

## X. THE PEOPLE AGAINST THE WAR-MAKERS

I WANT to give a sketchy and brief review of the events since last September, the development of our policy in relation to these events. I am not assuming the task at present of giving any final or detailed analysis. The purpose of my remarks is merely to refresh our minds on these things which we all know, and to bring them together in a more or less systematic manner as a foundation for such discussion as may be necessary in estimating the situation and our next tasks.

When we met last, on September 1 in Chicago, it was the moment of that historic collapse of the policy of world imperialism led by Chamberlain and Daladier, the policy which for years had been driving towards finding an outlet for the increasing contradictions in the imperialist camp through a great joint effort of world imperialism against the Soviet Union, with the fascist axis bloc as its spearhead. The collapse of that policy, which had consistently led the world for years deeper and deeper into war and crisis, was signalized by the signing of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact on August 23, after the British and French governments had made it clear beyond all doubt that their negotiations for a mutual assistance pact with the Soviet Union had been merely a subterfuge, a pretense, and a smokescreen behind which they had been exerting all efforts toward creating a general war alignment against the Soviet Union.

It was against the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact that British-French imperialism declared war in the beginning of September. It was to break that pact and force the Nazis to carry out the original

program, war against the Soviet Union, that the hostilities were initiated. This character of the second imperialist war was fully made clear by the prosecution of the war itself, by the continuation of the whole policy to the point of complete abandonment of Chamberlain's tool, the fascist Polish Government, which had been given paper guarantees of support from its guarantors, because they still hoped that the Nazi invasion of Poland would result in their original aim of a clash and eventual war with the Soviet Union.

The character of the war on the Western Front to date, so generally referred to because of its exceptional features as the "phony war," is merely a testimony to the character of the war aims of British-French imperialism supported by the American bourgeoisie. It is a real war, not a phony war. But its peculiar nature which has given it that nickname of the "phony war" is determined by its aim, which is to force Germany to transform the conflict into a war against the Soviet Union.

The character of the world situation has been rapidly changing since the outbreak of the war. Just let me mention a few of the key points which have established the line of the changing relation of forces as a result of the Soviet peace policy and of the family quarrel within the capitalist world. Outstanding is the new position of the Soviet Union in world affairs. The Soviet Union has emerged not merely as one of the great powers, but as a decisive influence in world politics. It has consolidated its position, consolidated its defenses against possible attacks, enormously extended its influence among its neighbors and among the exploited peoples throughout the world. The liberation of Western Ukraine and Western White Russia, accomplished within a few weeks after the outbreak of the war, is one of the great events of modern history. It answered so many questions which had been bothering some people and gave so clearly and indelibly the character of the Soviet policy that masses heretofore under the influence of anti-Soviet ideology had their eyes opened overnight by the liberating role of the Soviet Union in world affairs. That act of liberation is highly significant for the United States, where we have so many nationality groups cherishing senti-

mental, ideological, and cultural ties with their lands of origin, as well as being of the fabric of American society. Here we have seen since the liberation of Western Ukraine and Western White Russia the solution within our country of problems of relationships between Ukrainian, White Russian, Lithuanian and Polish nationality groups, which, poisoned by the old bourgeois nationalism, had lived in strained relationships. After the collapse of fascist Poland and the liberation of Western Ukraine and White Russia, we have seen these people coming together as never before since they have settled in the United States, in bonds of friendship, sympathy and collaboration. The ensuing mutual aid pacts between the Soviet Union and Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia further extended and developed the specific phase of the policy of the land of workers' rule in the world given over to war by capitalism. By those pacts the machinations of the war-makers were excluded from another great section of the world.

In relation to these mutual aid pacts there was witnessed an act unprecedented in all history. The Soviet Union of its own volition handed back to little Lithuania its former capital of Vilna, which had been forcibly seized by White Guard Poland twenty years ago, in violation of decisions of the League of Nations and all of the moral authorities of the bourgeois world.

A further significant registration of the new position of the Soviet Union was the armistice with the Japanese forces on the Mongolian borders and the subsequent inauguration of conversations for the peaceful delimitation of frontiers. This was a development of major importance, not only for the countries immediately involved, but for world relations. It represented a further limiting of the field of expansion of the World War, a further registration of the military prowess of the Soviet Union for defense against all possible enemies or combination of enemies, as well as of the improved strategical position of the Soviet Union in world affairs. We have seen how world imperialism, aided by Chamberlain and the British ruling class, finally forced their agents in control of Finland to make a desperate effort to break up this consolidation of the Soviet peace policy in its immediate environment. The negotiations were proceeding with

promise of settling the relationship between the Soviet Union and Finland in the same peaceful way, in a way satisfactory to the interests of the peoples, as with Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia. But those negotiations were suddenly balked by a sharp change in policy initiated from London. The tentative agreements arrived at were overruled. Instead, the Finnish Government, London's puppet, was pushed into an open provocation and threat of military action against Leningrad, only twenty miles away from the Mannerheim line, only a few minutes away from the vast bombing fields that had been set up in White Guard Finland—a provocation based on long preparations to transform Finland into a steel dagger at the throat of the Soviet Union.

It has been revealed in the last weeks that in the period from May to August, while the British-French negotiators were in Moscow, ostensibly trying to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union against Germany, Britain and France had sent forty million dollars' worth of armaments into Finland—armaments that had no possible meaning except as preparations for war against the Soviet Union.

