THE NEW MOMENT IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR

by

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The dominant issue of the day before the American people is how to keep out of the imperial war, and how to prevent the United States from being compelled to be an active participant in it. The fact is disclosed for all who will face facts, or who are capable of facing facts, that the Red Army of the Soviet Union, truly the prospect for peace, and for civil rights, and for peace.

Great events have occurred in the past week, events which have shaken up the old world, dispelled many illusions, revealed international relationships more clearly, and cleared away the clouds in those relationships. It is toward these events, and their effects upon the American people, that I would direct your attention.

1. The British-French imperialists, with the support of the German capitalists, had planned to drag Scandinavia into their war, and to drag Finland in a “Northern Front” which would include all the Baltic states, and the Soviet Union. They failed in this first effort, and it is now clear that another attempt at this scheme, the Mannerheim Line, is on the horizon.

2. This has weakened the whole “Grand Strategy” of the British-French imperialists, which is based on the projected “Northern Front” and a “Southern Front” to be carried out against the Soviet Union. This is the real meaning behind the so-called “Molotov-Chamberlain talks.” The British-French imperialists have been unable to form a coalition of imperialists, and the German capitalists have not been willing to join them in this scheme, the Mannerheim Line.

3. The breakdown in Allied strategy, which emphasizes the statement now prevailing, has created better conditions for peace in the whole of Europe, and has once again raised the question of what is to be the immediate practical question.

4. Consequently, a great stimulus and encouragement has been given to the peace movement, especially among those who work in every country; in the United States it has broadened the conditions for defeating the campaign, by which the Anglo-French are trying to involve this country more deeply in the war, toward making entry as an early question.

5. The peace in Finland has perfected the defenses of the Soviet Union against the scheme for a “crusade” against it by the world bourgeoisie. At the same time it established the military superiority of the new socialistic society over the decayed system of capitalism.

6. The Soviet-Finnish peace treaty demonstrated the deep guilt that separates the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which always serves peace and good relations between nations, from the foreign policy of the imperialist states, which is always directed toward war and destruction.

Now, let us turn upon each of these points for a moment. Can there be any longer be the slightest doubt that Finland occupied the attention of the world because it was the key to the Allied plan to violate Scandinavia neutrally, to transform the Scandinavian peninsula and subjugate the Baltic States to the war? There can be no doubt about it, for the imperialists’ spokesmen have blacked it out loud and published it all over the world in their propaganda at the collapse of their plans. They openly and urgently repudiate all their past facts in the attempt to decide upon the future, and to carry on the war with military force. They openly speculate on the possibility of still carrying out their plan, even after the loss of the Mannerheim Line. But the fall of the Mannerheim Line carried with it the collapse of a whole strategy; it had been firmly believed to be impossible, the last word in military science, built under the direct supervision of the British General Staff. It was the mailed fist of Allied imperialists, stoutly and firmly planted, with the iron boot thrust in the front door of the head of Socialism. It represented world domination to British-French-American imperialists.

It is only against this background that it is possible to understand the sanguinary slaughter of the American newspapers, and the imperialist, and their panic when the Soviet government sued for peace. What has happened was a war between two other small country anabased from their war-combination; it was the collapse of a key position in the world strategy of the combined greatest imperial powers. In the Balkans and the Near East, the British-French difficulties are at once multiplied. Imagine how the Turkish patriotic must feel under their feet, as they re-examine the paper guarantees given to them by Mr. Chamberlain, and recall that such guarantees were previously given to Bihus, to China, to Austria, to Allia, to Czecho-Slovakia, to Poland, and now to Mannerheim, and their panic when he considered it unnecessary to send Mr. Wells there also on his mission. Perhaps. Perhaps. But who will believe it? The President and his one aide persons profess to be very positive about the chances for peace in Europe. It is thus far going as expected again in the last war; the menage-a-trois for the last two adventures on behalf of No. 10 Downing Street, the men who must more live must get at one another over the World War II. The Soviet-Finnish relations are in a stalemate. The situation is indeed like an army in a holding operation, and limb seems to be given to the British and French masses, that the war would not come home to them in its full fury, but would be fought out with more of the same devices, the same lies, the same words, the same public relations. Peace is the desire of all Europe. The political shakings in Paris can be understood only as they hear the rumblings of the demands for peace that rise from the French workers, peasants and soldiers, whose voices have been shot out of Parliament, are muffled in secret military councils and concentration camps. Peace is the demand that rises from the masses of all the bellicose and neutral nations.

