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# VICTORY MUST BE WON \*

BY EARL BROWDER

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## FELLOW AMERICANS:

I am glad to be with you.

We are participants in a globe-encircling war. Its outcome will decide the fate of mankind for many generations. Hitlerism, Nazism, gathering to itself all the dark forces of the world, bids for world domination. It has overrun country after country. Only in the Soviet Union has it met serious military reverses and been thrown back on its heels. But the Axis monster still seriously bids for triumph. It is not yet beaten. It openly proclaims its intention to subjugate the United States. Already the vanguard of Axis military invasion has landed on our Pacific islands, while Atlantic Coast invasion begins with the eight spies and diversionists caught red-handed after landing with explosives from submarines. The United States is in the most deadly danger of its 166 years of independence. It is war, deadly war, a war of life and death for all nations. It has been truly described as a war of survival.

If Hitlerism is victorious, then mankind is thrown back into the darkness of pre-history, human progress of tens of centuries is

wiped out. Our children and grandchildren, with their fellows over the world, will suffer a slavery worse than anything the primitive world had known. For Hitler is the ape-man, armed with the most modern military science, claiming to rule the world.

For us in the United States, as for the peoples of the whole world, this war has become a Peoples' War of National Liberation. Our very existence is at stake. That is why the obligatory slogan is: "Everything to win the war! Everything for victory over the Axis!"

The masses of the people are prepared to take up their tasks in this war. It is unfortunately true, however, that our country is not fully organized for the supreme test, that serious obstacles are showing themselves. I do not speak tonight of the shortcomings in economic mobilization; with all its weaknesses, the economic side is still the strongest phase of our war effort, thanks to the labor-management-government joint committees and the unleashing of labor's initiative in production through the trade unions. Tonight I wish to speak mainly of questions of policy, of the mobilization of the masses behind policy, of morale, of those factors which make it possible

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for a nation to throw its full force into the scales of war, to win victory.

We must never forget that armaments and matériel of war are not enough to win. Arms are only the instruments of policy. Without correct policy we are defenseless though we have arms a hundred-fold. The long and mounting list of catastrophes since Hitler took power in Germany are monuments to blunders, and weaknesses in policy—a hundred times more than to lack of arms. The world has been paying for its lack of guiding policy with the lives of its youth and the freedom of its peoples.

We now hold the keys to an adequate policy for winning the war. These keys are: The American-Soviet-British Pacts and alliance—the bulwark of the United Nations and of world democracy; the Washington and London Agreements to open the Second Front in Europe and to extend all-out aid to China. With the fulfillment of these historic agreements, we will have a guiding policy for victory.

But this policy must be fought for. The labor movement, the entire people must and will support this policy. At this moment this—the nation's policy—must be fought for in the Congressional elections. We must have such a Congress as will strongly express this line of policy. The present Congress does not; after voting appropriations, it continues politics as usual, worse than the industrialist or labor leader who continues "business as usual." The Congressional elections thus become a vital front in the winning of the

war. We must have a Congress with the single thought of turning everything to victory in the war.

With the fall of Hitler the entire Axis will be speedily crushed. Hitler can be smashed in 1942! With 90 per cent of Hitler's forces tied down on the Eastern Front, now is the time to strike in the West, to open up the Second Front in Europe. That requires that the United States carry its full share of the battle—now, not in a year or two. The old and shameful epitaph, "Too little and too late," must be buried and forgotten. We must strike the enemy with all our force and on time. And this is the time, this is the crucial year.

There is only one country as yet pulling its full weight in this supreme test of war. Only the Soviet Union has thrown everything into the scales. When General MacArthur said: "The hopes of civilization rest on the worthy banners of the courageous Russian Army," he was not inviting us to stand aside and admire the Soviet Union, waiting for them to win the war for us; he was calling upon us to emulate the completeness of their effort.

When William Green, in his wholly admirable speech of June 22, declared his wholehearted solidarity with the Soviet people, he was speaking not for the American Federation alone but for all labor, and above all he was speaking for the United States to do its part now, in time. The patriotic speech of Green, and the call of the C.I.O. Executive for cooperation of American labor with the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Council, must now give rise to the

unity of action of the great labor movements of our countries which is necessary to achieve victory.

