

Dear Vets:

The election situation is moving so fast that we cannot keep up with it in our regular issues of the Volunteer for Liberty. Therefore, we are publishing this special bulletin of information, as a supplement.

The contents of this issue, are President Roosevelt's speech of September 23rd delivered before the Teamsters' Union, in Washington, D.C.; and Candidate Dewey's speech of reply made extemporaneously in Tulsa, Okla., September 26th. As Mr. Dewey, in this speech and in subsequent speeches, is making as a salient issue, the position of the Communists in the U.S., we are also including the speech by Mr. Earl Browder, President of the Communist Political Association, made at Madison Square Garden, September 28th.

From time to time, special speeches or articles of national and international importance may come our way, and on those occasions, we will put out future issues of the Bulletin.

Saludi

Harred Proth

ROOSEVELT BARES DEWEY FRAUDS

Following is the text of President Roosevelt's speech before the Teamsters Union Saturday night in Washington:

Mr. Tobin - I should say Dan, I always have - Ladies and Gentlemen: I am very muched touched and I am very happy in your applause, and very happy at the informality of this dinner with old friends of mine.

You know, though, this is not the first time that we have met together on this basis and I am particularly happy that this national campaign opens in your presence as it did four years ago. And I don't mind mentioning the fact that Dan Tobin and I are just a little bit superstitious.

Well, here we are, here we are again after four years - and what years they have been! You know I am actually four years older - which is a fact that seems to annoy some people. In fact, in the mathematical field there are millions of Americans who are more than eleven years older than when we started in to clear up the mess that was dumped into our laps in 1933.

We all know that certain people will make it a practice to depreciate the accomplishments of labor - who even attack labor as unpatriotic.

EVERY 3 1/2 YEARS

The keep this business up usually for three years and six months in a row. But then, for some strange reason, they change their tune - every four years - just before election day.

When votes are at stake they suddenly discover that they really love labor, and that they are anxious to protect labor from its old friends.

I got quite a laugh, for example - and I am sure that you did - when I read this plank in the Republican platform adopted at their National Convention last July:

"The Republican party accepts the purpose of the National Labor Relations Act, the Wage and Hour act, the Social Security Act, and all other Federal statutes designed to promote and protect the welfare of American working men and women, and we promise a fair and just administration of those laws."

You know many of the Republican leaders and Congressmen and candidates who shouted enthusiastic approval of that plank in that convention hall would not even recognize these progressive laws if they met them in broad daylight. Indeed, they have personally spent years of effort and energy - and much money - in fighting every one of those laws in the congress, and in the press, and in the courts, ever since this administration began to advocate them and enact them into legislation.

THEIR INSINCERITY

This is a fair example of their insincerity and of their inconsistency. The whole purpose of Republican oratory these days seems to be to switch labels. The object is to persuade the American people that the Democratic party was responsible for the 1929 crash and the depression and that the Republican Party was responsible for all social progress under the New Deal.

Now, imitation may be the sincerest form of flattery - but I am afraid, I am afraid, that in this case it is the most obvious common or garden variety of fraud.

For it is perfectly true that there are enlightened, liberal elements in the Republican party and they have fought hard and honorably to bring the party up to date and to get it in step with the forward march of American progress. But these liberal elements were not able to drive the Old Guard Republicans from their entrenched positions. Scanned from Harold Hoff Collection

Can the Old Guard pass itself off as the New Deal? I think not.

OLD GUARD BLUFF

We have seen many marvelous stunts in the circus, but no performing elephant could turn a hand-spring without falling flat on its back. I need not recount to you the centuries of history that have been crowded into these four years since I saw you last.

There were some in the Congress and out - who raised their voices against our preparations for defense - before and after 1939 - objected to them, raised their voices against them as hysterical warmongering, who cried out against our help to the Allies as provocative and dangerous.

We remember those voices. They would like to have us forget them now. But in 1940 and 1939 (my, it seems a long time ago) they were loud voices. Happily they were in the minority and - fortunately for ourselves, and for the world - they could not stop America.

OSTRICH POLITICIANS

There are some politicians who kept their heads buried in the sand while the storms of Europe and Asia were headed our way, who said that the Lend-Lease Bill "would bring an end (and I am quoting) to free government in the United States," and who said (and I am quoting) "only hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy or Japan contemplate war on us."

