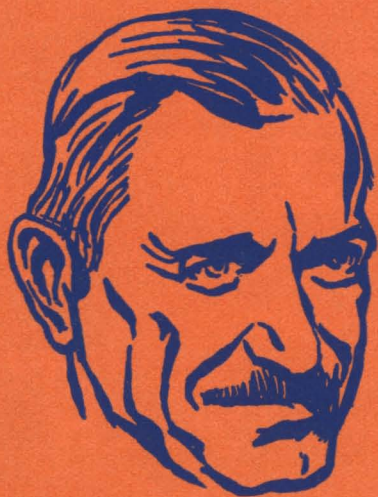


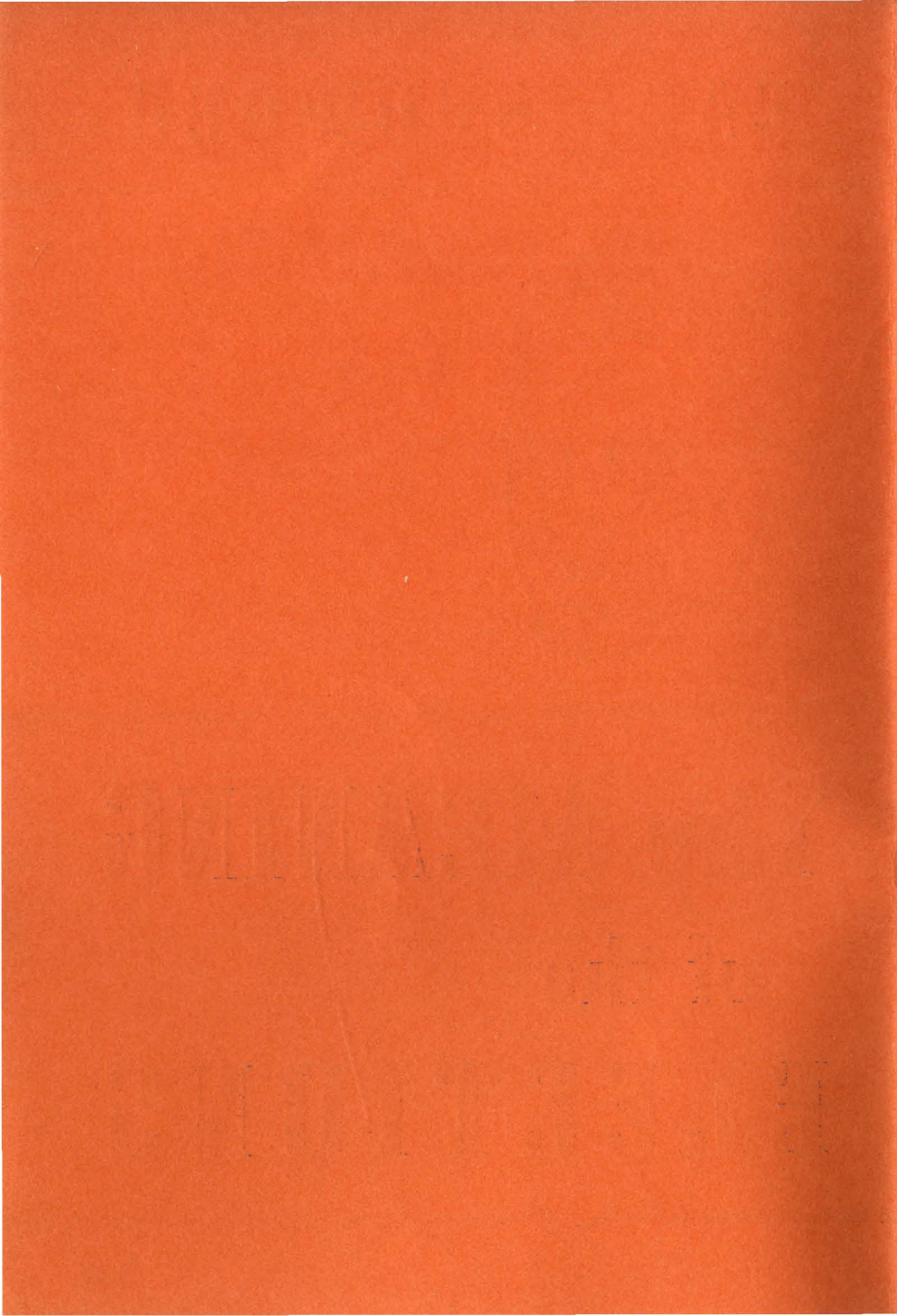
EARL BROWDER

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The MEANING
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ELECTIONS

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ELECTIONS

By **EARL BROWDER**

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS
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NOTE

This pamphlet consists of speeches and articles by Earl Browder, President of the Communist Political Association, dealing with the national elections of 1944.

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THE MEANING OF THE ELECTIONS

By EARL BROWDER

I. THE ELECTIONS AND THE WAR *

Our country is fighting its most deadly and dangerous war. Victory in Europe over Hitlerism is already guaranteed and in sight, but the cost of that victory in blood and lives is only now beginning to be paid by our American boys. In the Pacific the iron ring of Anglo-American sea power is inexorably closing in on the Japanese imperialist bandits, who are also being deprived of their greatest asset, their Nazi allies in Europe; but in the Pacific the main battles are still to be fought, the enemy still controls the coastal mainlands, and it is yet to be determined whether victory will be won in a year, or two, or three.

It is in such a moment of crisis in war, in the midst of deadly battles, that our country finds it necessary to carry through national elections which include the choosing of President and Vice-President for the next four years. I wish to discuss the elections in relation to the unfinished tasks of the war. It is very difficult for me to conceive how the elections can be sensibly discussed at all except in relation to the war and its problems.

It is evident, however, that some persons think that our elections have no relation to the war, and that they can be fought out in the old partisan manner, with unrestrained demagoguery, as if there were no war, or in complete disregard to the needs of the war.

* Address delivered at Chicago Stadium, September 24, 1944.

Among those who display this attitude are none other than two of the principal candidates, who aspire to the positions of President and Vice-President, Mr. Dewey and Mr. Bricker. I have been studying their speeches, their records, and their associates, with great care and detail, and I must say that, putting the case in the mildest and most restrained language, it does not appear that Mr. Dewey and Mr. Bricker are nearly so much concerned with the problems of winning the war as they are with winning the election; in fact, they seem to be so concentrated upon scoring points against their electoral opponents that they are quite careless of the war needs; they do not hesitate to obstruct and hinder the conduct of the war and endanger the victory.

DEWEY'S PLEDGE

Let us examine first the utterances of Mr. Dewey, without belittling the role of Mr. Bricker who is the favorite of the *Chicago Tribune* and Gerald L. K. Smith. Mr. Dewey evidently wished, last July, to avoid any appearance of meddling in the big problems of the war. To establish that point he went to the quite fantastic length, in his acceptance speech to the Republican convention, of pledging that if he were elected he would leave the conduct of the war entirely in the hands of the present commanders of the armed forces.

We will ignore, for the moment, the obvious fact that to actually carry out such a policy, which would deprive the military leaders of a civilian Commander-in-Chief, would in itself be the most fundamental change of America's whole war policy, depriving the military leaders of the foundation upon which they have been successfully operating. We will not take Mr. Dewey's words literally, but only interpret them as a pledge not to fundamentally alter the war policies established by President Roosevelt which have been so successful.

Yet even in this limited sense, Mr. Dewey has denied his own pledge in the most irresponsible manner. In his public proposal to the Quebec Conference that Gen. MacArthur be placed in supreme command of the whole Pacific, Mr. Dewey

tried to take over the role of Commander-in-Chief even without waiting for the little formality of being elected. If Mr. Dewey thinks that even as a candidate he can become the Commander-in-Chief, God only knows to what length his ambition might carry him if he should actually become President. Evidently his solemn pledge last July was only the double-talk of an ambitious aspirant for office.

