

TEXT OF BROWDER'S ADDRESS AT YALE PEACE COUNCIL

NEW HAVEN, Conn., Nov. 28.—The text of the speech delivered by Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, this evening under the auspices of the Yale Peace Council, in Strathcona Hall, follows:

Friends and Fellow Americans:

The imperialist war between Germany, Britain and France is dragging the rest of the world, step by step, into its orbit. Its clouds already, in the third month of the war, threaten to black-out American civil liberties.

This represents a great speeding-up of history. Allow me to refer to my own experience as an example. The last World War had been on for two-and-a-half years, before I, among others, was sent to prison for the "conspiracy" of opposing American entrance into the war. Today, facing the new World War, there are projects under way to send me and others to prison, as preparation for entering the war, before even the original belligerents have fully made up their minds to fight it out.

It looks like the old locomotive of history has been displaced by a modern airplane. We are moving much faster than was the case a generation ago. It follows that we must learn to think faster, also, if this war is not to end like the last, as a mere breathing-spell, an armistice, a new "Versailles peace," before another and more disastrous world slaughter.

The American people were deeply illusioned by their experience in the last World War. The almost universal judgment is that our entrance was a vast mistake. And yet all signs are that we are being rushed into a repetition of that tragic mistake, that we did not learn its lesson, that we must go through it all again. That will certainly be the result if the American people allow present trends to continue, if they allow the decision to be made by those who speak to us daily through the newspapers, who already have raised war hysteria throughout our country.

The Communist Party of the U. S. A., and Communists of all lands, worked and fought with all energy to prevent the outbreak of this war; when the war broke out in spite of all efforts, the Communists oppose the entrance into the war of their own country, oppose the spread of the war; and the Communists fight for the ending of the war at the earliest possible moment.

This war is an imperialist struggle for redivision of the world among rival monopolists; to the peoples of all lands it brings only misery, starvation, destruction and death.

There are many influential persons in our country who get very angry when we, the Communists, talk about the war in such terms. Especially they fly into a rage when we warn the rulers that the people will not be patient in this war, that they want peace, and that if their ruling "statesmen" cannot bring peace, the people may take the decision out of their hands. And, above all, they become really hysterical, when we suggest that even America might learn something from the Soviet Union about how to gain peace and prosperity. When I spoke along these lines in Boston on Nov. 5, there was a great outcry in the newspapers, and even a "close friend" of the President spoke for him to the newspapers, suggesting that the government might find it necessary to silence such expressions. Attempts are already under way to accomplish this end indirectly, without facing the real issues involved.

Permit me, very briefly, to offer a few remarks about the charges against me, which are the excuse of many people to deny me the right to speak. A conservative columnist, David Lawrence, the other day pointed out the dangers of allowing indictments to become the basis of denying civil rights, for, as he said, many of our most prominent business men are often under indictment and surely respectable society does not want to deprive these estimable gentlemen of their civil rights. The accusations against such men usually involve grave economic injuries to many individuals and crimes against the public.

But no one has ever charged me with injuring a single individual, and their only complaints against my public activities are that they don't like my ideas.

As for the charge that I travelled, years ago, under pseudonyms: it will really be interesting when it is disclosed how many highly respectable business men, jurists and statesmen, have similarly travelled without ever having any action taken against them. And I feel sure that there will be some interesting disclosures, if and when the government establishes that it considers pseudonyms a terrible crime.

The charges against me are very thin indeed. The best description of them that I can find is a quotation from Abraham Lincoln. Attacking the Supreme Court's watering-down of the peoples' sovereignty in the Dred Scott Case, Lincoln said it was:

"As thin as homeopathic soup that was made by boiling the shadow of a pigeon that had starved to death."

