

NOTE

This pamphlet was compiled from the writings and speeches of Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party, now serving in Atlanta prison as the first political prisoner of the second imperialist war.

The quotations, which the *Daily Worker* is printing every day, are topically arranged, and deal with such vital problems as war and peace, the struggle for democracy and civil rights, the role of the working class, the Soviet Union today, and socialism as the way out of capitalist exploitation and imperialist war.

For those who wish to study more extensively the writings of Earl Browder on these and kindred subjects, a complete list of his books follows:

- The Way Out* (1941)
- The Second Imperialist War* (1940)
- Fighting For Peace* (1939)
- The People's Front* (1938)
- What Is Communism?* (1936)
- Communism in the United States* (1935)

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I. WAR AND PEACE

1. It Is a Fact—We're in the War

THE first requirement for understanding our problems is to face facts as they are, however unpleasant. And it is a fact, unpleasant indeed, that America *is in the war*. Most of the current newspaper and radio chatter about keeping out of the war is merely to hide a while longer the fact that we are already in it, that our problem is: "What way out?"

2. September 3—A Historic Date

YES, America is in the imperialist war, for imperialist aims, despite all the chatter and prattle about "liberty" and "democracy" and other nice things, and despite the illusion that it is still a matter for debate as to whether "we shall go in."

There are still a few Congressmen who seem to think that Congress has something to say about it. They are dreaming of the past. Congress abdicated its powers last September, when it gave silent consent to Roosevelt's coup d'état of the destroyers-bases deal, the date of which, September 3, will probably be taken by future historians to mark United States' entrance into the war. Roosevelt already has seized and exercised all the powers that Congress debates giving him; Congress has left for itself no role but that of voting "Ja."

3. Like the Traditional Yokel Buying Brooklyn Bridge

IT is amusing and instructive to watch how the hard-boiled and experienced British imperialists inflame the ambitions and egotism of their more naive American cousins, and cultivate the illusion that the Americans are "buying" a senior partnership, a commanding position, in the "new Anglo-

American Empire." Far from resenting the high-and-mighty attitude of "mastery" which Wall Street's scribblers—and Roosevelt—take toward them, the rulers of Britain welcome, encourage, and stimulate it. This illusion is priceless for the British imperialists. It has given them "total" command of all American resources, including manpower, whenever they demand it, and costs them very little. For Churchill, "Holyfox," Bevin & Co. have a little secret among themselves; they know that the American bourgeoisie has entered the game too late and ill-prepared morally and politically to become in reality the "masters," that the real trend toward "American mastery" over Britain, represented by Lindbergh and Hoover, has been decisively put into the background for this most crucial period in which real power is being redistributed. American money is "buying an empire" much as the traditional yokel on his first visit to New York buys the Brooklyn Bridge.

4. The Plot Against Ireland

THE Roosevelt Administration has entered into a compact to aid the British ruling class to retain control of a slave empire in half of Africa, to continue to rule three hundred and fifty million Indians against their will. The Roosevelt Administration is about to enter into military action which cannot but be directed against Ireland. It is now adding its pressure to that of Churchill and Halifax to compel Ireland to surrender its natural fortifications again to the British Government. We Americans do not wish to have our country made an instrument of war to aid the British rulers to renew and complete the conquest of Ireland that they have unsuccessfully attempted for seven hundred years.

5. The Threat to Latin America

THE war administration of Roosevelt arrogates to itself the right to enclose the whole hemisphere in its control. It is scarcely concealed as a plan to fasten upon twenty Latin American republics the relationship to the United States that

India has to Great Britain. Already the Roosevelt Administration presumes to dispute the right of Latin American republics to control their own foreign trade or to regulate their relations with other nations independently of the Washington State Department. This is not democracy. This is imperialism. It is an assault, behind the smooth words of diplomacy, against the sovereignty of twenty heroic independent Latin American nations which we declare will never submit to this conquest.