I have not the slightest doubt of the ultimate victory of the peoples over Nazism. But I know that the price of victory in lives and wealth will be much higher, unnecessarily high, if we fail to achieve full national unity in the United States in a mighty effort for victory in 1942.

As spokesman for the Communist Party, I declare that we subordinate every issue to this one imperative necessity of national unity under the nation's Commander-in-Chief to win the war at the earliest possible moment, which means at minimum cost.

National unity does not come automatically. It must be won. It has many enemies, of whom the most dangerous are the masked ones. Washington had his Tories and Benedict Arnolds in 1776-1783, Madison had his Federalist defeatists and traitors in 1812; Lincoln had his Copperheads and Vallandighams—today, President Roosevelt must deal with the modern version of this ancient evil, the Fifth Column, which to its predecessors is as the airplane to the ox-cart.

The Fifth Column's first and most important job is to undermine and break national unity. To build and maintain national unity requires us to expose, isolate and crush Hitler's Fifth Column in the United States, with all its dupes and stooges. The Fifth Column is Hitler's "secret weapon" with which he rose to power, with which he prepared his invasions of one country after an-

other. It is the weapon upon which Hitler depends especially to conquer the United States.

If you want to know who are the Fifth Column, ask what Hitler wanted most of all to accomplish in the United States in the past two years in order to prepare to conquer us. The answer is, obviously, that Hitler most of all wanted to keep apart and hostile the two most powerful nations in the world, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., to prevent that fighting alliance of these two countries with England, and, after the alliance had been made, to weaken and undermine it.

Who has been most active creating issues and rousing sentiments which tended to make more difficult the consummation of the alliance of those powerful nations which could seal Hitler's doom? When you answer that question you have the names of Hitler's chief Fifth Columnists in the United States. And, amazingly enough, we find them in positions of influence and prestige, working away quite industriously in a way to delight the hearts of Hitler and Goebbels in Berlin.

What names would head that list? Each one will have his own opinion, according to his own observations. Certainly one would be that of a prominent American ex-statesman who was chief organizer in the U.S. of arms for Field Marshal Baron von Mannerheim, whose American-made planes are today sinking American ships off Murmansk. Fantastically enough, the same issues of the newspapers last week which hailed this person as a most im-

portant advisor on how to make peace (presumably without victory, for he has no word for that) also report in their news columns that his protégé Mannerheim has just visited Hitler to re-pledge his fealty and to plan his new attacks against the American supply line to the Soviet Union, while Mannerheim's agent Procope sits in Washington gathering information for his chiefs. Thus far are we from really combating the Fifth Column!

Another, if less illustrious, name on our list would have to be Congressman Martin Dies. Who worked so hard as he over years to the single end of creating every possible obstacle to understanding and agreement between the two great powers whose unity was and is essential to the safety and survival of each, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.? I advise everyone to read and reread Martin Dies' book, *The Trojan Horse in America: A Report to the Nation*. From the typewriter of the man whom Congress placed in charge of protecting our country from the Fifth Column, this book is the prize exhibit of what the Fifth Column and its master, Hitler, wanted most of all in this country. It is an impassioned indictment of the Soviet Union, and of Joseph Stalin, as the deadly enemy, practically the only serious enemy, of the United States. He foresees that the U.S. will join in the war against the Soviet Union, but not against Germany. Americans are branded by Dies as "traitors" because they refused to endorse in advance Mr. Dies'—and Hitler's—war against the Soviet Union. Mr. Dies did and

wrote everything in his power to prevent the establishment of the United Nations, and the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Alliance, which today is our greatest guarantee of victory over Hitler.

Those who believed Martin Dies—and he has but recently been again endorsed by Congress—must hold a deadly fear of our ally, the Soviet Union, must consider the Alliance an unfortunate accident or great mistake—in short, must think exactly as Hitler wishes them to think in order the better to soften up, isolate and finally conquer the United States as he has done with unfortunate France. Surely Hitler finds Martin Dies' work of more value to his campaign of world conquest than even the open pro-Nazism of Laval, Doriot or Quisling, because it contributes to confusing and defeating the greatest prize of all, the U.S.A. It is not for nothing that the Berlin radio has long praised Martin Dies as the best authority on America.