These men, these very men are now asking the American people to entrust to them the conduct of our foreign policy and our military policy.

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What the Republican leaders are now saying in effect is this: "Oh, just forget what we used to say, we've changed our minds now - we have been reading the public opinion polls about these things, and now we know what the American people want."

And they say, "Don't leave the task of making the peace to those old men who first urged it, and who have laid already the foundations for it, and who have had to fight all of us, inch by inch, during the last five years to do it. Why just turn it all over to us. We'll do it so skillfully that we won't lose a single isolationist vote or a single isolationist campaign contribution."

DOUBLE TALK

I think there is one thing that you know: I am too old for that. I cannot talk out of both sides of my mouth at the same time.

The Government of the United States welcomes all sincere supporters of the cause of effective world collaboration in the making of a lasting peace. Millions of Republicans all over the nation are with us. And have been with us in our unshakeable determination to build the solid structure of peace. And they, too, will resent this campaign talk by those who first woke up to the facts of international life a few short months ago - when they began to study the polls of public opinion.

Those who today have the military responsibility for waging this war in all parts of the globe are not helped by the statements of men who, without responsibility and without the knowledge of the facts, lecture the chiefs of staff of the United States as to the best means of dividing our armed forces and our military resources between the Atlantic and the Pacific, between the Army and the Navy and among the commanding generals of the different theatres of war. And I may say that the commanding generals are making good in a big way.

When I addressed you four years ago I said this, I said: "I know that America will never be disappointed in its expectations that labor will always continue to do its share of the job, the job we now face, and do it patriotically and effectively and unselfishly."

Today we know that America has not been disappointed. In his order of the day when the Allied Armies first landed in Normandy, two months ago, General Eisenhower said, "Our home fronts have given us overwhelming superiority in weapons and munitions of war."

ASSAILS "LABOR BAITERS"

The country knows that there is a breed luckily enough innumerous, called labor baiters. I know that those labor baiters among the opposition who are there, but who instead of calling attention to the achievements of labor in this war, prefer to pick on the occasional strikes that have been condemned by every responsible national leader. I ought to say, parethetically, all but one. And that one labor leader, incidentally, is not conspicuous among my supporters.

Labor baiters forget, that at our peak, American labor and management have turned out airplanes at the rate of 109,000 a year; tanks - 57,000 a year; combat vessels - 573 a year; landing vessels to get the troops ashore - 51,000 a year; cargo ships - 19,000,000 tons a year. (Henry Kaiser is here tonight; I am glad to say). And small arms ammunition - oh, I can't understand it, don't believe you can either - 23 billion rounds a year.

But a strike is news, and generally appears in shrieking headlines - and, of course, they say labor is always to blame.

WORKING MAN'S DOLLAR

The fact is that since Pearl Harbor, only one-tenth of one percent of man hours have been lost by strikes. Can you beat that. But you know even those candidates who burst out in election year, election year affection for social legislation and for labor in general, still think that you ought to be good boys and stay out of politics. And above all, they hate to see any working man or woman contribute a dollar bill to any wicked political party. Of course, it's all right for the large financiers and industrialists and monopolists to contribute tens of thousands of dollars - but their solicitude for that dollar which the men and women in the ranks of labor contribute is always very touching.

They are, of course, perfectly willing to let you vote - unless you happen to be a soldier, or a sailor overseas, or a merchant seaman carrying the munitions of war. In that case, they have made it pretty hard for you to vote at all - for there are some political candidates who think that they may have a chance of election if only the total vote is small enough.

SACRED RIGHT TO VOTE

And while I am on the subject of voting let me urge every American citizen, man or woman, to use your sacred privilege of voting no matter which candidate you expect to support. Our millions of soldiers and sailors and merchant seaman have been handicapped or prevented from voting by those politicians - prevented from voting by those politicians and those candidates who think that they stand to lose by such votes. You here at home have the freedom of the ballot. Irrespective of party you should register and vote this November. I think that is a matter of plain good citizenship.