6. The Jewish People and the War

THE second imperialist war is a great calamity for the Jewish people. The very lives of the Jewish masses in Europe are at stake; the Jewish communities there are threatened with destruction. Only in the U.S.S.R., inhabited by 5,000,000 Jews, nearly one-third of the Jewish people of the world, are the Jewish masses able to pursue a peaceful existence, permanently freed from the fear of persecution and oppression, while building a happy and prosperous life in the new socialist society. In war-torn Europe and in the rest of the capitalist world, the Jewish masses are faced with the greatest tragedy in their all-too-tragic history. Even the most ardent supporters of Allied imperialism in the United States are compelled to admit this. And yet there are forces in Jewish life, and outside it, that are brutally and callously trading on the tragedy of a people, taking cynical advantage of the Jewish people's profound hatred for Nazi barbarism in order to bring them into the war on the side of Allied imperialism which is equally destructive. . . .

Such a position can only lead the Jewish people to catastrophe. It can only feed the forces of anti-Semitism on a gigantic scale. It can only mean lending support to the promoters of fascism and the backers of anti-Semitism, to those who condoned and made possible savage pogroms against innocent Jewish people, who helped to build up Hitler and were ready to excuse his brutal persecution of the Jews.

7. The Anti-Soviet Will-o'-the-Wisp

IN TAKING their ideas and inspiration from the British rulers, Roosevelt and his associates have taken over an illusion which their British cousins fully share with them. That is the illusion that they are going to find a way out of the war *at the expense of the Soviet Union*. It is the old idea that led to Munich in 1938, that has led to so many disasters since then. The original anti-Soviet scheme of Chamberlain has more lives than the traditional cat. It refused to stay drowned after Munich, and as a consequence Europe was plunged into war. It dramatically stalked back upon the stage with the Mannerheim adventure, and Britain, France and the U.S. promptly forgot their war with Germany, to whoop it up for Mannerheim and strip themselves of arms and men on his behalf, still under the illusion that they could "swap the wrong war for the right one." They paid for that by losing all of Western Europe. Now the old cat is stalking through the Balkans and the Near East, and leaving similar disaster in that region. And incredible as it seems, Roosevelt's central strategic conception was and remains essentially the same as that which led Chamberlain to Munich—namely, that the chief aim of the war is to force Hitler to march against the Soviet Union, with the threat of sustained war if he does not, and the promise of help and amnesty if he does. That idea remains the key, without which it is impossible to unlock the riddle of London's and Washington's policies. It is the same old will-o'-the-wisp, and America's rulers are following it as blindly as did the French and British before them. It is a policy of catastrophe.

8. Big Lies to Frighten Little People

THE masses of the people were overwhelmingly and consciously opposed to America's entrance into the war. This overwhelming will to peace was so strong that, during the election campaign, it forced even Roosevelt and Willkie to bow to it, to make hypocritical promises to respect it. That was accomplished by the Hitlerian tactic of concentrating upon a single

step at a time, by swearing to high heaven that each step was the last one, by telling lies so big and bold that little people feared to question them.

Thus the American people are placed in a position in many respects similar to that of the German people: both were against war, both were thrown in by their rulers without their consent, both have lost whatever traditional checks they may have had upon their rulers, both must seek a way out of the war in spite of and against the will of their present rulers.

9. They Share the War Guilt . . .

LONG ago the working class and democratic masses generally would have halted the war-makers, and made it impossible for them to throw the world into war, but for the fact that they were held back, demoralized, split up, and delivered over to the control of the bourgeoisie by their treacherous misleaders of the parties of the Second International, the so-called "Socialist" and "labor" parties, and the reactionary trade union leadership that follows them.

The parties of the Second International share fully and completely the war-guilt of the imperialist profiteers, in an even more degraded and disgusting form, because they cover themselves with the hypocritical cloak of phrases about "socialism in the future" and "the interests of labor," with the most brazen demagogy. The Attlees and Citrines in England, the Blums and Jouhaux in France, the Norman Thomases, Sidney Hillmans and William Greens in the United States, one and all performed the most indispensable services to the imperialist war-makers, without which they would never have been able or have dared to plunge the world into war.