Well, we don't need to go today into all the details of this gigantic conspiracy, this grandiose effort of the world bourgeoisie to turn its forces to the crushing of the Soviet Union. Suffice it to say that all of these enormous efforts and these grandiose diabolical schemes came to wreck. They came to wreck on the Bolshevik vigilance of the Soviet workers, of their party, and, above all, of their great leader, our Lenin of today, Comrade Stalin.

Now within the past six months, we have not only had these great events abroad, but we have witnessed big changes within the United States, immediately reflected in the new role of this country in world affairs. How can we characterize these changes most accurately and briefly?

We can note as an outstanding feature that the American bourgeoisie as a whole, U.S. imperialism, has in the face of the outbreak of the open struggle for the redivision of the world resumed its aggressive and dynamic role in world affairs. For some years since the outbreak of the great crisis in 1929, the American bourgeoisie had been sharply divided, as a result of which the aggressive face of Ameri-

can imperialism had been put into the background. The American bourgeoisie had not seen clearly its path. It had been feeling its way, it had been conciliating the rebelling masses of the people at home with some social reforms, it had been conciliating the colonial and semi-colonial peoples abroad through the so-called "good neighbor" policy, and it had been feeling its way in relation to its imperialist rivals with great caution.

But all of its doubts, its divided mind, its paralysis were quickly resolved in the face of the outbreak of the war, with the opening of the actual process of armed redistribution of the world, and especially with the prospects that clearly arose from the bankruptcy of the Chamberlain policy, the rising threat of revolution in Europe and of the overthrow of the European bourgeoisie. It was the specter of proletarian revolution in Europe which, above all, resolved the divisions and doubts of the American bourgeoisie, restored class unity to it—that class unity which they call "national unity"—and which transformed almost overnight the Roosevelt Administration from a New Deal, progressive administration, leaning upon the people in opposition to the most reactionary section of monopoly capital, into the leader and organizer of all the reactionary forces in the country, the instrument of that class unity *against* the people, the character of which is revealed with startling clarity today, less than six months after the outbreak of the war.

At our National Committee meeting in Chicago in September, we took note very sharply of the voices that were raised from the camp of reaction demanding national unity in terms of establishing a new council around the President which would determine the course of the country. We showed the falsity of that kind of national unity. We warned that it would be a unity of the bourgeoisie against the people. We did not see far enough, however. We saw clearly as far as we saw; but we did not see at that moment that Roosevelt would reject those reactionary proposals for something much worse, that is, that Roosevelt would himself assume leadership of the camp of reaction. Although we always knew that to be a possibility, we did not forecast it, and for weeks we were reluctant to accept the

accumulating evidence that this was the course Roosevelt was taking. No one can accuse us that we hastened to withdraw our support from the New Deal and from Roosevelt. If we are to be reproached, it is because we made this break belatedly and reluctantly, and only after the publicly registered and irrevocable facts had made clear beyond all possibility of doubt that the Roosevelt Administration had taken the road of reaction and war, that the progressive social legislation and policies of the New Deal had been reversed and scrapped, and that the bourgeoisie and all its hangers-on were united in the drive against the civil rights of the American people, against their advances, against their peace, to drag America into this war.

The American bourgeoisie is acting in its new unity around Roosevelt—now the darling of all camps of the bourgeoisie which only a few short months ago hated him with a fierce intensity. Now they are dripping with honey and rose-water towards him. The task they are taking up through Roosevelt and his Administration is two-fold. I would place as first in their consideration for determining their course, the fear of revolution in Europe and the determination to save the European bourgeoisie at all costs; and, second, to accomplish that in such a way as to advance the hegemony of American imperialism over its rivals and bring incidental profits to American capitalists in the process.

That is the meaning of the new course of the Administration in Washington. That is the meaning of the abandonment of neutrality. That is the meaning of the gearing of American economy at once and immediately as the war reserve of the Allies. That is the meaning of the new budget, the hunger-and-war budget. That is the meaning of Roosevelt's course in relation to Finland, the direct intervention to help Britain stop Finland from coming to an agreement with the Soviet Union, and the present course of direct economic, and even a degree of military, aid to Finland of the Mannerheims.

That is the meaning of the new negotiations with Japan, where very openly an attempt is being made to reach an agreement on the division of the spoils of the conquered China. That is the meaning of the new tone in the Latin American relations, in which Sumner

Welles becomes the symbol of a military protectorate over the Americas, a new tone in dealing with economic relationships. That is the meaning of the unprecedented establishment of diplomatic relations with the Vatican, without authorization and over the head of Congress. That is the meaning of the new Colonel House mission to Europe, undertaken by the same Sumner Welles, famous since his exploit in Cuba of upsetting an elected government, and installing a military dictatorship in behalf of American capital. That is the meaning of the whole hamstringing of American democracy, the offensive against the labor movement, the offensive against democratic rights, the offensive against the living standards of the American people. The true face, the true role of the American bourgeoisie has come out sharply and vividly, and we have class relationships in all their nakedness—class struggle cutting through all the pretenses and sophistries of the bourgeoisie, the relations emerging, the real struggles developing, which will determine the fate of our country and of the world.

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