You remember the closed banks and the breadlines and the starvation wages; the foreclosures of homes and farms, and the bankruptcies of business; the "Hoover-villes," and the young men and women of the nation facing a hopeless, jobless future; the closed factories and mines and mills; the ruined and abandoned farms; the stalled railroads; the empty docks; the blank despair of a whole nation - and the utter impotence of the Federal Government.

CONVENIENT TO FORGET

You remember the long hard road, with its gains and its setbacks, which we have traveled together ever since those days.

Now there are some politicians, of course, who do not remember that far back, and there are some who remember but find it convenient to forget. No, the record is not to be washed away that easily.

The opposition in this year has already imported into this campaign a very interesting thing because it's foreign - they have imported the propaganda technique invented by the dictators abroad. Remember a number of years ago there was a book Mein Kampf. Written by Hitler himself. The technique was all set out in Hitler's book - and it was copied by the aggressors of Italy and Japan. According to that technique, you should never use a small falsehood; always a big one, for its very fantastic nature would make it more credible - if only you keep repeating it over and over and over again.

Well, let's take some simple illustrations that comes to mind. For example, although I rubbed my eyes when I read it, we have been told that it was not a Republican depression, but a Democratic depression from which this nation was saved in 1933. That this administration ~ this one today ~ is responsible for all the suffering and misery that the history books and the American people have always thought had been brought about during the twelve ill-fated years when the Republican party was in power.

AVOID THE TERM

Now there is an old and somewhat lugubrious adage which says: "Never speak of a rope in the house of a man who's been hanged." In the same way, if I were a Republican leader speaking to a mixed audience, the last word in the whole dictionary that I would think of using is that word "depression". You know they pop up all the time.

For another example, I learned much to my emazement - that the policy of this Administration was to keep men in the Army when the war is over because there might be no jobs for them in civil life. Scanned from Harold Hoff Collection

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Well, the very fact that this fantastic charge was first made after a formal plan for the method of speedy discharge from the Army had already been announced by the War Department - a plan based on the wishes of the soldiers themselves.

This callous and brazen falsehood about demobilization was - of course, a very simple thing - it was an effort to stimulate fear among American mothers and wives and sweethearts. And incidentally, it was hardly calculated to bolster the morale of our soldiers and sailors and airmen who are fighting our battles all over the world.

But perhaps the most ridiculous of these campaign falsifications is the one that this Administration failed to prepare for the war that was coming. I doubt whether even Goebbels would have tried that one.

For even he would never have dared hope that the voters of America had already forgotten that many of the Republican leaders in the Congress and outside the Congress tried to thwart and block nearly every attempt that this Administration made to warn our people and arm our nation.

Some of them called our 50,000, - airplane program fantastic. Many of those very same leaders who fought every defense measure that we proposed are still in control of the Republican party - look at the names - were in control of its national convention in Chicago and would be in control of the machinery of the Congress and of the Republican party in the event of a Republican victory this fall.

These Republican leaders have not been content with attacks on me, or on my wife, or on my sons - no, not content with that, they now include my little dog, Fala. Well, of course, I don't resent attacks, and my family don't resent attacks, but Fala does resent them. You know Fala's Scotch and being a Scottie as soon as he learned that the Republican fiction writers in Congress and out had concocted a story that I had left him behind on an Aleutian island and had sent a destroyer back to find him - at a cost to the taxpayers of two or three or eight or twenty million dollars - his Scotch soul was furious. He has not been the same dog since.

FALA'S FEELINGS DURT

I am accustomed to hearing malicious falsehoods about myself - such as that old, worm-eaten chestnut that I have represented myself as indispensable. But I think I have a right to resent, to object to libelous statements about my dog.

Well, I think we all recognize the old technique. The people of this country know the past to well to be deceived into forgetting. Too much is at stake to forget. There are tasks ahead of us which we must now complete with the same will, the same skill and intelligence, and devotion that have already led us so far along the road to victory.

There is the task of finishing victoriously this most terrible of all wars as speedily as possible and with the least cost on lives.

There is the task of setting up international machinery to assure that peace once established, will not again be broken.

And there is the task we face here at home - the task of reconverting our economy for the purposes of peace.

These peace-building tasks were faced once before, nearly a generation ago. They were botched -b - o - t - c - h - e - d - they were botched by a RepublicanAdministration. That must not happen this time. We will not let it happen thistime.