10. There Is No Choice But Struggle for a People's Victory

WHAT reason is there to believe that an Allied victory will bring anything better to the world than a German victory? Britain and France emerged the victors in 1918, with such

tremendous powers in their hands as had never existed before in the world, not only the power to dictate the terms of peace to the vanquished, but even to dictate to their own allies, the United States, Italy and Japan, not to mention the smaller powers. What did they do with their power? What kind of Europe and what kind of world did they produce? If the world is in a bloody mess today, that is the direct result of victory for the Allied Powers in 1918. Have the British and French ruling classes shown any intelligence or morality since 1918 greater than before? On the contrary, they have shown even less. Have they shown any more ability? On the contrary, they display nothing but an abyss of incapacity, ineptitude and corruption. Are they any more "democratic"? On the contrary, they have leveled off the so-called democracies with the fascist regimes, so that there is no essential difference between them in their relationship to the masses. There is nothing to choose between the imperialist camps, for any support given to either means the surrender of the whole struggle for peace and a better world.

Only the peoples of the world, led by the working class, can bring peace and a better world, and that only by struggle and victory over *their own* imperialists and reactionaries.

II. The Only Alternative

THE forces that drag the capitalist countries one after another into the war arise from the very nature of the capitalist system, which in its monopolist phase of today, the stage of parasitism and decay, is incompatible with an expanding and peaceful life for the people of any country which it rules. It is capitalism itself that drives to war, and now that the war has been unleashed to the extent of involving practically the entire capitalist world, it is clear that the downfall of capitalism itself is involved in the problem of peace. There is no way out of the war except in the popular resistance to the rule of the war-makers who have involved their whole system of imperialism so deeply that even they now admit that peace cannot again come to the world without their defeat. It is a veiled

admission that the socialist revolution, the coming to power of the working class, is the alternative to unlimited slaughter and enslavement.

12. The Only Way Out

PROLETARIAN internationalism, the development of a common understanding of their problems of life and peace by the workers and toiling masses of every country, overriding all national boundaries, and out of this common understanding the forging of common and interrelated policies and action—this is the only road out of the bloody catastrophe of the imperialist war, this is the only way to peace, this is the only road to the future for humanity.

II. DEMOCRACY AND CIVIL RIGHTS

13. Full Citizenship for the Negro People

NOT the least part of the struggle for democracy in America is to realize in life the long-promised full citizenship rights of the Negro people. We of the Communist Party have taken over and developed the honored tradition of the Abolitionists, whose work is not yet finished. Through our battles for Negro rights in a thousand places, through the Scottsboro and Hernon cases, we have earned the epithet from the Ku Klux Klan elements of being the "Negro Party." We are proud of that, because we know that only thus can we be truly the White Workers Party. It was Karl Marx who wrote, regarding our Civil War: "Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded."

14. The Rising Generation Can Help Transform the World

NEVER before in all history was there such an opportunity for the people, and especially the younger generation, to transform the world fully and completely into the sort of place which the best minds have dreamed about over the centuries.

Your generation, it is true, is threatened with the brutal and senseless slaughter of a new world war. My generation was similarly threatened. But there are tremendous differences, and most of them are in favor of your generation. My generation had only the most confused ideas of how to fight against the war-makers, and understood very little about the world in which we live. Your generation has a fairly clear understanding of the world, and knows much better who are the war-makers and how to fight them. And your generation has powerful forces consciously working with it—the Soviet Union, and the labor and people's democratic movements all over the world.

My generation was also dissatisfied with the world, and wanted to change it into something better. But it was very difficult to find out how we should go about that task. A multitude of advisers shouted their particular ideas at us, but there was little in our own experience or in the world of achievement about us, which could help us sift the false from the true. Only a fortunate few of us stumbled on the writings of Marx and Engels, and even then found them only in fragmentary and distorted translations.

Your generation has available a rich treasure of the writings of the best teachers of mankind, in authentic and verified texts. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, are at your free disposal. You have a thousand means of checking up on the operations of these teachings in the life of tens and hundreds of millions of people. You have available the experience of witnessing the rise of an entirely new civilization, in the land of socialism, the Soviet Union. You have available the history of the party that founded this new civilization, the Communist Party of the

Soviet Union. You are able to study the path by which humanity travels from the present to the future.

It can truly be said that your generation is fortunate, despite the terrible dangers that overhang the world, despite the difficult tasks to which you must turn your minds and hands. You have at your disposal those resources, the lack of which brought failure to my generation in America.

15. The Crime of Franklin D. Roosevelt

I HAVE been busy the last few days getting ready to go away to camp. My number came up and so I am having something like the experience of millions of Americans today. . . .

I am over the draft age, so they had to find a special reason for drafting me. . . .