Perhaps Mr. Dewey thought that his adventure into the Pacific war strategy was a blow only against President Roosevelt. But when he insinuated that MacArthur had been denied sufficient supplies for his Pacific war tasks, Mr. Dewey was challenging the whole basic strategy of the war, adopted by the Anglo-American Joint Command, of concentrating first to knock Hitler out of the war before proceeding with full force against the Japanese. Perhaps Mr. Dewey did not intend to raise this fundamental issue, but if that is the case it only discloses that he is completely ignorant of the nature of the war, that he is only debating like an irresponsible highschool boy, that he is more completely unfit for the presidency than anyone had suspected.

NO ISOLATED ERROR

Unfortunately, Mr. Dewey's double-talk on the military aspects of the war does not stand alone, and therefore cannot be dismissed as an isolated mistake. He has performed in the same manner in the questions of our country's diplomatic position in the war.

On the eve of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, of the representatives of America, Britain, and the Soviet Union, Mr. Dewey issued a public declaration of lack of confidence in our Allies, accusing them of planning to use that conference for the execution of some vague, unspecified, but horrible crimes against humanity. When a sharp protest arose among his own loyal followers against this damaging irresponsibility, Mr. Dewey ran for help—of all men—to Wendell Willkie, who had even been excluded from the Republican Convention by Dewey's backers.

Mr. Willkie displayed uncommon charity in helping Dewey out of that hole, but more important, he displayed a sense of responsible patriotism when he accompanied his help with a public rebuke, pointing out that he, a private citizen, had experienced no difficulty in obtaining in Washington the information that refuted Mr. Dewey's professed fears, and that he, Willkie, considered it important not to raise suspicions gratuitously among the Allies. Mr. Dewey thereupon proceeded to appropriate for himself, through his emissary and prospective Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, the prospective credit for any achievements that might come out of the conference he had done his best to wreck, while leaving himself free to attack the conference again at any time in the future.

Indeed, Dewey's running-mate Bricker only last week, with the conference still at work, put out the slogan: "We want no Dumbarton Oaks secret conferences," without a word of rebuke from Dewey. *This is unprincipled double-talk. This is irresponsible playing with our country's national interests out of the narrowest partisan motives.*

AGAINST THE COALITION

Behind this negative attitude of Dewey toward the three-power conference at Dumbarton Oaks lies a deep-seated hostility against our war alliance. Dewey has never changed the opinion he expressed in 1940, when he declared: "A conspicuous and most unfortunate departure was the recognition by the New Deal of Soviet Russia. . . . We need no such partnership. With the world as it is today, we can afford no more fuzzy-minded departures from the established course of our foreign policy."

In 1943, at the Republican conference on Mackinac Island, Mr. Dewey renewed this expression of policy by proposing an Anglo-American alliance, pointedly omitting the Soviet Union. This is not a pro-British attitude, however, but is equally anti-British as well as anti-Soviet. It is a reflection of the Hoover-Gibson policy of subordinating and mastering the British by driving a wedge between Britain and the Soviet

Union. Both Herbert Hoover and Hugh Gibson are, by the way, confidential advisers of Dewey, and Gibson is his neighbor at Pawling, New York, in frequent consultation with him.

Mr. Dewey and his principal advisers are fundamentally opposed to the whole concept of a long-time policy of cooperation and alliance of the three great powers to jointly lead the world to victory and a peace that will last for generations. They are profoundly antagonistic to the principles established at the Teheran Conference last December, and never miss an opportunity to sneer at, undermine, and belittle the Teheran concord.

WEAKENING OUR COUNTRY

It is obvious that if Dewey and Bricker were elected this would mean a profound change in America's foreign relations. Both Britain and the Soviet Union know this. They know that in such an eventuality they can no longer depend upon the United States as before in carrying through the war and organizing a long-time peace. Thus Dewey is weakening the United Nations, and thereby weakening our country, at the very crisis of the war.

Dewey and Bricker are making a major issue against Roosevelt that the Communists are supporting him. Dewey even made the public demand that Communists should be driven out of American public life. This tactic, which is exactly the same as Hitler's weapon which destroyed France and brought him the conquest of most of Europe, is equally as dangerous for America.

There are, fortunately, many signs to show that Americans of all classes are learning to free themselves from the Hitlerite cult of anti-Communism. Last Wednesday night I had an illuminating experience which I want to share with you. I attended a banquet in the Hotel Commodore, New York City, at the invitation of a committee headed by a big capitalist, the president of the United States Lines. It was a gathering of the three main factors in America's tremendous shipping effort, the capitalists and management, the governmental officials

charged with responsibility in this field, and the leaders of the labor movement. The occasion was a testimonial to Ferdinand Smith and the National Maritime Union.

The day before the banquet a local newspaper, our New York equivalent for your own *Chicago Tribune*, published a sensational exposure story to the effect that Mr. Smith, main guest of honor, and Mr. Curran, president of the union and toastmaster of the banquet, were Communists. The newspaper predicted that the capitalists and government officials would not attend the banquet as advertised, because surely they must have been ignorant of the terrible fact that they were associated with Communists.

“SO WHAT!”

Well, the banquet opened with everyone on hand and an overflow crowd. The first speaker was Mr. Basil Harris, president of the United States Lines. He made a speech which went something like this, and I am quoting from memory. He said that the shipping industry had been faced with tremendous tasks and difficulties in carrying out its part in the war; that these problems had been solved magnificently by the joint efforts of owners and management, the government and the union; that a new and very valuable relationship had been built up between management and labor, in arriving at which the union leaders had been among the most vigorous and helpful participants; that he hoped this new cooperative relationship would be maintained not only in the war but also be extended into the postwar period; that he was proud to be associated with these union leaders and to pay tribute to their service to the nation.

He then said: “Yesterday a newspaper representative called me up and asked me if I were not withdrawing from this banquet. He said surely you didn’t know these men are notorious Communists. I answered him that, of course, I am not withdrawing from the banquet. You say these men are Communists? So what! They have been doing a magnificent job

for the war and the industry, and I don't care what their politics may be."

There were scores of shipowners and shipping managers present at that banquet. One and all they applauded Mr. Harris' speech. Not only that, but when a seaman told them that the notorious Communist Earl Browder was present, they insisted that they wanted to meet me too, and I made friendly contacts among them, and an agreement that at a later time I would meet with them and discuss the problems of our country and the world. Doubtless the *Chicago Tribune* and Mr. Dewey will soon be accusing me that I am selling out the workers to the capitalists, that I have been corrupted by their fine banquets and swanky hotels. We will have to learn to take that as it comes, just as we learned to laugh at their warnings against us as terrible revolutionists.

A CLASSICAL ANSWER

That eminent capitalist, the president of the United States Lines, has given the most correct and classical answer to the whole Dewey-Tribune cry about the Communists supporting President Roosevelt. Communists? So what! The hope of the world today lies in this fact, that not only is Hitler being smashed on the battlefields, but that the Hitler spirit designed to divide the world into anti-Communists and Communists fighting one another to the death, has been defeated in the minds and hearts of the peoples all over the earth.

Communists are the leaders of the Soviet Union and the great Red Army which gave Hitlerism its mortal blow on the Eastern Front. So what! Is there any American who wishes to refuse the help to this mighty ally because of that?

Communists take part in the great Yugoslav Liberation Movement, along with all other democratic parties, and a Communist, Marshal Tito, heads their army that is driving Hitler out of Yugoslavia. So what! Is there any American today who dares say King Peter was wrong in finally accepting Marshal Tito as the leader in Yugoslavia, or that Churchill

and Roosevelt were wrong in ditching the traitor Mikhailovitch and giving aid to Tito?

Communists are in the French Provisional Government, and the French fighting forces that are fighting beside the Yanks in France, and making it easier to mop up the enemy. So what! Doesn't every American know that these Communists have helped to reduce American casualties, shorten the war and give promise of a new and stabilized Europe, that these Communists are also our allies and friends, without which we would be much poorer?

