upper classes. The urge for national unity thus has accomplished unusual tolerance towards the prejudices and weaknesses of the various groupings in their relations one with another.

These compromises are necessary to national unity in our country. We must find a way to finance, organize, and fight this war through to victory, a way which is acceptable to the owning class (industrialists, financiers, bond-owners, with their most important hired men) and at the same time sufficiently effective for a victorious outcome. For if these persons should become disaffected and sabotage the war,

they could do enormous damage, and the necessary measures to suppress their resistance would be more costly and damaging than the concessions that must be made to win them to a workable compromise. That any compromise with the upper classes is at all possible is the proof that the urge of patriotism is working in them as it is among the working class and farmers. We must depend upon the patriotism of the rich, a patriotism stimulated by their intelligence which tells them that victory over the United States by the Axis means their delivery to the tender mercies of the Hitlers, Goerings, Himmlers, whose jaws drip with saliva every time they think of the joys of looting the American rich.

Aside from the claims of property-owners and coupon-clippers, which must be compromised with generosity in their favor, the entire national income must be devoted to the necessities of total warfare. That is, the entire working force of the nation must be at work producing at a maximum, while consuming at that lowest minimum compatible with maximum efficiency in production. Men, machinery, and materials must be devoted to the production of instruments and munitions of war, guns, tanks, planes, ships, explosives, and all the scientific paraphernalia required for physically destroying the enemy. Wages and salaries paid to workers and executives, and to the armed forces, of a population completely geared to a war economy, then represent the entire national income (with the exception noted above in favor of the upper classes), and this income can be expanded without any limit except the limit of full utilization of every productive force in the nation.

It is necessary further to understand that, in the distribution of the national income among workers (including farmers), executives, and armed forces, the single standard

of grading remuneration to the requirements of production (the only standard justified by the strictest patriotism), will perforce suffer from further compromises. Business executives have been so completely habituated to receiving incomes scaled up to a certain equality with property incomes of the highest brackets that they will inevitably be favored at the expense of the masses and of the total war effort. This may be deplored, from abstract considerations, but it must not be rejected; it can only be controlled, because of practical considerations—those considerations which, for the sake of an ungrudging national unity on the part of all groups, bows before established habits and prejudices in the field of the national economy.

From these considerations of the economic basis of the national unity for victory, it will be clear that "equality of sacrifice" has no absolute application, that inequality will in fact continue to prevail and that the very best we can hope to attain is a certain rough approximation. Everyone must sacrifice something so that the general social and economic structure as it now exists will not be basically changed except for the one and only reason which is overruling for every person and group, that is, that it is unavoidably required by military necessity. And the general outlines of practical application of these principles must be justified before the common sense and opinion of the people, and their main groupings, and find their support therein.

The industrial workers and the farmers are not unprepared to learn that "equality of sacrifice" boils down in practice to an unequally heavy burden upon those who labor. That has been their experience so long that they would be tremendously surprised if it should occur otherwise. Nor will they object to bearing the heavy burdens

of this war—provided they are convinced that a really effective mobilization of the nation, its manpower and resources, adequate to victory, is being achieved thereby. If the President's Seven Point Program of April 27 is seriously legislated and applied in practical life, then the economic foundations of national unity, in so far as class relations are concerned, are secured as completely as could be hoped for in this imperfect world. It is true that the Seven Point Program does not deal with the vital question of production, which will be discussed in later chapters.

If anyone demands measures that go beyond this basic outline, that only means that he is moved by some aim which he considers more important than victory in the war, more important than national survival, more important than the avoidance of a Nazi world empire of slavery. This criterion is a knife that cuts two ways: it is equally sharp against utopian planners and advocates of "socialism now" in the United States, and against "business as usual," "maximum profits as usual," "politics as usual" policies and practices among industrialists, financiers, and politicians.