They say that I am going because I committed a crime. . . . They say I used a fraudulent passport. It happens that the passport was in my own name and merely secured me entry into the United States to which I was completely entitled with or without a passport. Nobody was deceived, nobody injured.

But there are some false passports which do great injury. . . . If my kind of crime rates four years in prison, I wonder what should be the punishment for a man who got a false passport by deceiving the whole American people? I refer to Franklin D. Roosevelt, who got his passport for a third term by promising to keep America out of this imperialist war, and then violated that promise.

If my passport offense rates four years, what is the punishment that fits the crime of Franklin D. Roosevelt against the American people? I think the punishment that will inevitably be inflicted for that crime—the supreme punishment—will be written by history, which will write down that name as the man who betrayed the peace and prosperity of the American people.

16. Communists and the Defense of Popular Liberties

IT MIGHT be stated as a law of modern political development, based upon observation of the experience of all countries, that the first attacks upon democracy by those forces determined on its complete destruction always take the form of denial or limitation of democratic rights to Communists, and that these attacks then quickly extend to those who cooperated in outlawing the Communists, until nothing whatever is left of popular liberties or civil rights. This technique for the destruction of democracy was erected into a complete system under the self-styled "Anti-Comintern Axis," a system which, since the break-up of the axis, has been taken over by the British and French ruling classes, and is now very forcefully being propagated in the United States.

... there is not a fight for popular liberties which has failed to receive the loyal and self-sacrificing support of the Communists. And if the day should come when the cause of civil liberties has been abandoned by all other parties, I can assure you that the Communist Party will still stand and fight for the right and the opportunity for the people, the great majority, to control their own destinies in every way.

III. THE ROLE OF THE WORKERS

17. The Strategy of Reaction

THE basic theory formulated and worked out in detail, and clung to ever since without change by the Party of Privilege and Reaction, is that the rise of labor as a political power within each nation is a "seditious conspiracy," always fomented by an "alien power" and the work of "foreign agents," the proof being the international character of the modern labor and Communist movements. This theory reached its most complete development in the hands of Hitler, and by him was made the instrument whereby the British, French, and Ameri-

can bourgeoisies were enlisted to build up his power from nothing to where he felt able to challenge them all in a bold bid for world supremacy.

18. A Historic Achievement

THE most far-reaching and significant development in American life in the period reaching from the First World War down to today, when the U.S. has entered the Second World War, is the emergence of the *organized labor movement* as a mass phenomenon, as a decisive force in the life of the nation. The growth in *volume* of trade union membership, to its present figure of nine to ten millions, registers an advance in *quality* which marks the emergence of the working class as a conscious participant on the stage of history, a fundamental change in the relationship of classes.

19. Build the Trade Unions

THE trade unions are again coming forth as the most important and decisive factor in this struggle, in all its phases. Now more than ever before the trade unions must be extended and consolidated; must perfect their own inner democracy, so that the will of the broad rank and file will be truly reflected in a progressive, clear-headed and militant leadership; must rally around themselves the farmers, the Negroes, the youth, all the democratic organizations and masses of the country.

20. The Most Essential Foundation

THE constant and increasing struggle for labor organization, for higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions, is the most essential foundation also of the struggle for peace, and to defeat every new step to take us deeper into the war. It goes hand in hand with the unrelenting battle to preserve and extend popular democratic rights and civil liberties, for preserving public education from the warmongers and red-baiters, for a democratic people's culture.

21. The Workers and Farmers Must Look Only to Themselves

WE WARN the workers and farmers of America that neither of the major parties, nor their candidates, are worthy of the slightest confidence. Both are pledged to spend the life-blood of American youth and the sweat of American labor for the aggrandizement of Wall Street's profits and imperial world power. The turning of old rascals out will only put new rascals in. Whichever one holds power will be the immediate enemy which labor must fight and overcome, if labor would defend its rights, its living standards, and its peace.

22. A Proud Achievement

THE position won by our Party among the Negro masses carries with it corresponding responsibilities. The Negro people have learned to expect and demand from Communists the greatest sensitivity to their problems, the greatest energy in their defense, the closest solidarity in their struggles. We are proud of this position, we are proud of our pioneering work in the dark regions of the Solid South, we are proud to be spoken of as "the party of the Negroes." We will defend and advance this position at all costs.