Communists are in the new Italian government, which is helping to drive the Nazis out of northern Italy, and it was the Communist Togliatti who reconciled the plans of the Italian democratic coalition with those of the British-American occupation forces. So what! Is not every intelligent American happy that the Italian Communists who learned to fight fascists in 25 years of bitter experience, are on our side?

Communists are in the new Romanian government, which took that country out of the war on Hitler's side, and put it into the war on the side of the United Nations. So what! Is there any American who dares to say that the Communists should be driven out of the public life of Romania, and that country thereby thrown back into Hitler's possession?

THE QUESTION OF CHINA

Communists are leading the most effective armies fighting the Japanese on the mainland of China. So what! Does that mean that Americans should encourage and support those Chungking leaders who are diverting their armies away from fighting the Japanese in order to blockade the Communists, who are insisting that the Communist-led armies should be reduced from a half-million soldiers to only a hundred thousand, who want to put them under command of such generals as those who just capitulated to the Japanese in front of Kweilin?

Let us pause on the problems of China, and examine them a little more deeply. The American Government is exerting

its influence in China, from consideration of the needs of the war, in the direction of dissolving the rigid monopoly of power in Chungking, held in reactionary hands, and bringing a measure of democracy and national unity into China at least sufficient to release China's fighting forces for war against the Japanese. Such conservative newspapers as the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune* (the latter a supporter of Dewey), have editorially declared that what China requires for the most efficient conduct of the war is a coalition government of all parties including the Chinese Communists. Because that has not been achieved, Chinese armies are going from one defeat to another, the American air-base at Kweilin has been lost, and the Chungking regime has resorted to the expedient of shooting its own generals for treason after the loss of battles instead of before.

Tell me, my friends, do you really think that Mr. Dewey will give proper direction to America's war effort in China, and help bring unity into that harassed country, if he should win the election in America on the issue that Roosevelt is unfit because the Communist support him? Do you think that Mr. Dewey, who carries the flag of anti-Communism, can successfully guide our country's relations with Europe, in every country of which Communists will be essential partners in the democratic coalitions forming their government? Do you think that Mr. Dewey can properly guide our own domestic relations, here at home, when his agents are trying to break-up labor-management banquets and all cooperative relations on the basis of the war-cry of "Down with the Communists"?

Of course, I am aware that in the past two weeks Mr. Dewey has come forth, if one could take his words at their face value, as the real champion of the New Deal, which he accuses President Roosevelt of botching and deserting. Mr. Dewey, in his newly-found radicalism, is now far to the left of Roosevelt, so far as words can take him there. He is ready to promise everything and anything which his public-opinion polls tell him the people want. That proves something. But I am afraid that what it really proves is that Mr. Dewey wants very

much to be elected and that he is not too particular about the means to be used to achieve that end. I wouldn't be surprised if before Nov. 7, Mr. Dewey comes out for the Townsend Plan of thirty dollars every Thursday for all citizens over 60 years of age.

DEWEY DOUBLE-TALK

In all this Dewey radicalism, however, the main feature is the typical Dewey double-talk. There are at least two jokers in the deck from which he deals, if not more. His reactionary backers and associates know this better than we do, and that is why they will never desert Dewey no matter how wild his promises grow.

One joker is the states' rights platform, whereby most of these matters are turned over to the 48 separate states to be dealt with in 48 different ways; the second joker is the Dewey pledge that when he occupies the President's chair, if such a disaster is to be inflicted upon our country, he is going to delegate and distribute the presidential powers among the still-unknown members of the Dewey cabinet, with full powers in each field to the cabinet member without control or interference from Dewey. These two jokers guarantee that Dewey can never be held to responsibility for any promise he may make. It is the men who will choose Dewey's cabinet for him who will control America if Dewey should be elected.

What an interesting indoor sport it is to guess who are the men who might make up a Dewey cabinet—if and when! Cordell Hull might be replaced by Mr. Dulles, the "most highly paid lawyer in the profession," attorney for some of the most powerful international cartels. Mr. Morgenthau might be replaced by Winthrop W. Aldrich, president of one of the greatest banks and the avowed enemy of the Bretton Woods Conference proposals for expanding world trade after the war and stabilizing world currencies. Frances Perkins might give way to John L. Lewis, the most powerful of Dewey's "Labor" friends whose number can be counted on

one hand without the thumb. Mr. Ickes would probably be superseded by Herbert Hoover, whose qualifications are so well-known to all Americans.

These are not wild guesses, these are probabilities. It is such men who would share the dismembered presidential powers under a Dewey administration. These are the men who would interpret and apply the generous promises of Dewey's campaign speeches, together with those Congressmen who for years have formed a bi-partisan bloc to hinder and sabotage President Roosevelt's policies, a bloc of Dewey-Hoover Republicans and Southern polltax democrats.

BROWDER NOT A CANDIDATE

I see that the *Chicago Tribune*, the foremost newspaper campaigner for Dewey and Bricker, is energetically carrying on an election struggle against Browder. I suppose Col. McCormick has figured it out that it will be easier to defeat Browder than to defeat Roosevelt. That calculation is true enough so far as it goes, but it ignores a few factors in the world which make the picture somewhat different. Browder is not a candidate in this election, and the Communist Party was dissolved as testimony that there will be no Communist candidate in the foreseeable future.

Nor is Communism an issue, directly or indirectly, but only the problems of winning the war and securing a long-time peace through cooperation between nations. *The real significance of the Chicago Tribune playing with my name is this, that it becomes a symbol of the issue whether America is to strive for unity within itself after the war, and whether America is to cooperate with a world in which Communists play a large and growing role.*

The *Tribune* and Dewey aspire to purge Communists from the world. That is what they mean by harping on my name and making it a national issue. But on that issue they will be defeated, and the issue is not 'for or against Browder or Communism': it is 'for or against unity and cooperation, national and international, for victory and a durable peace.'

The *Tribune* and the Dewey campaigners are making big medicine of the fact that I have been in prison, and more than once. I will waste none of your time in answering such silly propaganda, except to recall a little story I read in my youth about two great Americans. The famous Thoreau was in jail; he had refused to pay taxes as a means of focussing attention upon a burning public issue of the day, and he was thrown into the hoose-gow. Ralph Waldo Emerson visited him in his prison, and exclaimed reproachfully: "Thoreau, what are you doing in jail?" Thoreau answered with equal reproach: "Emerson, what are you doing out of jail?"

THE TRIBUNE'S TREASON

Without in the slightest degree comparing the Tribune with Emerson, and varying the application to quite different circumstances, when the Tribune raises the question of what I was doing in prison, I can answer: I was not training Donald Day over twenty years to become Hitler's radio propagandist in the last desperate battle of mankind to crush his hordes. That job was being done by Col. McCormick. I was not publishing the secret plans of the United States Army four days before Pearl Harbor. That job was done by Col. McCormick. I was not defending the 29 seditionists and Hitler-agents now on trial in Washington. That job was done by Col. McCormick. I was not publishing the list of Japanese ships that had been secured by the U. S. Navy, and thereby warning the enemy that America had this information, and cutting off our source of further information. That job was done by Col. McCormick. I was not broadcasting every Nazi-inspired rumor against the war and against our war leadership, and stirring up discontent against our war effort. That job was done by Col. McCormick.

When Col. McCormick and his *Tribune* raise the question of what I was doing in jail, I raise the question before the country, what is Col. McCormick doing out of jail? McCormick is a traitor to America in the midst of our most dangerous and bloody war, and the only proper place for such men at

such a moment is behind lock and key. So much for the *Chicago Tribune*.

THE PAC

The GOP campaigners are displaying a marvellous spirit of solicitude toward the dangers that are threatening the Democratic Party. They literally moan with anguish at the thought that the Democratic Party is being "captured" by the PAC, and that the PAC is being "captured" by the Communists. They promise that they will not fight the Democratic Party at all if only it will repudiate the PAC and stop cooperating with it; they forget to say that then they would not need to fight it because it would be already defeated.

