



# **An American Foreign Policy For Peace**

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**BY EARL BROWDER**



*This speech by the Presidential candidate of the Communist Party, dealing with an American foreign policy to maintain peace, was rendered by electrical transcription in Symphony Hall, Boston, Mass., on October 6, 1940. The substance of this speech was delivered over the coast-to-coast network of the Columbia Broadcasting System on October 10, 1940.*

PUBLISHED BY  
WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS  
P. O. BOX 148, STATION D, NEW YORK, N. Y.



PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.



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**F**OREIGN policy is a matter which deals with all the problems of war and peace. Our country is preoccupied today with the question of war. Yet there is almost complete absence of any serious discussion of foreign policy. In Congress wildly hysterical military appropriations are passed, one after another, that now mount up to fifteen billions of dollars, two-thirds of which no responsible person had the slightest idea was needed four months ago. This hysteria of appropriations was inaugurated by a message from the President, which solemnly recited the exact number of hours and minutes required to reach Omaha, Nebraska, and St. Louis, Missouri, by airplane from certain countries to the South. Candidate Willkie, on October 2, recorded the fact that he was "shocked" to learn the dangerous international position of the United States. He discoursed at length on his shock, but so far as policy

is concerned, he said nothing new whatever, while he reemphasized his agreement with the course on which Roosevelt has been and is taking our country. Like the President, like Congress, Mr. Willkie displays a naive and childlike faith in dollars, expressed in military appropriations for machinery and implements of war, as the answer to all questions.

One and all, the leaders and ideologists of the Democratic and Republican parties alike forget one "little thing." They forget that armaments and soldiers are nothing but *instruments* of foreign policy, that *by themselves they answer no question whatever; that without an intelligent foreign policy armaments only multiply confusion and danger, that with a wrong-headed and dangerous foreign policy armaments only rush our country more quickly and deeply into disaster.* And thus it is that every one in high places—and many in low—salves his conscience that he is doing everything needed to protect our country when he helps to pile one armaments appropriation upon another, when he votes for or agrees to register sixteen million young men for the draft, and when he roundly denounces any voice raising dissent, or calling for more fundamental consideration, as the voice of the unknown enemy, of the "Fifth Column."

I speak against this madness of armaments. I would use the fortunate circumstance that we are



in the midst of national elections, that public discussion is not yet under the ban but only under serious attack, to put forward a serious examination of foreign policy.

First of all, glance at various European countries which have been conquered by the Nazi invaders during the past year. Seriously ask yourself the question: were they destroyed by lack of armaments or by a foreign policy which went contrary to their national interests? There can be only one answer: armaments were adequate if there had been intelligent foreign policy, but armaments turned out to be useless because of distorted foreign policy.

#### THE COLLAPSE OF POLAND

Take the Polish Government of Colonel Beck and the aristocrats and landlords of that country. Its foreign policy had been built upon relentless hostility toward its Eastern neighbor, the Soviet Union, and, since 1933, upon reliance upon Hitler Germany and participation with Hitler in crushing and dismembering weaker neighbors. The domestic counterpart of this foreign policy was one of brutal oppression of national minorities within its own borders which included 40 per cent of its total population, not to speak of the terrible exploitation of Polish peasants and workers. It had inflicted injuries upon every neighbor, so that all looked upon it with suspicion or open

hostility. Its own subject population hoped for its downfall. When Hitler suddenly turned upon it with his demands, the Beck Government had no recourse but the paper guarantees of Mr. Chamberlain, and its armaments collapsed in thirty days.

#### THE LESSON OF FRANCE

The outstanding example, however, is that of France. There was the classical land of "military preparedness." Ever since the last war it had bankrupted itself with armaments, fortifications and militarization. Only seven years ago it was the undisputed mistress of the whole continent of Europe, west of the Soviet border. After Hitler's rearmament of Germany, France even obtained a mutual defense pact with the Soviet Union. France was in an unconquerable position. But, following a disastrous foreign policy, the French Government itself destroyed its own defenses one by one. It helped Hitler and Mussolini destroy the Spanish Republic; it betrayed Ethiopia; it sold out its ally, Czechoslovakia, at Munich; it tore up its mutual defense pact with the Soviet Union. When finally, at the bidding of Britain, the French Government declared war against Germany, it had already by its own foreign policy placed itself in the most disadvantageous position. And after it declared war, it *made* war not against Germany but against its own people, outlaw-



ing the French Communist Party and crushing the labor movement. Its enormous military machine was never even mobilized for action against the invaders. Most of its tanks were captured by Hitler, not at the front, but in the interior of France where they had been kept for use against the French workers. Of what use were armaments to France, when it followed such a foreign policy?