23. The Communist Party

THE Communist Party grew up out of years of struggle and experience, participated in by hundreds of thousands and even millions of people. Its building was an arduous and difficult task, and it is only well begun. We set ourselves the task to win the respect and allegiance of the majority of the American people as the precondition for socialism in our country. We have complete confidence in our ultimate success.

24. Explain It to Us, Please

THE same gentlemen who howl about "bankruptcy" when it is a question of investing a few billions of dollars in houses and healthy, strong, well-fed and well-clothed men, women and children, are exactly the same ones who blithely, without a moment's hesitation, vote more billions for airplanes, battle-ships, bombs and tanks, the only possible use for which is in a foreign war; they all agree upon war plans that envisage that the United States will spend twenty billions of dollars in war the first year. When it comes to war, their fears of "bankruptcy" disappear in dreams of war-time profits. Their motto is: "Billions for war, but not one cent to raise the American standard of living."

Why do you say that this country and this people cannot afford to go to work producing everything the country needs? Explain it to us more simply, you rich and wise and good gentlemen in whose stewardship America with all its untold riches has been placed? Why is it that America can afford twelve million idle workers; can afford forty million ill-housed, ill-clothed and ill-fed families; can afford mines, mills and factories closed down and rusting; can afford billions of capital lying idle in the banks; can afford accumulating agricultural surpluses, and to pay farmers to produce less; can afford to play the game of war, and can spend many billions preparing for war—but such a country cannot, you say, afford to put these men to work, to put these idle resources to work, because it would bankrupt us? . . .

Perhaps, if we can force you to try to explain this riddle, America will begin to see that there is nothing wrong with the productive resources of our country, nothing wrong with the workers and farmers, but that the whole trouble arises from the economic royalists, who stand as a barrier between the workers and the country's economy, and refuse to allow them to come together for the enrichment of the country, because you first must have your profit, a blackmail against production which is dragging the people deeper and deeper into unemployment, misery, poverty—and now into war!

No, the one thing America cannot afford is this war, this insane and catastrophic crushing of the lives of the millions who *are* America.

IV. THE SOVIET UNION

25. A Great Shining Light

Now as never before, the Soviet Union emerges before the world in its magnificent role of liberator and protector of the toiling masses against the catastrophes of capitalism, oppression and imperialist war. The capitalist world has proved its incapacity to maintain peace, and has demonstrated that its ruling classes and leaders do not want to maintain peace. The capitalist world is plunging into its deepest and most profound crisis. In sharpest contrast, the Soviet Union has maintained peace for its own people, and has saved a series of small nations from the disasters of war; it has turned the tide for the liberation of the Chinese people from their invaders; and it has done this on the basis of its own great and growing moral force, inner strength and clear policy, without drawing the sword or shedding a drop of blood.

The Soviet Union arose, twenty-two years ago, on the basis of the struggle for peace and against imperialist war. It registers its great achievements today in the same cause. It stands as a great shining light, the supreme example, showing the suffering masses of all lands that they are not fated to helpless disposal at the hands of their war-making rulers, that they can take their own destiny into their own hands, that given the will and the understanding they are an invincible power that can bring peace and socialism to the whole world.

26. The Reason for the Difference

WHEN we search for the explanation of why the United States, together with most of the world, is slipping backward economically, while the Soviet Union forges ahead so

magnificently, and emerges as a giant of strength and progress, we are finally forced to find the answer in the difference between two systems of social organization, the difference between capitalism and socialism. It is not a difference in technique, for the Soviet Union is still behind the United States and Germany in this regard, as in the productivity per worker, and is *still learning from us* in this field. It is not a difference in the human material, for Americans are much better equipped on the whole for industrial advancement, and have less difficulties to overcome. It is not a difference in history and background, for this is all to the advantage of America. It is not a difference in natural resources, for the Soviet Union has hardly begun to exploit its enormous reserves, while the United States is not making use of those it has already developed. No, the difference in results can be explained by nothing else but the difference between capitalism and socialism.