Of course, all serious adults understand this classical maneuver of "divide and conquer." It is all too simple. And all too silly. What nonsense it is talking about someone capturing Roosevelt; the reactionaries have been trying to do it for twelve years, but no one succeeded yet; even Hirohito dreamed of it, with no more success. What nonsense to talk to Mayor Kelly of Chicago about someone capturing him; he knows, and the world knows, that he can pretty well take care of himself. What nonsense to talk to the AFL about the danger that PAC is going to capture it, or shove it into a corner, when everyone knows who wants to that the AFL non-partisan political committees are in many places, notably Chicago, doing an even better job than the PAC on behalf of Roosevelt and Truman. What nonsense to try to frighten the PAC with the old moth-eaten "red bogey" of the Communists capturing them, at a time when the only rivalry within the labor movement that amounts to anything is on the question of who will do the best job of getting the voters registered and out to the polls to vote.

A POLICY OF VICTORY

Roosevelt and Truman are the candidates not alone of the Democratic Party, but of the great body of independent voters who make up about one-third of the American electorate.

They do not need to enter into any competition of demagogic promises with Dewey and Bricker, because they stand on the solid platform of a working policy which is in action every day and has proved itself indeed. It is a policy which has finally brought America through its most dangerous days, to the point where victory over the fascist enemies of mankind is already in sight. It has built a solid foundation of unity with our allies at the Moscow and Teheran Conferences. It has welded an unprecedented national unity within our country, brought labor and capital closer together than they ever were before, and built a foundation of unity that can be extended into the peace. It has waged a great war with a minimum of hardships upon the civilian population, and with a maximum of efficiency in the command of the armed forces. It has revealed the marvelous productive powers of America to all American citizens, and has begun to prepare the plans which will keep those productive forces in full operation in peacetime. It is laying the foundations for a future world order, in the work of the international food conference, of the relief and rehabilitation conference, of the world trade and finance conference at Bretton Woods, and currently in the preparations for an international security organization for the post-war world at Dumbarton Oaks.

These are candidates and this is a policy in support of which the whole nation can and must unite, capitalists and workers, farmers and professional people, Republicans and Democrats and Communists, in a great national unity of Americans that will usher in victory and a land of peace and prosperity in a world that is gaining the same blessings that America has won.

II. CANDIDATES AND ISSUES *

Friends and Fellow Americans:

At a moment when millions of American boys are engaged in deadly battle with our enemies, the Axis enemies of all mankind, in France, Belgium, Holland, Italy, on the soil of Germany itself, and in the vast expanses of the Pacific; at a moment when, by close cooperation with our allies American policy has provided the guarantee of final victory with its early prospect in Europe—at such a moment it is difficult to understand how any responsible American can discuss the current elections except with the single purpose of contributing to the quickest victory and the most secure establishment of a long-time peace. Every other consideration, every other interest must be pushed aside if it fails in the slightest degree to contribute to this supreme cause or hinders its triumph.

ONLY VICTORY IS INDISPENSABLE

It has become obvious, however, that not everyone agrees with the need to subordinate the elections and their conduct to the requirements of full victory in the war. Candidate Dewey and his partisans are developing the struggle for office as though it is more important for Dewey to win the election, by whatever means, than it is for America to win the war. Candidate Dewey is indeed putting himself forward as the indispensable man; not as indispensable for victory, but as more indispensable than victory itself.

* Address delivered at Madison Square Garden, New York, September 28, 1944.

It is my opinion that America today considers victory is the only indispensable thing, and that all men will be ruthlessly judged by their contribution to victory, by their willingness to put everything aside that does not contribute to victory. Every one who speaks out in this election should first of all apply this supreme rule to himself and his group before he dares to demand it of others.

I am spokesman for America's organized Communists. I am authorized to speak for no one else. We are relatively a very small group in American political life, an infinitesimal minority. But every group, however small, just as every individual, has the same supreme duty to make its complete and unconditional contribution to victory. We must give not only our lives, but we must be ready also to sacrifice our prejudices, our ideologies, and our special interests. We American Communists have applied this rule first of all to ourselves.

We know that Hitler and the Mikado calculated to split the United Nations on the issue of Communism and anti-Communism; we know that the enemy calculated to split America on this issue in the current elections, and thus prepare our country for withdrawal from the war and a compromise peace. We therefore set ourselves, as our special supreme task, to remove the Communists and Communism from this election campaign as in any way an issue, directly or indirectly.

To this end we unhesitatingly sacrificed our electoral rights in this campaign, by refraining from putting forward our own candidates; we went to the length of dissolving the Communist Party itself for an indefinite period in the future; we declared our readiness to loyally support the existing system of private enterprise which is accepted by the overwhelming majority of Americans, and to raise no proposals for any fundamental changes which could in any way endanger the national unity; we went out into the trade unions and the masses of the people, straightforwardly and frankly using all our influence to firmly establish this policy of national unity; we helped with all our strength to restrain all impulses toward strike movements among the workers, and to prepare the workers for

a continuation of national unity after the war. We have conclusively established our policy not only in words but in deeds.

THE ANTI-COMMUNIST CRUSADE

Despite all this, however, Hitler's and the Mikado's ambition to embitter our American election campaign with the wildest and most irresponsible forms of the anti-Communist crusade, is in process of being realized. From the beginning of the campaign it has been the chief issue in the speeches and declarations of Candidate Bricker and of Mr. Dewey's national manager, Mr. Brownell. On Monday night in Oklahoma City Mr. Dewey himself took up the banner and waved it wildly, as his chief reply to the President's first campaign speech on Saturday. On Tuesday in Sapulpa he spoke extemporaneously, and according to the reporters mentioned my name as an ex-convict and common criminal whose release from prison Mr. Dewey intended to make a central issue in the election campaign.

Mr. Dewey, as an experienced Prosecuting Attorney, knows full well that he is falsely and knowingly conveying to the public an opinion which is contrary to facts and contrary to the record. He knows that in the Supreme Court of the United States it was established, in the record, and not disputed by anyone, that my acts which were subjected to such extraordinarily minute examination over many years, were (and I quote from Document 287, entitled *In the Supreme Court of United States. October Term, 1940, pages 13 and 14*): "Acts not in themselves wrong" and that "did not involve moral turpitude." Mr. Dewey, the Prosecuting Attorney, knows full well the significance of the declaration in the Supreme Court, that there was complete failure to establish any "moral turpitude" in my record, and he knows full well that he is endeavoring to make the public believe falsely that my name is the embodiment of moral turpitude.

Mr. Dewey knows full well that the Supreme Court record gives him the lie, when he makes the public believe that I was in prison for acts injurious to the Government or any individ-

ual; he fully knows that the Supreme Court record says: "It was not a common law crime; it does not injure the one to whom it is exhibited; and it does not directly injure the Government."

Mr. Dewey knows he is guilty of misrepresentation when he infers that my imprisonment is proof of "evil purposes" on my part, for he knows that the Supreme Court established the fact that my conduct "must be construed as having no implication of evil purpose."

Mr. Dewey is fully aware that my case was a classical example of that legal paradox, in which a prison sentence would have been cancelled if it had carried any burden of imputation of evil purposes against myself; and that it was sustained only by purging it, in the Supreme Court, of all such implications, and giving to me a complete absolution from all evil purpose or moral turpitude.

FALSE PRETENSES

Mr. Dewey knows all this. He attempts, however, to convey exactly the opposite opinion to the country, while making my name a central issue in a national election from which I have withdrawn as, in any sense, a candidate. It is obvious that Mr. Dewey is himself seeking votes under false pretenses. It is not my record that is important for the public; I am not a candidate. But Mr. Dewey is a candidate, and his misuse of my record, to rouse prejudice and influence votes, is important. It is, to say the least, unethical.

Candidate Dewey is not always so sensitively opposed to "ex-convicts." In fact, Mr. Dewey maintains a very notorious "ex-convict" in a key post in his own political machine. I refer to Mr. Edward A. Rumely, who was convicted and sent to prison in the last war under the Trading With the Enemy Act, having used some million and a half dollars of enemy money to buy a New York newspaper. Mr. Rumely is at this moment certified to a Federal Grand Jury for indictment for refusing to disclose to a Congressional Committee the sources of money he is spending on behalf of Candidate Dewey. Mr.