Uncover the trail of Martin Dies, and it will lead to most of the nests of Hitler's agents in the U.S., whose mission is to break up national unity, throw the public into turmoil, sow suspicion and fear of our allies, and block the way to an all-out effort to win the war. It will lead to a number of politicians, publicists, newspapers, radio commentators, political groupings—and behind them Tory industrialists and financiers, our American counterparts of the German Krupps and Thyssens.

My own enforced sojourn for fourteen months in the solitudes of Georgia was an incidental by-prod-

uct of the desperate efforts of world reaction, headed by Hitler, to prevent by all means the realization of the U.S.-Soviet Alliance which I, as the spokesman for my party, had long advocated as essential to the national interests of our own country as to the whole freedom-loving world.

Today it is the official policy of the U.S. Government that the defense of the Soviet Union is vital to the national interests of the American people. There is much merit in the thought expressed recently by Walter Lippmann that Russia, regardless of its prevailing regime, was always the natural ally of the United States; it is a hundred times true since Russia became the socialist Soviet Union.

Today, it is universally admitted that the Soviet Union under Stalin's leadership—so viciously denounced over the years by the Fifth Column—saved the world from Hitler's conquest when it turned back the Nazi invasion. What MacArthur termed "the greatest military achievement in all history" saved the Soviet Union from slavery, and at the same time gave to Britain and the United States the possibility of victory, saved civilization itself.

But today we still have in our U.S. statutes a whole series of laws, based upon the assumption that the Soviet Union is the enemy of civilization in general and of the United States in particular, and outlawing as "foreign agents" those Americans who over the years have looked upon the Soviet Union as a friendly power and potential ally. These laws were largely the result of

Martin Dies' propaganda, and therefore are shaped in a way to please and serve Hitler. They are the peculiar product of Hitler's technique of international conquest. I refer to the anti-Communist laws.

Most persons still think the anti-Communist laws are to suppress some obnoxious and disagreeable, if not dangerous, people who belong to a small minority party and are therefore not of much importance even if an injustice is being done. I speak against these laws not as a matter of injustice, but as an injury to American democracy. These laws, and the witch-hunts and purges authorized by them, are a Hitlerite poison at the very well-springs of American political and social life. They tear down the American democratic electoral system. They are being used to disrupt national unity and hamper the war effort. They are the instruments of Hitler's hidden invasion of the United States. They must be wiped out, not in the interests of the Communists, but in the interests of winning the war. Every listener will know from his own experience and observation the serious disruption of our democratic processes that comes from the Red-baiting campaign.

From the moment this global war and our participation in it became inevitable, the Communist Party declared for the unconditional subordination of all issues to that one issue of winning the war. We meant, among other things, that our proposals for socialism in our country will not be brought forward in any way that could disrupt national

unity for the war effort. It does not mean, as some persons have charged, that we advocate that all redress of grievances should be postponed until the war is won. A typical and pressing demand for redress of grievances is that being made by Negro citizens for the removal of disabilities and discriminations which have long denied their full rights under the Constitution. The Communist Party supports these demands of the Negro people unconditionally, and we declare that they must be granted now, at once—precisely in the interests of national unity, of utilizing every productive force, for winning the war. Support for the war requires support for the demands of the Negro people, and not silence on these demands or their denial.

A leading Negro paper, *The New York Age*, in its current issue, while recognizing the Communist Party as an outstanding fighter for Negro rights "until the war," assumes that we are sacrificing Negro rights to the needs of war, and have made our peace with race prejudice, in order not to come into collision with Southern Democrats and their "white supremacy" dogma. Such an assumption is nonsense, as we have always proved by our work, and can arise only from a misunderstanding. We consider the "white supremacy" slogan of Southern Bourbons one of the greatest dangers to the U. S. in this war, tending to drive away from us our allies and potential allies in Asia, Africa, and part of the Americas; only as we prove this "white supremacy" ideology does not rep-

resent the United States can those allies have trust in us.