The original pigeons in my case,



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had starved to death long ago, refused any food by the Hoover administration; even the shadow had disappeared, to leave nothing but the shadow of a shadow; and this has now been boiled for months by all the combined forces of reaction to produce the homeopathic soup of the indictment against me. But any stick is good enough to beat a Communist with today, when powerful forces want above all to silence the only organized voice that denounces the imperialist war and organizes the people to keep America out of it.

While we still have some remnants of free speech, let us make the most of our opportunity, to try to understand the issues raised by this war.

It is not only the Communists, but all intelligent people, even reactionaries, who recognize that the working people are not going to suffer this war passively and meekly, that the war will put the socialist revolution on the order of the day. For example, the Hearst newspapers, bitterly anti-Communist and reactionary as they are, declared recently in a big editorial spread printed in large type, the following:

"Eventually, the suffering of war threatens to extend Communism all over Europe.

"Not only will Germany probably succumb to Communism, but England and France are in grave danger of being overwhelmed by it.

"All nations involved in the war will pay the penalty of bitter popular disaster, disillusionment and resentment."

That is profoundly true, even though it was printed in the Hearst press in the midst of so many lies.

But why is it true? Why does the war drive the peoples of all the belligerent countries to the adoption of socialism, or Communism as the newspapers have it?

The answer to this question is very profound and very important.

First of all, the people cannot help seeing that the war is a "family affair" among the capitalists, a fight to determine which rival group of monopolists shall rule the world and gather in the richest profits; that war arises out of the very nature of the capitalist system.

All efforts to blame the war on the Soviet Union, for example, suffer shipwreck on the rock of evident fact, that it is the great capitalist powers that are fighting one another, and that the Soviet Union takes no sides in the fight. Secondly, as the war goes on, the people see more and more clearly that they cannot expect those who make profits out of the war to bring it to an end; therefore, the only way to peace is to take power out of the hands of the capitalists, that is, in short, to establish a socialist system. Thirdly, they see that the socialist Soviet Union is achieving great successes with its socialist system, that it has become the strongest nation in Europe, that it has provided economic and political security for its people, and that it knows how to maintain peace within its own family of nations, and has the greatest success in maintaining peace with the world outside its own borders.

All these things contribute toward the result, that the fight of the peoples for peace tends more and more to become a fight for a better life and finally for a new socialist society as the only guarantee for peace as the only possible road to life for the peoples.

But the ruling class, the capitalists and their hangers-on, even when they see that the war is driving the peoples to socialism, still cannot make peace and do not want to make peace. In the last World War, it was not the ruling classes of any country that made peace, but the peoples rising up in revolutions and overthrowing their ruling classes. No, they will not and cannot end the war, but frightened by the specter of a Communist revolution, they more and more try to turn the war into a general attack against the labor movement, and against the Soviet Union, to wipe out the contagion of the example of its successes, by military force.

As a matter of fact, however, there is very little chance of success for these schemes of the European capitalists to solve their problems at the expense of the

Soviet Union. Messers Chamberlain and Daladier, assisted by Attlee and Blum, were in truth trying to do that trick when they built up Hitler to the point where at Munich, in September, 1938, they surrendered Czechoslovakia into his hands, and with it the hegemony of capitalist Europe—all on the understanding that Hitler would thereupon expend his forces in a holy crusade to destroy the Soviet Union, which he had long promised to do. Chamberlain and Daladier had made just one little mistake, however, that of believing their own propaganda. Trying to convince Hitler to make war on the Soviet Union, they created the legend of weakness and helplessness of that country. They fooled no one but themselves. Hitler knew better, he had seen what happened to his friends the Japanese, when they tried to violate the borders of Siberia. The strength of the Soviet Union brought those schemes to bankruptcy, and it will do the same with all new schemes along the same lines, even though Chamberlain and Daladier should succeed in enlisting Wall Street actively in their support.

The Soviet Union is the strongest power in the world, with the possible exception of the United States. This is a very important fact, which Americans would do well to take into account. It is very dangerous for us if we swallow the British propaganda about a supposed "Soviet weakness," for it might lead us to very wrong practical conclusions, especially when the true interests of the American people harmonize fully with those of the great and strong Soviet Union.