Rumely's leader is loyally standing by his "ex-convict" supporter, and is the most confidential friend of Rumely's immediate employer, Mr. Frank Gannett. Evidently it does not injure a man's political and social relations with Candidate Dewey to have a record of conviction of trading with the enemy, Germany.

If Mr. Dewey was going to cling so tightly to his assistant, Mr. Rumely, he would have been better advised not to raise the issue of "ex-convicts."

It would be a mistake, however, to describe Mr. Dewey's manipulations with the anti-Communist banner as unprincipled. No, unfortunately, the situation is worse than that. Candidate Dewey and his high advisers have evidently, with cold calculation, decided to guide their campaign upon certain principles. They are the principles of the "anti-Communist crusade," the same which Hitler institutionalized in his notorious "*Antikomintern*," which is the name of the Fifth Column.

THE REAL PROBLEMS

Does America need an "anti-Communist crusade" now? Will it help us win the war? Will it help us in the great effort, more difficult than winning the war, to organize the world for a long peace of generations after this war is won? Those are the real problems which Candidate Dewey has raised before America by his manipulating with my name and waving the flag of anti-Communism. They are indeed serious questions, the most serious of any questions facing the world. America cannot afford to take the wrong road in facing these problems. Our whole war effort and the peace to follow are at stake.

In order to see just what Candidate Dewey's course leads into for our country, let us suppose that the highly improbable happens, that a majority of American voters on Nov. 7 vote for Dewey because they have accepted his frantic warnings of the danger of Communism, and his program of "driving the Communists out of public life," his principle that it is im-

moral and dangerous to cooperate with Communists. What effect will that have on the conduct of the war?

That would be a message to our great ally, the Soviet Union, which is predominantly led by Communists, that America disapproved in principle of cooperation between the two countries, accepted it only as an unfortunate necessity of war, and was determined to bring it to an end as soon as possible.

It would be a message to all the countries of Europe, where the democratic coalitions of the people, fighting to drive-out the Nazis and rebuild their countries, one and all include the Communists even in their highest leadership and cabinets, that the people of America disapprove in principle of their collaboration with Communists, and disapprove of it so violently that American voters have removed their greatest leader from office on the mere suspicion that he holds a cooperative attitude toward Communists. It would be a call from America to France, Italy, Belgium, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Poland, to break up their existing national unity formations, to drive out the Communists from their public life, and to drive out all those who want to cooperate with the Communists. It would, in short, be an American invitation to Europe to plunge immediately or soon into the most devastating civil war.

It would be a message to China, withdrawing and cancelling the great efforts which our Government has been making to obtain a settlement of China's internal dissensions, which are endangering the whole Pacific war and costing mounting numbers of American lives; it would tell Chungking that America does not wish the formation of a coalition government of national unity in that country, that this proposal was one of President Roosevelt's "mistakes" which caused him to lose the elections.

It would be an announcement to the whole world that America has turned her back upon the whole idea of a world peace organization, which can become a reality only by the establishment of the principle of collaboration between non-Communists and Communists, and the complete cessation of

the old "war between two worlds" of anti-Communism and Communism.

That, in very brief outline, is the inescapable political consequence of Dewey's anti-Communist crusade, if it should be successful, and win the approval of the American voters on November 7th. That is true not because I say it, but because there could not possibly be any other consequence, no matter what anyone should say.

DOMESTIC CONSEQUENCES

What would be the consequences in America's domestic life, if Dewey's anti-Communist crusade should be approved by the voters on Nov. 7? The smallest consequence of all would be what happens to the real Communists, who are but a small group in the great population of our country. But there would be other, and most tremendous, consequences. Allow me to point out only a few, and the most obvious and inescapable.

First, the country will have given Dewey and his unknown cabinet a mandate to "put labor out of politics." But to put labor out of politics, to reverse the whole trend of history of the entire civilized world, will mark the beginning of the most deep-going disunity America has ever seen. It means the sharpest accentuation of class struggles in America ever seen in history.

Second, it will throw the power and prestige of our Government on the side of all those elements in the labor movement, first of all John L. Lewis and his motley allies, who have done everything possible to organize strike movements on the widest and most destructive scale during the war, and who are working overtime to prepare a great strike wave to break as soon as the war is over. It might easily result in John L. Lewis seizing control of the main body of the American labor movement.

Third, it will start a witch-hunt throughout America, in high places and low, the feverish search for "hidden Communists," from which the only exemption will be that ferocious hatred of everything progressive and enlightened which is the

hall-mark of fascism. The atmosphere of the Dies Committee will rule American life. Our national unity will be undermined and destroyed in its very foundations.

Fourth, all hope of orderly and peaceful progress, national and international, will disappear, all plans of full utilization of American economy and full employment will fade with the disappearance of the world market in international disorders, and of restriction of the domestic market by strike waves on the Lewis model and other civil disorders. Mr. Dewey will institute the "order" of the police and prosecuting attorney, not the order of a friendly and tolerant and cooperative democracy. One has only to have a little glimpse of the Dewey rage against the President's light tap on the wrist, in opening the campaign debate, to feel a shudder at what would happen to our country if the candidate should become President, and have power behind his rage.

Little souls and narrow minds are very dangerous in high places of power in this world of ours nowadays.

A LEADER OF HIGH VISION

We are living in fateful days. America must have leaders of high vision and a broad human spirit, men who have the human touch, who can keep their balance in the most critical moments, who do not become excited and panic-stricken, who can laugh and joke even as they go into the most deadly battle.

As an American I join with the great mass of our people in feeling happy and proud that our country has such a leader in this critical moment of our history. As spokesman for American Communists I can say for our small group that we completely identify ourselves with our nation, its interests, and the majority of its people, in this support for Roosevelt and Truman for President and Vice-President.

We know quite well that the America that Roosevelt leads is a capitalist America, and that it is the mission of Roosevelt, among other things, to keep it so. We know that only great disasters for our country could change this perspective of our country from that of capitalism to that of socialism, in the foreseeable future. Only failure to carry through the war to

victory, or a botching of the peace and failure to organize it, or the plunging of our country into another economic catastrophe like that of the Hoover era, could turn the American people to socialism.

We do not want disaster for America, even though it results in socialism. If we did, we would support Dewey and Hoover and Bricker and their company. We want victory in the war, with the Axis powers and all their friends eliminated from the world. We want a world organized for generations of peace.

We want our country's economy fully at work, supplying a greatly multiplied world market to heal the wounds of the world, a greatly expanded home market reflecting rising standards of living here, and an orderly, cooperative and democratic working out of our domestic and class relationships, within a continuing national unity that will reduce and eventually eliminate large domestic struggles.

A REALISTIC PROGRAM

Our experience in the war has proved that these things are possible. American production potentially is so huge that it has become a ridiculous anachronism to continue to struggle over the particular division in the distribution of its products when this war is over.

These things are possible. But they are possible only under a leadership which sees the world entire, which sees our country as a whole, capitalists, farmers, workers, small business men, professionals, white collar workers, of all races, creeds and colors—yes, which even sees that the Communists can contribute their little mite to the great task. It is possible only under leadership which has the vision of this possibility, which can realistically organize the struggle to overcome all difficulties and obstacles, which is patient and persevering, and does not let small failures turn it aside from its great goal.

This aspiration and program for a better world and a better America cannot be realized under the leadership of Deweys, Brickers and Hoovers.

It can be realized under the leadership of Roosevelt.

That is why American Communists, even as our great Communist forbears in 1860 and 1864 supported Abraham Lincoln, will in 1944 support Franklin Delano Roosevelt for President of the United States and one of the three great architects of the new world a'coming.

III. ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE WAR AND PEACE *

Tonight I want to discuss the main economic problems of the war and the peace to follow.