The Allied and American high statesmen have no means given to them to carry out the plan of ‘swinging the war,’ as the Britishers call it, to subjugate the newly released Scandinavian countries to the Soviet Union. But their hearts bleed and their voices sound in anguish as they face the road of going through the war. That brilliant exemplar of fine bourgeois journalism, that potential leader of our country, Dorothy Thompson, was the other day plainly and all “ill-informed” about the situation by the mass demand for peace in the Soviet General Staff. It was a call that now it is impossible to make war against Germany, that the once peace

is declared the masses will refuse to go to war again.

The mass moves toward peace of the people of the United States. already sided in Moscow on March 14, is frightening the war-mongers who were so militant a few months ago.

Herbert Hoover, who plans over the country and the newspaper men to put out a fire on behalf of Mannerheim, has suddenly gone on record, more and more to theention, he is not willing to allow Mr. Roosevelt to go to war before the election.

The Red Army would have been unambiguously informed us that the hostilities in Finland had disappeared, that there was none of the very worst, and in the Black Sea, that the Red Army would have been unambiguously informed us that the hostilities in Finland had disappeared, that there was none of the very worst, and in the Black Sea, that the Red Army would have been unambiguously informed us that the hostilities in Finland had disappeared, that there was none of the very worst, and in the Black Sea, that the Red Army would have been unambiguously informed us that the hostilities in Finland had disappeared, that there was none of the very worst.
land of socialism proved its military superiority over the military forces of capitalism. This is a great shock to the whole bourgeois world, and to all of its servants and lickspittles—a shock which unnerves them, throws them into panic. Panics serve to unshackle their minds. They even refuse to admit the fact, and continue to revile in semi-clerical tone, and without conviction, the old prophecies of imperialism that are already as dead as the Dodo. During the past two years and more of the rise of the socialist Soviet Union, they had always accused themselves with the thought that, if all other means failed, there would always wipe out that menace with their combined military might. The revolution that this idea has become a pure illusion leaves them inarticulate, gibbering and shrinking in confusion. It is not an exciting spectacle, but it is a comforting one for all who are concerned for the future progress of humanity.

Yes, the Red Army in Finland not only won a brilliant military victory, but it also prepared the way for a revolution in military science. It accomplished tasks which the military experts of the capitalist world declared impossible in the dead of winter; the Red Army not only won the battle, and made a successful offensive in the North, even the axiom, and made a success—It promises a higher and stronger vitality of every military calculation. It destroys the validity of the exposed papers, for the peace struggle has greatly improved for the worse and toiling masses, but the despotism of the class-war bourgeoisie is correspondingly increased.

Documents revealed in Berlin, taken from the archives of the Polish Foreign Office, published Friday, will be examined with the deepest interest by all Americans. Newspaper editors are indignantly denouncing that Berlin thus reveals itself as a safe-cracker of secret archives, and a thief of secret papers. Admitting that the moral standards of Berlin are equivalent to those of London and Paris, it still seems to be true that every time plans of secret diplomatic papers are opened up for the public, the cause of the people, the peace-lovers, the peoples becomes strengthened, their power increased. It would have been a great boon to America, for example, if the people could have been in possession of the secret correspondence of the Roosevelt administration with Moscow, with the Polish Foreign Office, with the French Foreign Office, with the British Foreign Office, in which the British and French people can not well afford to leave entirely to the decision of their present ruling circles.

The Finnish events brought out all the reserves, which the war-mongers considered among the armies of war-mongers and masses. Outstanding in this respect were the 200,000 reservists rendered available to the imperialists by the Citizens and Allies of the British Labor Party; by the Leon Blum of the Socialist Party of France; and by the Norman Thomas of the United States. These self-styled leaders of socialism and labor could not all others in this barren and malversation of their incitement to war against the Soviet Union, and were the shock troops of the imperialist bourgeoisie of all lands in the campaign to win the masses for such a war. It is one of the most important facts to note, that the influence of such leaders has visibly diminished among the workers during the past months, as a result of this cynical revelation of their true political faces.

The setback received by the imperialists paves the way, and it will be a war against the Soviet Union will not, of course, cause these plans to be dropped by them. Indeed, the panic and desperation displayed by the discussion emanating from high, diplomatic circles, the high degree of nervous instability displayed by official rallies, should cause the people to be on the alert for even more desperation from the most fantastic adventures, which may be bought without notice. The people of the imperialist countries are required from the mill-war forces in the every land and every country. Conditions for the peace struggle have greatly improved for the worse and toiling masses, but the despotism of the class-war bourgeoisie is correspondingly increased.