But if we are, of necessity, resigned to but a rough approximation of equality of sacrifice, as between the main social and economic classes and groupings, there is another field of problems in which national unity demands a much more strict interpretation of equality. Typical of this other field is the problem of our thirteen million Negro citizens, one-tenth of the population of the United States. Here it would be disastrously destructive of national unity to try to make our peace with the status quo, which is a status of a shameful heritage from chattel slavery based on Hitler-like racial conceptions; and it would further undermine the United Nations, destroy confidence between the United States on the one side, and our allies and potential

allies of the colored races on the other. We dare not, on pain of humiliating defeat in this war, rest complacently on the present status of the Negro citizens of the United States. We must, as a war necessity, proceed to the systematic and relentless wiping out of every law, custom, and habit of thought, which in flagrant violation of our Constitution enforce an unequal status between Negro and white citizens of the United States.

Pearl Buck, the famous novelist, has recently brought this fundamental truth most forcefully before our country, with all its broad ramifications, in a series of beautiful, moving, and wise speeches and articles.\* Mrs. Buck has made a contribution of historical importance to the development of United States policy, domestic and foreign, in these utterances. Hers is the sort of wisdom which could have prevented this disastrous war, and the only sort of wisdom which now can win it.

Deferring a detailed consideration of the problems of Negro equality to a later chapter, we must take note of a few more examples of inequalities demanding immediate remedies.

This war, taking millions of our men into the armed forces, perforce brings more millions of women to take their places in the economic machinery of the nation. For this tremendous readjustment to work out with a minimum of friction and waste, it is a pressing necessity to abolish all existing remnants of inequality between men and women; there must, economically, be the most rigid insistence upon equality of remuneration for women and men doing the same sort of work, and equal opportunities for entering and mastering all occupations; while in public life every obstacle to the rapid advancement of women to

\* Pearl Buck, *American Unity and Asia*, New York, 1942.

leadership must be broken through, and a policy of bold promotions carried out. The women of the United States will furnish at least half the energy and determination required from our country for victory.

There remains the problem of those groups of Americans who are distinguished by their origin in other nations, the immigrants and children and grandchildren of immigrants, who have developed on American soil their original national cultures and even languages—the Irish-Americans, Czech-Americans, Italian-Americans, Polish-Americans, and so on. There still remains in the practical life of the United States a residue of discrimination against these nationality groups, which becomes especially damaging in wartime. They are a most vital section of American manpower. They add their own special reasons for hating Hitlerism to those common to all patriotic Americans. Their loyalty to the United States cannot be doubted. Their special characteristics enable them to make a most important contribution to victory for the United Nations, because their voices can penetrate deeply into the countries conquered by Hitler in Europe, where the population must be roused and organized to fight together with us. But the starting point of everything these many millions of Americans can contribute to victory must be the nation's guarantee in practice of full equality of opportunity in every walk of life; without this, our cause is fatally compromised by the poison of Hitlerism.

Among all the racial and national discriminations that mar the face of American democracy, that which most clearly forms a connecting link with Hitlerism is the cult of discrimination and persecution directed against the Jews—anti-Semitism. Wherever this anti-Jewish ideology shows itself, there is an actual or potential Fifth Column agent

of the Axis, a propagator of Hitler's cause inside our own lines. This is one of the most insidious and widespread influences, undermining our national unity, breaking down our national policy, preparing defeat and destruction for our nation. It cannot any longer be tolerated; it must be warred against with as much seriousness as we war against Hitler.

In this chapter, the problem of national unity has been dealt with from the viewpoint of the most basic economic and social relationships involved. Only incidental mention has been made of political parties and political programs. Yet it is through the instrumentality of political party organizations that much of the policy here discussed must be shaped. It becomes necessary to examine the political parties; this will follow in the next chapters.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND NATIONAL UNITY

SINCE I am writing as a spokesman for the Communist Party of the U.S.A., it may be expected that I will deal with my own party in relation to national unity before speaking in detail of other parties. This is especially necessary because Hitler, with his agents and sympathizers in every country, has made the creed of "anti-communism" his chief secret weapon for disrupting the national unity of all nations in preparing to conquer and enslave them. And nowhere has Hitler made more effective use of this weapon than in the United States; he has mobilized his