Before I go into these main problems, however, I think it necessary to say a few words about a current economic problem of a most specific nature, namely, the strike of maintenance men in the Detroit automotive industry in which a few hundred wildcat strikers threatened to tie up the entire war industry of that key center. It is my profound conviction that this strike was a product of a conspiracy against our nation's war effort and against the labor movement which must be exposed and stamped out if the war is to be won at minimum cost and a secure peace established. It is necessary to know who is responsible for this strike, and brand those responsible, so that such things shall not spread.

First of all, it must be established that the vast majority of the United Auto Workers Union members and officers are loyally and steadfastly adhering to the no-strike policy, and have done their best to restrain the little group of wild-cat strikers who have been stirred up by sinister outside influences. I said the overwhelming majority—but not all. The time has come when the Auto Workers Union must stop tolerating that little minority in its midst who secretly conspire with John L. Lewis to bring about strikes and disorder in the

* Address delivered at Symphony Hall, Boston, October 6, 1944.

industry. For it is John L. Lewis and his vast corps of organizers who are directly behind most strike movements in America today.

Secondly, the time has come to call a halt to the activities of those who, formally supporting the no-strike policy, in actual practice work with and protect those who openly incite strikes. I refer to one of the officers of the Auto Workers Union, Walter Reuther, without whose toleration, sympathy, and collaboration, the strike-inciters could not carry on their damaging work.

Thirdly, it is necessary to say that John L. Lewis dares to openly reject the no-strike policy and conspire to bring strikes in other industries, only because he has the protection and collaboration of Candidates Dewey and Bricker and their election campaign backers. The time has come when the whole country must join the labor movement in demanding that this unholy combination shall be broken up.

The American trade unions as a whole have a magnificent record of adherence to the no-strike policy, of unexampled performance in the production of war materials for our armed forces. They will not permit this glorious record to be clouded by any little groups of wild-cat strikers incited by John L. Lewis in his political campaign of vengeance for a private feud against the President of the United States and on behalf of a candidate for office who is willing to benefit from such damaging work.

CONVERSION AND RECONVERSION

Now to proceed to the larger economic problems of war and peace, which are the heart of all our political problems upon which America must pass judgment in the current elections. The key to these problems is contained in a full understanding of the terms "conversion" and "reconversion."

"Conversion" is a term which sums up the millions of detailed problems that were involved in turning America's peacetime industries to the tasks of war, to put the full force of our

country's unexampled productive forces in the service of our Army and Navy to annihilate the Hitler-Japanese enemies of civilization.

Our country's economy, under the stimulus of war and with the cooperation of management, labor, and government, performed miracles in the process of "conversion." We raised our nation's total production to two and a half times as high as it ever was before in history; we supplied our armed forces as armies and navies were never supplied; we provided weapons, munitions, and supplies to our allies in unprecedented volume; and with it all, notwithstanding some shortages and hardships at home, we provided the domestic market with a greater total of goods than in any peacetime year, and double the total national production of the time of Hoover.

Conversion was a smashing success. Now, at the moment our soldiers with our allies are clinching victory in Europe, and thereby also sealing the doom of Hirohito in the Pacific, the foundations of policy are being laid to guarantee that victory will not catch us unprepared as did war, that America will be ready to make as good a job of "reconversion" as we made of "conversion."

Reconversion, however, is not a simple return to the conditions before the war. Such a goal as that of merely the pre-war status would mean that America would have to lay idle some sixty percent of our productive economy, and render unemployed a large proportion of our working population. No, reconversion must have another goal, nothing less than the maintenance of the full operation of our nation's economy, at the level at least of the high mark demonstrated to be possible during the war. Reconversion is the task of organizing American economy to produce for peacetime needs on the scale we now produce for war.

What unsolved problems stand in the way to prevent us from reaching such a goal? Not technical problems of production, for management and labor, working with government, have demonstrated that they have the ability to solve any and all technical problems.

THE KEY TO THE QUESTION

If we want to put our finger on the chief difficulty of reconversion, let us ask ourselves what factor which was present in the conversion period is still absent in the plans for reconversion. The answer is, of course, the market. Conversion was speedy and reached tremendous heights, because it was organized and directed toward the definite goal of the production of specific things, for which the detailed orders were given and payment was guaranteed even before production. Conversion was aimed at a definite and unlimited market. That is the key to its unparalleled success.

Reconversion will be successful just to that degree to which management, labor, and the government are able to find or to create markets on a scale comparable to the market of war, markets which demand very definite items of production for which our economy is equipped, on a scale limited only by our ability to produce, and with payment therefore approximately as certain and prompt. If we cannot organize such markets, then all our talk about reconversion and full employment is so much shouting into the wind.

Reconversion markets as big as those which made conversion a success must be found at home and abroad, in the domestic and in the foreign fields. These two fields present quite different problems which need to be examined separately. But they are also tied together; first, by the fact that both must expand, for if one shrinks it will stop the other from expanding; second, by the fact that their combined necessary total is already fixed by the existing level of war production, and to the degree that the domestic market falls short of that total the foreign market must make it up; and finally, by the fact that in the long run the expansion of the foreign market also forces even more expansion of the domestic market, as and when long-term credits and investments in the foreign field are amortized.

THE DOMESTIC MARKET

In the long run it is the domestic market which is decisive. The consumption of goods by the American people as a whole,

on an expanding scale, is the only way in which American economy can be kept in full operation. That is what is involved in an expansion of the domestic market.

To distribute goods for consumption, however, requires not only a sufficient number of persons who want the goods and are willing to do the consuming. In order to become customers such persons must also have the money to buy what they want. The problem of our domestic market expansion is the problem of finding domestic customers, that is, persons who want to consume more and have the financial means to do it, in sufficiently large numbers.

From the point of view of achieving full production and employment, it is immaterial who does the consuming so long as it keeps all production plants in a balanced economy in operation. But since the problem is the expansion of consumption, it is basic policy that no important section of the population should, in the reconversion period, restrict its consumption under the present level. Therefore it is basic policy for full employment, that the working class, which is the largest group of consumers, should continue as a *minimum* to receive a take-home wage equal in volume to that it now receives, regardless of any change in average working hours.

Our country as a whole always has the full purchasing power required to pay for the products of full operation of its economy. It is not absence of purchasing power in the country that endangers full production in the reconversion period; the trouble is only in the fact that to a high degree the purchasing power is in hands which already consume about as much as they can, and which hold this purchasing power for purposes of investment. If they could invest on a huge scale, they could put this purchasing power to work; if they cannot invest, they leave this purchasing power standing idle, and to that extent American plants and workers stand idle also.

Therefore, if we take our economic system as it stands now, and if we envisage no radical changes in the distribution of purchasing power among existing individuals and classes, the key problem of reconversion has been reduced down to the

task of putting all available investment capital to work, of finding safe and profitable investment opportunities for all the vast accumulations of idle money or purchasing power.

It is quite clear, however, that domestic investment opportunities on the requisite scale do not exist at this stage. That is so because our nation's industrial plant has already during the war been expanded far and away beyond the scale of our former peacetime market, and until this peacetime market can catch up with our plant expansion, all possible domestic investment opportunities will aggregate only a minor fraction of the accumulated idle investment capital.

America is therefore faced with the choice, either to carry through a radical redistribution of the national income, so as to bring the idle purchasing power into the hands of that part of the population which would use it for consumption commodities, or to find foreign fields of investment which would bring an equivalent volume of orders to American industries, on a scale which would engage all idle capital in the United States.

THE FOREIGN MARKET

The first possibility of solution through a radical redistribution of the national income may be ruled out today as politically unacceptable to the majority of Americans. There remains, therefore, only the field of foreign investments in the form to produce foreign markets for American products.

It is for this reason that the perspective of a vast expansion of America's foreign trade has become, of necessity, Item No. 1, in any program of reconversion to full protection and full employment for peacetime. Without a vastly expanded foreign market, the American economy cannot even begin to think in realistic terms about the over-all problem of reconversion.

What are the most essential preconditions which must be established in order to begin the organization of such huge foreign markets as needed by America?