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The consequences of the war in the field of domestic policy and internal political alignments, in the United States, have been working out in a way far removed from the expectations of the ruling circles. The Roosevelt Administration has made peace with its opponents of the Wall Street camp, coming together with them on the program of armament war-grade and spreading the war, eventual entry into the war as a bellicose in the process of the war against the Soviet Union, the scrapping of New Deal social legislation, curtailing and weakening the labors, movement and suppressing the Communist Party, marginalize and weakening the bourgeois parties. They were thereby raised up to the bourgeoisie, a large group of willed and foreign capitalists, to which occasionally reveal stenograms of sharp crevices and breaks in ruling-class unity, had dissolved and all of the unity of arts with the Allied imperialism does not overcome, but even sharpen, the conflicts and antagonisms with the British friend and rival, with situations with Japan and the whole Far Eastern question becomes more tangle and strained. The world crisis of imperialism is revealing itself within America in new and sharper forms, in economy, in domestic policy and in foreign policy.

The resulting confusion within our ruling class, its sharpening inner conflicts and tension to other imperialisms, produce a chaotic picture-panes indeed on the surface. It is no wonder if many minds grow dizzy and confused
trying to dig down to the underlying realities and determining factors, to make some sensible analysis of the situation. But if we stick close to the fundamental factors of the class-relationships and class structure of capitalist society, we will protect ourselves against superficial and shallow judgments on current problems, and will keep the decisive things firmly in the foreground of our thought.

Fear of the socialist revolution is haunting the bourgeoisie of all lands. This is the chief factor making for their class unity, national and international, but they can never solve their rivalries and contradictions, and this is why such unity is always breaking down. The imperialist war is itself a "family quarrel" within the bourgeoisie: the working class of Britain, France and Germany have no serious quarrels with one another. The great ambition of the most class-conscious bourgeois statesmen, with Roosevelt, Hoover, and the Pope at their head, is eventually to restore "peace" to the capitalist family by jointly making war against the Soviet Union. But for this they must first extend the war and prolong it, not alone for immediate war profit—that would be itself important enough—but to guarantee that the "peace" would really be a militant union against the revolution, against socialism, against the Soviet Union.

The American bourgeoisie is united in its determination to head off or crush the rising-socialist revolution in Europe. They want to save their European class brothers. At the same time, their contradictions with these class brothers grow sharper. Concretely, they want to save the British Empire from its impending destruction; but at the same time their conflicts with the British as rivals become ever more intense. They are convinced that the only way to save the British Empire is by American leadership, with all the perquisites of leadership, which would amount to putting it into receivership in bankruptcy by Washington and Wall Street. So the quarrels about how to save capitalism from the impending revolution breaks up bourgeois unity on the aim. They fully agree only to hit hard against labor and the Communists at home, and against the Soviet Union abroad. On everything else, they fight amongst themselves like cats and dogs.

We must study closely all these conflicts and contradictions between the bourgeoisie state and amongst the bourgeoisie within the nation—for these conflicts must all be fully exploited by the working class and the people, to strengthen the fight against hunger and war, and finally for Socialism.

Let us always remember that it is the bourgeoisie itself and its most reactionary section which does much of the most necessary work of preparing the conditions for the Socialist revolution. The more fiercely and hysterically they fight against the labor and Communist movement, the more quickly and surely do they undermine their own capitalist social order. Thus did Hitler the darling of all reactionaries for years, become the instrument for plunging the capitalist world into its deepest crisis. Thus in America today does Martin D. make his similar contribution to undermining and destroying the old, decaying social order by the very violence with which he seeks to defend it. Let the American bourgeoisie ponder over this very carefully in the midst of their cheers for Martin Dies.

Facing the 1940 elections, we find the old party dominant leadership, both Democratic and Republican, agreeing on basic policies of hunger and war, which labor and the people must fight against. They disagree on almost everything except this basic line of policy, but it is exactly this that the workers are interested in defeating, and most of the people are interested in defeating, and on which they must fight.

We find no adequate preparations yet to unite the mass movements and organizations of the people on a national scale in a third party movement as was done in 1860, for example, in preparation for the election of Lincoln in 1860, but this is what we need and it is the greatest task before the American people today.

The Communist Party prepares its own independent candidates and platforms for state and national elections. We are prepared to discuss unity with other groups and organizations in support of candidates who really fight against the war, who really fight for peace, who really fight for civil rights and progressive legislation, who really fight against the dominant leadership of the old parties. We are ready to unite with all organizations in America who agree on these few basic points. We want to struggle for the broadest possible unity of the American people against their exploiters and misleaders. In 1940, that means that on the national candidates and on many of the most important state candidates we ask you to cast your vote for the Communist Party.

The address of Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party, made March 31 at a meeting of 10,000 people of Boston at Symphony Hall in that city.

SUNDAY WORKER, NEW YORK, APRIL 7, 1940

Issued by the New York State Committee
COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.
35 East 12th Street, New York City