We American Communists advocate, and have long advocated, that our country should gain the great advantages that would result from cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union, to promote the common interests of the two countries—concretely, for peace in Europe, and the independence and integrity of China in the Far East. For this, we are accused of being "agents of Moscow" of "giving allegiance to a foreign government," and so on. Our loyalty is to the American people, first and last, which requires loyalty to our ideas of socialism. Such accusations, of "foreign allegiance" are not raised, strangely enough, when an outstanding member of the Roosevelt family—Kermit, by name—takes the oath of allegiance to Britain; nor do we hear it when Barbara Hutton becoming the Countess Haugwitz-Revontow and citizen of another land, without losing any social standing in America, nor her claims upon the wealth created by tens of thousands of underpaid employes of the Woolworth stores. And it seems a bit strange, that high government officials can proclaim their intention of helping Britain "win the war" even to the extent of putting American economy into her service to the tune of billions of dollars, without becoming "agents of London," but the Communists cannot advocate friendly collaboration with the Soviet Union for common ends, without becoming alien agents! The British propaganda machine certainly does a thorough job! They have the American bourgeoisie begging for the privilege of pulling British chestnuts out of the fire!—at the expense of the American people!

It seems only reasonable to us Communists, that not only might America profitably cooperate with the powerful Soviet Union in international affairs, we might even learn something from that country about how to conduct our own affairs to best advantage. That, of course, is a daring suggestion to make, and arouses the greatest resentment against us among the "best people." It seems to some eminent persons to be "final proof" that we should be "discredited" as "agents of a foreign government."

Very well. For the sake of argument, we will for the moment agree that America must not, under any circumstances, agree

that it can learn anything from the Soviet Union. But, also for the sake of argument, let us suppose that in Africa, or in South America, there should arise a new great country — we may call it Ruritania — operating upon a novel social and economic system; beginning with little other than its natural resources, it rises in a dozen years to a leading position among the greatest powers; its national income rises steadily almost 25 per cent each year; it becomes the great military power on earth, but does not bankrupt itself thereby, on the contrary, raises living standards simultaneously for its entire population by 500 per cent; it spreads education and culture; it establishes fruitful cooperation and peace among dozens of nationalities embraced within its borders. Wouldn't any hard-headed Yankee want to learn how Ruritania accomplished such wonderful things, and make use of its experiences to remedy our own sad state of affairs in the United States—always provided, of course, that the country was not named the Soviet Union and its system was not socialism?

But really, what reason have we to be so snooty toward the Soviet Union? That great country is getting rich, and America has always had a big respect for those who get rich. Of course, it has no millionaires—but maybe that is why the whole country is getting rich. The United States has plenty of millionaires, but we are getting poorer all the time—maybe that is why we are getting poorer.

If the United States continues to develop during the next ten years along the same lines as it has since 1929, and if the Soviet Union continues to grow at the same rate during the next ten years as it has since 1929—then in 1950 the Soviet Union will have overtaken and surpassed us in every respect, having in 30 years since it took the path of socialism and the Soviet Power, overcome our headstart of 150 years.

But if the United States should begin next year to expand its economy at the rate demonstrated by the Soviet Union, then by 1950 our national income would be about 800 billion dollars per year, and for the ten year period every man, woman and child could be given a bonus of \$25,000 each. We would have won a prosperity beyond the wildest dreams of all the Utopians. If our capitalist class would allow us to do this, we could afford to pay them a bonus twice the size of all their profits at the present day, and allow them to eat and drink themselves to a peaceful extinction—but I'm afraid that as long as the capitalists have the power, they will never allow us to really develop our country's economy.