First of all, there must be stable peace throughout the world. There must be no wars or threats of war between

nations; there must be no civil wars to engage any large or important part of the world's population; there must be a world order of the family of nations of such stability and permanence as to give the whole world the hope and expectation of a long-time peace. Without such a peace, there can be no serious development of the huge foreign investment opportunities that are absolutely required by American capital and by the American economy as now organized.

That is the problem which was placed in its most immediately practical form before the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, before the delegates of the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union. That is the basic problem, on which we now know that a great deal of progress has been made, and which we are entitled to hope will be fully worked out in the next half-year if no government throws a monkey-wrench into the machinery.

Secondly, some framework of an international economic order must be brought into existence, to supplement and buttress the international political order being worked out at Dumbarton Oaks. There must be provision of economic machinery whereby the financial and currency systems of the various countries of the world can be brought into stable relationships with one another, and maintained; and there must be an international agency which coordinates the planning and direction of the flow of international investment capital, overcomes all obstacles to this free flow of capital, and sets up the guarantees of the proper and economical use of investments and of their repayment with interest. These are the basic problems which were placed for consideration before the Bretton Woods Conference, composed of delegations from the main Allied countries, and from which unanimous recommendations for action have now been placed before the world for consideration.

In the success of the Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods Conferences, therefore, lie all hopes for the successful reconversion of American economy to a peacetime basis of full production and full employment, lie all hopes for jobs and

security for the American working people and continued profits for American business.

DEWEY'S REAL PROGRAM

It is against this background that Americans, capital as well as labor, must carefully judge the studied hostility against the Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods Conferences by Candidates Dewey and Bricker. Dewey has made public his negative approach to Dumbarton Oaks; Bricker is stumping the country with the slogan: "We want no more Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods Conferences." One of the most influential backers of Candidate Dewey, Mr. Winthrop W. Aldrich, president of the Chase National Bank, perhaps the most powerful private financial institution in the world, has put this hostility into programmatic form in a recent widely-publicized speech. Mr. Aldrich's program, and it is reasonable to infer that this is Mr. Dewey's program also, is to scrap all idea of international organization, and for America to negotiate agreements with one nation after another, taken singly, beginning with Britain to whom he holds out the bait of a substantial "grant-in-aid," or financial dole, if that country will go along with the program; Mr. Aldrich wants even these agreements with single countries to be negotiated by and between American bankers and their fellow bankers in other lands, without the intervention of governments.

There is one "little" trouble with the Aldrich-Dewey-Bricker program. It will not work. The day for the successful operation of all such programs is now past. There is not a single country in the world that will not resent the proposal, beginning with Great Britain. One could not find a more effective means of organizing the world against America than this program.

American bankers, industrialists, and business men generally, who deal with the foreign market, must today begin to learn the lesson that John Wanamaker taught to the domestic retail merchandising field some generations ago. That lesson is: The customer is always right.

America is not in a situation where our country can dictate

the conditions of international trade and commerce to all other nations taken singly. America cannot successfully operate on this basis, because our economy needs the foreign markets even more than the foreign markets need our goods. Other countries, if they must go without our goods, will only have to struggle along as best they can without being worse off than they now are; but if America does not open up their markets, on conditions satisfactory to them, then America cannot go on as it is now, but our country will suffer a catastrophic economic crisis.

That is why America cannot trust its destinies today into the hands of Candidates Dewey and Bricker.

That is why Americans of all classes, and of all former political affiliations, capitalists and workers, farmers, professionals and businessmen, Republicans, Democrats, and Communists, are uniting in support of the re-election of President Roosevelt, whose name is synonymous with the successful guidance of the war, with the Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods Conferences which he initiated, and with the hope of successful reconversion of American economy with consequent full production and employment, jobs, security, and profits for all America.

IV. COOPERATION BETWEEN THE U.S.A. AND THE U.S.S.R.*

Nov. 7, 1944, is the 27th anniversary of the birth of the Soviet Union, which rose from the ruins of the old Russian Czarist Empire. On this same day the United States is holding a national election, in which the dominant issue is whether or not the United States shall set itself a long term policy of cooperation with the Soviet Union, the U.S.S.R.

This article is being written in the day before the voting.

If Roosevelt is reelected then the policy of cooperation will have been decisively adopted, it will be a firmly established course upon which our country will move for some generations to come.

If the impossible happens, and Dewey is named the next President of the U. S., then the very basis of cooperation between the two countries has been called into question, and the world is plunged into new storms even before the war is over.

DEWEY WILL BE REPUDIATED

Such is the fateful choice being made by the voters of America as they go to the polls on Nov. 7, just 27 years after the Soviet Power was brought into existence under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin.

Let no one console himself that this is an exaggerated statement of the question.

* From the *Daily Worker*, November 7, 1944.

Dewey repudiated America's alliance with the Soviet Union when he protested against Gen. Malinovsky's signature to the armistice with Rumania on behalf of the United States as well as of Britain and the Soviet Union. In the event of Dewey's election, therefore, the Soviet Union has been put on notice that its relations with the United States are on a day-to-day basis and subject to change without notice, with the U. S. under the direction of men who have not even wished to disguise their deep-seated hostility to the Soviet Union.

My own deep conviction is that this will not happen. I feel sure that it is Dewey who will be repudiated, and not the Soviet-American alliance. But in order to really understand what America is going through on this day, what kind of choice we are really making, one must imagine the worst, and assume that Dewey might be elected, with all the consequences that would follow.

AN UGLY PICTURE

What are these consequences?

First of all, the United States will be isolated politically. It is a fool's dream to think that a Dewey can compensate for estranging the Soviet Union by coming closer to Britain. Any effort to separate Britain from the Soviet Union will only drive both of them away from the U. S. and closer to each other. The only way the U. S. can develop closer relations with Britain is by simultaneously coming closer to the Soviet Union. The breaking of the Soviet-American alliance is at the same time the breaking of the Anglo-American alliance. There is either a three-power alliance or there is no alliance at all. This is an elementary fact of international politics today which every schoolboy should know.

Secondly, it is not possible to "renegotiate" the three power alliance, once it has been broken, on the basis of some hypothetical "better terms" for the United States. That Bullitt-Eastman fairy tale was always good for nothing more than bed-time consolation for disappointed Soviet-haters. Dewey

cannot get better terms with Britain and the Soviet Union than the terms Roosevelt has negotiated, no matter what one's view of what constitutes "better terms." On the contrary, for Dewey to renegotiate the alliance would require that he pay for it with new concessions to both Britain and the Soviet Union, for the simple reason that neither country would feel safe with him in the absence of such additional concessions.

Thirdly, a new President in the person of Dewey will, because of the irresponsible nature of his campaign, find it much more difficult to solve the remaining problems of the war. In Europe, for example, the election of Dewey would doubtless bring a completely intransigent hardening of the position of the Polish government-in-exile, a break between them and Britain, and their moving into Washington as a permanent non-paying guest of the U. S., to bedevil our foreign relations for a long time to come. In the Pacific the prospects of Soviet participation with the U. S. in the permanent reorganization of that part of the world would be indefinitely postponed.

Finally, all the fine beginnings of international postwar organization of the world, at Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods, would have their foundations swept from under them by these developments, no matter how many millions of fervent words of support were lavished upon them. International relations are determined by deeds, not by words.

Not a very pretty picture, is it? But it is a rather accurate outline of what the United States voters are rejecting when they cast their votes for FDR on Nov. 7.

NO WASTE OF TIME

I hope that no reader of these lines will, when the news comes through during the night of Nov. 7-8 that Roosevelt has been reelected, write me a letter telling me that I wasted my time with these lugubrious forebodings as to the consequences of a Dewey victory. This is no waste of time. This is a most necessary line of thought, which should be followed rigorously to the bitter end, in order that we shall feel in our blood and bones the horrible dangers our country is escaping

when it rejects the irresponsible demagoguery of a Dewey, and in order that we shall properly estimate the high beneficence of the next Roosevelt administration for our country and the world.