#### THE FOUNTAIN-HEAD OF DISASTER

Turn now for a look at the foreign policy of Great Britain. Here is to be found the source and fountain-head of most of the disasters of Europe and Asia and Africa, which have now climaxed with a month of daily air bombardments of London itself, and the horrible irony of British retaliation striking chiefly upon the quivering body of her ally of a few months ago, France. British foreign policy deliberately brought Hitler into power in Germany, and gave the chief, the indispensable help for the German armaments that now strike at the British Isles. It was British foreign policy which deliberately scuttled the League of Nations; which abandoned China to the Japanese invaders; which determined the betrayal of Ethiopia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Spain; which pressed France into tearing up its pact with the Soviet Union; which then pushed Poland, Norway, Holland and Belgium into a disastrous and hopeless war

in which they quickly fell victims; which tried to create a desperate diversion in Finland; which led France to her collapse; which is now involving the United States in the general ruination. Of what use are armaments, when they are in the service of such a foreign policy as that of Great Britain?

Did the British ruling class carry out this suicidal policy because they had deliberately decided to commit suicide? No, not at all. They were firmly convinced that it was a very, very clever policy which would end in giving them the world tied up in a nice bit of British red-tape, without the necessity of firing a single British gun. The accumulated cunning and craft of centuries of rule, of the building of the Empire upon which the sun never sets, went into the elaboration of that foreign policy. It was clever beyond description—far too clever, indeed, for it overreached itself.

There were two central thoughts dominating this clever British foreign policy: first, a Hitlerized Germany was to be encouraged and pushed into a war to destroy the Soviet Union, which would at the same time so weaken Germany as to remove her as a threat to Britain. Second, Britain's imperialist rivals were to be subordinated and made dependent upon Britain, in the case of France by the German threat, in the case of the United States by the threat of Japan, with perhaps warlike developments in each case in which



Britain would act as the impartial judge and peacemaker. Thus would the blessings of the British Empire be spread over the face of the earth.

This super-clever foreign policy of Britain came to wreck on the rock of the Soviet Union. First, the Soviet Union had grown too strong and too consolidated to offer a tempting field for military adventures for a Hitler who likes to have his victories assured before he goes into action. Second, the leadership of the Soviet Union was too wise and experienced to fall into the British trap. Both these factors are worthy of much more examination than we can take time for today, for the American people have been systematically taught, by newspapers and radio, to believe the Soviet Union to be very weak and its leadership to be stupid barbarians. Events of the past year should have been sufficient to dissolve such illusions!

#### AMERICA COPIES THE BRITISH "MODEL"

Now, in the light of this analysis of British policy, turn to an examination of the foreign policy of the United States during the past ten years of world crisis. At every major point, American policy is found to be either an adaptation, or an outright copy, of the British "model." Limitation of time forbids the detailed listing of the well-known facts; but each of my listeners is fully capable of doing this

for himself. The rulers of America have slavishly followed in the footsteps of their British cousins, with only such variations as were required by the special Anglo-American rivalries and antagonisms.

The foreign policy that has been developed by the United States Government over the past years, and which is now being pushed to its logical conclusions, has no promise for our country any better than that which it has already realized for the British. This policy is the common property of Roosevelt and Willkie, of the Democratic and Republican parties, of nearly the whole American bourgeoisie. Only the Communist Party has proposed and consistently fought for a foreign policy of our country which could replace the disastrous policy now being followed.

#### A FOREIGN POLICY FOR PEACE

A clear-sighted and long-range foreign policy for the United States can only be developed upon the solid foundation of friendship and close collaboration between our country, China and the Soviet Union. That is now blocked by our shameful betrayal of China, through our supply to Japan, over the years, of the materials for her war of conquest, and by Washington's studied and artificial hostility toward the Soviet Union. Only when these features of our present foreign policy are wiped out can we



begin to move toward a foreign policy which can guarantee peace and security to America.

Such a constellation of powers, the United States, China, and the Soviet Union, moving along agreed-upon lines fully consistent with the needs of the three great peoples, would be very powerful indeed. It would be a stable combination, for these countries have no rivalries or conflicting interests. It would be strategically powerful, because it would immediately hold the keys to three continents; a Washington-Moscow-Chungking Axis, solidly welded with correct policies, would be unmatchable in world politics. It would be physically strong, combining seven hundred to eight hundred millions of population, and the preponderance of the world's productive forces. It would be morally invincible, attracting the enthusiastic adherence of the suffering peoples all over the globe.

Some glimmerings of the bright light such a policy would bring to America and to the world shine through the remarks made in the House of Representatives in Washington by Congressman Sabath of Illinois on October 1. The key to Mr. Sabath's remarks can be seized in the following brief quotations. He said:

"Yesterday's leading editorial in the *Washington Times-Herald* emphasizes a viewpoint concerning Russia that I have suggested and recommended on

man for a growing body of American workers and farmers, who see friendship and collaboration with the Soviet Union and China as the prerequisite for a sound foreign policy for our country. We would wish to join our efforts with all those of like mind to lead our country along such a road as would make that not only possible but inevitable.

Only along such a road of foreign policy for America can our country win through, for itself and for the world, out of the present dangers and bloody chaos, into a new world of peace, order, and well being for all peoples in all lands.



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