We consider it necessary to find immediate remedies for the grievances of the Negroes, in a way that will help, not hinder, the successful prosecution of the war. This is quite possible, since the Negroes are overwhelmingly supporting the war, and the Administration has proved its sincere desire to work in this direction.

No, there is not the slightest reason for misunderstanding between any Negro leaders and the Communists because of our support of the war; and we should give no opportunity for doubtful forces to speculate with misunderstandings. In the course of the war we Americans will wipe out the shame of a Hitler-like race discrimination among American citizens, the anti-Negro laws and customs, and the newly rising anti-Semitism along with it.

Just as the blows of war have forced Britain to revise her whole approach to India, so the U. S. is being forced to reconsider the position of the only "subject nation" under U. S. domination—Puerto Rico. We cannot win a Peoples' War for National Liberation by ourselves continuing to hold a people in "subjection." It is a disgrace that our Government continues to treat the purest Puerto Rican patriots as "criminals" and "traitors," just as the British for so long treated the Irish, with such dire results for themselves.

Let us not, like the Cripps mission to India, repeat the old mistake of "too little and too late." Puerto Rico is not a mere military outpost

of the U. S., it is above all a Latin American nation. It must be treated as such, or we compromise our moral standing in a war where morals and morale play an ever more decisive part.

One final word, the Pacts announced on June 11 establishing the Anglo - Soviet - American Alliance, not only decided on the immediate problems of crushing the Axis. They also, and equally important for winning the war, outlined a post-war collaboration for the common tasks of world reconstruction. In the Anglo-Soviet Pact this is embodied in a formal Twenty-Year Alliance. This is of enormous significance, opening up a new era in international relationships, with consequences we now can only begin to understand. It is 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 helping to bring its full realization in life.

With full faith in the justness of the United Nations' cause, as a Peoples' War of National Liberation; with full faith that our own true national interests coincide with those of other peoples; with pride and confidence in American labor's mighty contributions to our nation's war; with strict adherence to principle as the only sure guide to effective solution of all domestic and international problems; with the inspiration of the glorious achievements of our Soviet ally in this war; with confidence that British and American arms will earn their full share of the glory of final victory—we join our voices to the call to all Americans:

*Unite for victory!*

*Open the Western Front now and  
smash Hitler in 1942!*

*Everything for the destruction of  
the Nazi-Fascist Axis!*



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## DELAY IN INITIATING THE SECOND FRONT MAY SPELL DISASTER

BY GREGORY ALEXANDROV

THE task of scoring victory over German fascism and its hangers-on in Europe was formulated by Stalin as the cardinal, decisive, political and military task of the Soviet people at the present stage. In society, even in conditions of so-called normal peacetime, it is incredibly difficult to disclose the real possibilities for carrying out one or another major historical task. To determine the path of future development, the real possibilities for immediate development must be fully and exactly summed up as well as for realizing and utilizing these possibilities.

In wartime the task of taking into account the real possibilities and particularly the probable course of military operations becomes extremely complicated. It becomes much more difficult to orientate oneself in the swift-moving tide of events. That is why in conditions of war it often happens that what one army regards as a very important prerequisite of its victory, in the course of the war proves to be a factor of secondary importance which has no decisive bearing on the situation.

Only the Marxist-Leninist world outlook correctly reveals all aspects

of the course and perspectives of war. One cannot only proceed from the fact that all the objective prerequisites for victory exist: greater possibilities to produce arms than Germany possesses and to mobilize greater armed forces; inexhaustible supplies of strategic raw materials, fuel, etc. All this is only half of the problem. The other half is the ability properly to use these real possibilities for victory to bring about victory in practical struggle, to transform the favorable objective prerequisites, conditions, possibilities of victory into real victory, into reality.

In the present conditions of war when the possibilities for victory are already won, the able utilization of these possibilities, their realization in practice, become of decisive significance. To evaluate the perspective of war only on the basis of possibilities—though they be a real objective—would mean supplying one side's solution to the problem without weighing all the pros and cons of the forthcoming struggle. But it would be just as erroneous to base our analysis on our energy, ability and desire to score victory alone. Ignoring the real possibilities for victory in