It is necessary that America shall ponder deeply these lessons, that it shall never happen again that any man or group of men shall ever bid for power in our country with the technique of a Hitler and a Goebbels.

It is necessary that Soviet-American friendship and mutual confidence shall be so firmly grounded that no man or group or party will ever again dare to put it in question, without knowing that thereby those who so dare are consigning themselves to oblivion.

Such are the thoughts I would contribute to Nov. 7, the 27th anniversary of the great Soviet revolution, and the day when America goes to the polls to confirm the great Anglo-Soviet-American alliance which, under the combined leadership of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin, is winning the war and will build a lasting world of peace and prosperity when the war is won.

V. THE WAY IS CLEARED *

In the early hours of Nov. 8, a menacing cloud that had been hovering over the democratic world cleared away. The threat of a break in the unity of the United Nations, was defeated; the threat of disunity within the most powerful country of the United Nations, the U.S.A., was decisively thrown back. The policies of President Roosevelt were confirmed by the masses of the American people and his leadership was established for the next four decisive years. The most arrogant, shameless, and dangerous bid for power in our country by a group of irresponsible men who placed private above national interests, was broken against the solid unity of the mass of patriotic Americans.

President Roosevelt's overwhelming electoral victory was the result of a great upsurge of the people, of labor, business men, artists, professionals, Negro people and middle classes rising above party lines. It brings joy not only to the United States, but to our Allies all over the world.

UNSOLVED PROBLEMS

While the rest of the democratic world maintained silence during America's election campaign we all knew it was oppressed by a nightmare of fear at the threat of success for the reactionary bid for power. The whole United Nations is stronger and happier today.

Americans will not allow their joy at the decisive over-all result of the election to cause them to overlook the unsolved

* From the *Daily Worker*, November 9, 1944.

problems. It will not cause them to ignore the threat against the future contained in the size of the Dewey vote.

Within that vote are millions of individuals who on the whole agree with Roosevelt's main policies, yet who were victimized by the Dewey demagogy. The nation cannot rest content until the conditions which made that possible are removed. The decisive defeat of outstanding Congressional reactionaries, such as Day of Illinois, Nye of North Dakota, Fish of New York, Danaher of Connecticut, Maas of Minnesota, registered the bankruptcy of old-fashioned isolationism in America.

But the new Dewey type of double-talking unprincipled reaction has demonstrated a dangerous demagogic power of gathering the most varied discontents into an electoral striking force. That danger was not ended with Roosevelt's electoral triumph.

The Dewey forces made anti-Communism, and the anti-Semitism that always accompanies it, their dominant issue. This was most vulgarly expressed in their slogan, "A Vote for Roosevelt Is a Vote for Browder." This was the biggest lie in American political history. Fortunately for America and the world, this Hitlerite tactic did not succeed. But among the uninformed, the red-scare was effective in terms of votes, because the American people were least armed to meet it, and because it was only half-answered for the main body of voters.

DUBINSKY'S ROLE

President Roosevelt himself handled the issue on a high level, and smashed the legend of any Communist tendency in the policies of his administration; but his own party made it impossible for this issue to be met head-on and settled in this campaign on the basis of reality, which is that Communists also have a legitimate place in the national unity on their merits in facing the nation's problems of the day, in America just as in China, in France, in Italy, in Yugoslavia and other countries. And much of the failure to fully solve this problem of national unity, as well as much of the damage of the red-

scare, must be found in the fact that the climax of Dewey's campaign was exactly his quotations from David Dubinsky in his Boston speech. Dubinsky must bear the responsibility for a large number of Dewey votes, and he still retains a mischievous power for future elections.

The Communists played their role in the election campaign honorably as a sector of the national unity coalition. They did everything in their power to remove the issue of Communism from the election, knowing this was the chosen issue of the nation's enemies from Hitler down. They dissolved their own party as a signal of their long-term allegiance to the democratic front. They gave everything they had, politically, morally and in hard work to the common democratic victory and asked for themselves nothing but the common rights of all Americans. They have no illusions about any advance of Communism in America, and reject after the elections with the same vehemence as before, the stupid and lying slogan that Roosevelt's victory is a victory for Communism in this country.

IMPORTANT SECTOR

The Communists remain as before, a small if important sector of the great patriotic coalition, a coalition which sets its own goals and makes its own policies, and shares in the victory of that coalition only as they share the great democratic aspirations and goals of the vast majority of the American people.

The non-partisan electoral triumph of President Roosevelt and his policies clears the way for a quick victory in the war, for consolidation of the United Nations, and for a lasting and prosperous peace for our country and for the world.

Let all patriotic Americans consolidate the unity of our nation around that victory, go to work with renewed courage and energy to win the great future that lies before us, and make sure that never again will that future be placed in jeopardy as it was in the election campaign just ended.

VI. LET'S NOT FORGET THE CAMPAIGN *

Perhaps the worst part of an American election campaign is the post-election flood of hypocritical banalities about "good sportsmanship" and the need to "forget what was said in the heat of the campaign."

According to this insulting formula, it is not fair or sportsmanlike to recall what the defeated candidate said in the effort to obtain the supreme power in the U. S. Government. If he uttered the most prodigious lies, and resorted to the most unscrupulous arguments, we are supposed to forget all this the day after election—even when the candidate himself explicitly says after defeat that he does not withdraw a single word and has nothing for which to apologize. No, we are supposed to ignore all this, and join in singing "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow."

Thus, Arthur Krock, the Dewey voice in the *N. Y. Times*, rebukes me in that paper's columns on Nov. 9. He says "the only discordance" in the nation on the day after elections "came from Earl Browder."

DEFINITION OF A COMMUNIST

It was only Saturday of last week that Mr. Dewey accused President Roosevelt of "selling" the Presidential power in fragments for \$1,000 per bit. After the election he reaffirmed his words. But, according to Mr. Krock, "the only discordance" in America "came from Earl Browder."

It was only on the previous Wednesday that Mr. Dewey said

* From *The Worker*, November 12, 1944.

that the definition of a Communist was a person who wanted to reelect President Roosevelt. After the election he reaffirmed his words. But Mr. Krock wants everyone to forget this.

The millions of leaflets issued by Mr. Dewey's committee declaring that "a vote for Roosevelt is a vote for Hillman and Browder" are still floating around over the country, and Mr. Dewey "has no apology to make." But to Mr. Krock anyone who recalls this little fact is throwing "discordance" into a united America.

Mr. Dewey's supporters roused a vicious spirit of anti-Semitism throughout the country, for which Mr. Dewey "has no apologies." But Mr. Krock says we must forget about all this.

The very foundations of our War Alliance were attacked by Mr. Dewey, when he protested General Malinovsky's signature to the Romanian armistice on behalf of the Allies, and ostentatiously mispronounced his name; when Mr. Dewey threw a monkey-wrench into the negotiations being conducted by Churchill and Stalin and the two camps of the Poles, by espousing the cause of the government-in-exile in London. Mr. Dewey, after election, had not a word of this to withdraw. But Mr. Krock demands that America shall laugh it off, all in the name of unity and good sportsmanship.

ABUSE OF UNITY

What Mr. Krock and such advocates of a false and hypocritical "unity" really mean, is that the red-scare, anti-Communism, anti-Semitism, and attacks against our most important allies, are all to be carefully preserved for future use at the next critical moment in American history, that the resounding defeat they received at the polls shall not be final, that the whole battle will be fought over "again and again and again."

That is using the sacred word of unity to cover up systematic sabotage of unity at home and with our Allies.

No, we cannot forget the election campaign and what the leading figures said in its course. Those things can be forgotten

only when they are specifically repudiated by those who said them.

If we value the unity of America, if we value the unity with our Allies, all patriots will carefully preserve the memories of the past two months in our national life. We will remember, in order that we shall properly evaluate the great victory which has been won. We will remember in order that we shall not slacken in our efforts to build the guarantees that such a threat to America and the world shall not be repeated four years hence.

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