27. Why We Should Learn from the Soviet Union

IN THE United States, our accumulated wealth and national production is still two to three times as great as that of the Soviet Union, which has a population almost half again as large. And yet, for all our greater wealth and productivity, two-thirds of our population is excluded from any secure place at the economic table of the nation, while one-third actually lives on makeshift and charity, ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed, in the very shadow of enormous stores of wealth that are unused. In the Soviet Union, in contrast, the entire population is productively employed, the general standard of life has increased about five-fold in ten years, and the whole population lives in comparative security. In our country, the educational system is progressively deteriorating. . . . In the Soviet Union, in contrast, they have multiplied the educational and cultural budget more than twenty-fold in ten years. So that even with only a fraction of the available national resources, as compared with the U.S., the Soviet Union has brought to its population a life of hope and progress and security, which has been inexorably fading out of the American scene since 1929.

Surely there is something new, vital and important in the Soviet Union, which American workers, and the American toiling people generally, should be deeply interested in.

Is it not within the realm of possibility that we might be able to learn something from the Soviet Union that we could turn to good advantage in our own country?

Ah, but it is precisely this modest suggestion which, above all, causes our newspapers to become apoplectic with rage. It is this suggestion in my Boston speech which was the real reason why the *Herald Tribune* spoke ominously about Section 4 of the Federal Criminal Code, and ten years' imprisonment, and "orders from Moscow," and "agents of a foreign principal," and all the rest of it.

V. SOCIALISM — THE WAY OUT

28. The Final Victory Will Belong to the People

THE economic royalists and their servants are riding high, and gleefully congratulate themselves that the masses have been hogtied, that nothing can now spoil their plans for a great imperialist speculation with the blood and lives of the American people. But the fight is only begun. Notwithstanding all difficulties and hardships, the American people cannot forever be tricked, bulldozed and suppressed. They are fighting back with increasing numbers, energy, intelligence and determination. And the final victory will belong to the people.

29. The Hidden Meaning

How can we explain the reactionary hysteria that is gripping the American bourgeoisie in face of the imperialist war? They know quite well that the conscious and clear-headed movement for socialism in this country is still quite small in relation to the whole population. Why then do they display

such fear of the Communist Party which heads this movement? The answer is: Because they know quite well the extremely precarious situation of European capitalism, they know that this war is placing the socialist revolution on the order of the day there as a practical question. They are preparing to come to the rescue of their class brothers in Europe against the rise of the revolutionary working class. They know that America itself, despite the political backwardness as yet of our working class, is technically, objectively, the country which is the most ripe, the most prepared, for a quick transition to socialism, for which it lacks only the understanding and the will of the masses to that goal.

30. The Future Belongs to the People

A GREAT wave of reaction has engulfed America. In appearance it is overwhelmingly strong, and we are a puny handful who stand up and brave the lightning of their storms, apparently doomed to utter annihilation. That is the appearance. But behind this surface appearance the reality is something else. This great gathering of the forces of reaction, this unlimited offensive against everything that is honest and decent in American life is a sign not of the strength of reaction in America; it is a sign that the whole ruling class today is becoming conscious of its doom. It is a sign that the American bourgeoisie has read its own death warrant and is in a hysterical fit of resistance to the inevitable. And we, though small in numbers today—and the future always first presents itself not with the majority but with a small minority—we represent the future of America. We represent the American search for truth; we represent the American tradition of democracy, of government of, by and for the people. We represent honest thought and culture; we represent the search for beauty; we represent the creative power of the masses. And that is why the future belongs to us.

31. A New System of Economy and Government

UNLESS a new economic foundation is found, democracy, already sick unto death from malnutrition, will surely die. But such a new economic foundation can be found only by limiting, modifying, and finally abolishing that capitalistic economy and the system of rule raised by it. To be free, the people must own and control their own economy, but in this age of modern, large-scale industry, they can own their own economy, not through individual private ownership, but only through collective public ownership.

The task of finding a solution to this problem can no longer be postponed. Monopoly capitalism has already reached the point in its development at which either it will crush the people or the people must abolish it and find new safeguards to their welfare and security, a new system of economy and of government.

32. The "American Way of Life"

THIS "capitalistic economy" has indeed dominated America more and more since our establishment as a nation. It made the United States the "richest country in the world." But who has these riches? Is it the American people? Unfortunately, no. The mass of the people, those who do the work and produce the riches, have for generations been receiving proportionately less and less, and during the past ten years especially, have been receiving absolutely less and less. The rich are growing richer, the poor are growing poorer; the number of the rich is constantly decreasing; the number of the poor is constantly increasing. The "American way of life," as the Bankers Association understands it, has put our country under the absolute control of a handful of monopoly capitalists.