No, today, our American capitalists are launching us on a wild-goose chase, pursuing an illusory prosperity by furnishing munitions and supplies to the European war, while breaking up labor unions and jailing the Communists, and putting the Bill of Rights into cold storage—all to the greater glory and profit of Wall Street. When the profits from the war trade begin to shrink, then they will give them a boost even higher by throwing America into the war directly. Next year, Britain and France will spend perhaps ten billions with us for war supplies, but in 1941, when the United States is supposed to enter, it is estimated that our war budget will be 30 billions right off the bat. Such is the perspective offered to the American people by those who determine our destiny for us today. Republicans and Democrats, former New Dealers and Anti-New Dealers, all the upper classes of all political groupings, seem to be getting together, ditching the controversial New Deal reforms, forgetting their old quarrels, in a holy unity for such a program. The social and labor legislative program, which had made the New Deal a symbol of the peoples struggle for a better life, is

being thrown to the dogs of "Economy" and "National Defense." Wall Street now leads the cheering for our President!

You must pardon us Communists if we cannot go along with such a program. We cannot find in it anything of the great American tradition of Jefferson, Paine, Franklin, and Lincoln, the essence of which always was that this country, with its wealth and its institutions, is the property of the people who inhabit it.

War, senseless and criminal imperialist war, is threatening today to swallow up and destroy what is left of the American people's inheritance from its great revolutionary past.

The working people of America want nothing of this war, they want peace and the opportunity to work and fight for a better life—but all their dominant institutions and political leaders are taking them down the road to war; the people can fight against the war only through their own democratic mass organizations, and through finding new political leadership and forms of organization.

This war is an expression of the deepest and sharpest crisis of the capitalist system.

The people's fight for peace will more and more become, of necessity, a fight for a new—a socialist, way of life, which will away with the causes of war.

It is above all this task, the education of the masses of the people to the necessity and means of defeating imperialism and war, of achieving socialism and peace, which is the task of the Communist Party.

That is why the reactionaries, the warmongers, the capitalists, and their agents, carry on such a campaign to discredit, to suppress, and to outlaw the Communist Party and to silence its spokesmen. That is why they hide our ideas from the people, and ascribe to us all sorts of fantastic criminalities, such as conspiracies for sabotage and terrorism, which have nothing whatever in common with the Communist movement.

The modern Communist movement is over ninety years old. It has had four great and outstanding thinkers, teachers, and leaders. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were the founders of modern Communism, and guided its development for many years. Vladimir Lenin developed the Communist theory in the stage of imperialism, and led the working class to its first realization, to victory over one-sixth of the earth, in the Soviet Union. Joseph Stalin leads and represents the emergence of the socialist State as the strongest world power, on the basis of victorious socialism which begins its transition to the higher stage of Communism. All these great teachers and leaders of the Communist movement have been the most powerful foes of anarchistic and individualistic trends and ideas, of all the anti-social and disintegrating influences that arise from a decaying capitalist system. They are the true philosophers and organizers of social order.

The Communist Party of the U.S.A. combines the great American democratic tradition and teaching, with the great international tradition and teaching of socialism, of Communism.

That is why the warmongers deliver their first blows in all lands against the Communist Party.

That is why the Communist Party is the most staunch and unyielding fighter for peace, for democratic rights, for a better life for the people.

That is why the Communist Party cannot be destroyed, why it grows ever stronger, whether in time of democratic tolerance or of persecution, of peace or war.

That is why the Communists and their followers are the only people who face the future calmly and without fear, with full confidence in ultimate victory for the people, which is the victory for peace and socialism.



NEW YORK'S Young Communists collected \$1,066 at the Browder Defense Rally in the Royal Windsor hall Friday night for the bail fund of the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights for Communists. John Little, New York State Executive Secretary of the Y.C.L., is shown handing a check for this sum to Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Chairman of the Committee, at her office in room 525, 799 Broadway. Standing next to Little are (left to right): Al Steele and Phil Arrindell.

—Daily Worker Photo