33. The Two Systems

CAPITALISM is, and can only be, the ownership and control of the national economy, and everything that goes with it, by a small class of parasitical monopolists. That is the root of

crises, unemployment, and all the social ills of mankind; it is the root of militarism and war.

Socialism is the only alternative to capitalism. It is the transfer of the national economy to the ownership and control of the entire people, incorporated into the working class, with the full utilization and development of the national economy for the benefit of all.

Socialism has been proved to be eminently practical. While the capitalist world is falling to pieces, the great socialist Soviet Union is forging ahead to prosperity, security and well being for two hundred millions of people. It is multiplying its national wealth at a rate unheard of in previous history, and distributing its benefits over the whole population. It is doing this in a hostile and warlike world, without assistance, and keeping itself out of the war through a powerful modern defense coupled with a vigilant and intelligent policy of good neighborly peace.

34. . . . As the Sun Conspires Against the Darkness . . .

THE absurd lie is spread against us that we Communists conspire to commit sabotage and "fifth column" work to achieve our ends. What nonsense this is! Such methods are not ours. Why should we dream that any puny efforts of a few individuals at destruction could have any importance in a world where the monster powers of the capitalist governments are devoted to destruction on the most gigantic scale? We are not such fools. The destruction of the capitalist world is being carried out under the direction of Hitler and Churchill, of Mussolini and Pétain, of Franco and the Mikado—and now of Roosevelt. We Communists are not entering into that competition. We have other work to do, to explain to the masses the reasons behind all this senseless destruction and disaster, to show them the way out of this chaos, to prepare them for the construction of the new world—the world of socialism, of the common ownership of the country's economy and its operation by and for the masses of the people. As old Wilhelm Liebknecht answered the Kaiser's court in 1872, replying to similar

charges, we Communists conspire only in the open, as the sun conspires against darkness and night.

35. America Is Entitled to the Best of Everything . . .

OUR program for socialism is organically linked up with, is a necessary outgrowth from, the traditional American democracy as founded by Thomas Jefferson, whose political descendants we are. Let those who try to set off Jefferson against Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, who see in socialism something "imported from abroad," as "alien," be reminded that, in the same sense, Jefferson was also "importing" the theories of democracy from Europe to America, where they found their first and best realization of that period. Jefferson's greatness arose directly from his all-embracing search through the entire world of thought for the *best from everywhere*, from all lands. Just as America's people became strong and great because it was compounded of the most vigorous and dynamic vanguard drawn from all countries of the Old World, so American democratic philosophy and program were fed by the best thinkers of all the world, and were able to give leadership to the whole world because of that fact. We are following closely in Jefferson's footsteps, therefore, when we reject all narrow nationalism of thought and program, when we range the whole world to find the best from everywhere. Like Jefferson, we believe that America is entitled to the best of everything, whatever its point of origin.

36. Socialism and the American Tradition

THE capitalist press, the radio and the pulpit are unitedly trying to convince the American people that the very idea of socialism is alien to the American tradition and American habits of thought. But that is not true; it is most profoundly false. The Declaration of Independence, which substituted the sovereignty of the people for the sovereignty of the King, also transferred the King's final ownership of the national economy ("eminent domain") to the people as a whole; there-

fore, it is a basic proposition in the common law of America that all property is only held in trust by individual owners on behalf of the people as a whole. That trust is valid only as long as it can be shown to conduce to the welfare of the people as a whole; when the people understand that the era of monopoly capitalism has long ago ended the time when private property in the national economy promoted their welfare, they will also remember the ancient and honorable tradition of "eminent domain," or the final ownership that is vested in the nation as a whole. It was Abraham Lincoln who expressed that great American tradition in its most popular form, when he said: "This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it."

Socialism is neither more nor less than the taking possession of their country by the people, and operating its economy for the benefit of all, as the common property, through the people's institutions formed and adjusted to that purpose. Monopolistic capitalism, senile and decaying as it is today, is profoundly hostile and destructive to the American tradition, which can be protected and developed further only through socialism.

The Way Out . . .

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