And unfortunately we do not begin from scratch. Much has been done. Much more is under way. The fruits of victory this time will not be apples sold on street corners.

PEACETIME MOBILIZATION

The Congress has passed much more legislation continuing the agencies needed for demobilization - with additional powers to carry out their functions.

I know that the American people - business and labor and agriculture - have the same will, basic will to do for peace what they have done for war. And I know that they can sustain a national income that will assure full production and full employment under our democratic system of private enterprise, with Government encouragement and aid whenever and wherever that is necessary. The keynote back of all this literature that we read, the keynote of all that we propose to do in reconversion can be found in the one word - "jobs."

SOUND WAGE POLICY

We shall lease or dispose of our Government-owned plants and facilities and our surplus war property and land on the basis of how they can best be operated by private enterprise to give jobs to the greatest number.

We shall follow a wage policy that will sustain the purchasing power of labor for that means more production and more jobs. You and I know that the present policies on wages and prices were conceived to serve the needs of the great masses of the people. They stopped inflation. They kept prices on a relatively stable level. Through the demobilization period policies will be carried out with the same objective in mind - to serve the needs of the great masses of the people.

This is not the time in which men can be forgotten as they were in the Republican catastrophe that we inherited. The returning soldiers, the workers by their machines, the farmers in the field, the miners, the men and women in offices and shops, do not intend to be forgotten.

No, they know that they are not surplus. Because they know that they are America.

"WHICH SEEM IMPOSSIBLE"

We must set targets and objectives for the future which will seem impossible, like the airplane, to those who live in and are weighted down by the dead past.

And for months, and today and in the future we are organizing and will continue to put forth the logistics of the peace just as Marshall and King and Arnold, Mac-Arthur, Eisenhower and Nimitz are organizing these logistics of this war. Scanned from Harold Hoff Collection

I think that the victory of the American people and their Allies in this war will be far more than a victory against Fascism and reaction and the dead hand of despotism of the past. The victory of the American people and their Allies in this war will be a victory for democracy. It will constitute such an affirmation of the strength and power and vitality of government by the people as history has never before witnessed.

And so, my friends, with that affirmation of the vitality of democratic government, behind us, that demonstration of its resilience and its capacity for decision and for action - with that knowledge of our own strength and power - we move forward with God's help to the greatest epoch of free achievement by free men that the world has ever known.

DEWEY DECLARES RODSEVELT SEEKS TO SOW DSUMTY speech given in Tulsa, Oklahoma, September 26th.

It is a great pleasure to me to be here today and continue with you the task of bringing to our Government an administration which will not, from the day the President takes his oath of office until the end of his term, ever use his office to divide one part of the American people from another.

WON'T UNDERMINE UNITY

After Jan. 20, your President will never speak to one group for the purpose of inciting them to dislike, hatred or distrust of another group of fellow-Americans.

After Jan. 20, your President will never seek to undermine the unity of this country for his political purposes either in war or in peace time.

It will be our sole purpose to speed the winning of the war and the greatest possible victory over Germany and Japan. It will then be our purpose to promote and keep the unity of all our people in a program whereby we can work with all the other peace-loving nations in the world to see that this holocaust of war does not descend upon us again.

There are certain major tasks ahead of us. We all know that for those seven dreary years from 1933 to 1940 we had handouts. We had unprecedented government deficits. We had political propoganda. We had legislation. We had pomp and circumstance, but we never got jobs.

By the year 1940 when the New Deal was seven years old, and its whiskers were growing very gray, we still had 10,000,000 Americans unemployed, and I don't want to go back to that kind of an America at the end of this war.

WEST ONLY STARTED TO GROW

It is my purpose in this campaign to bring a government to our people which, firs of all, will set its face in the future and will not for any purpose stand gazing at the past either in sorrow or at admiring its splendor.

We need an administration which is looking forward in this country. I have for the last three weeks traveled through the western half of the States, and I say to you the western half of these United States has only started in the beginning of the magnificent growth which is ahead of us.

My opponent founded his administration twelve sad years ago with the statement that our industrial plant is all built, that there is nothing left for us to do but squabble over what we have, and that is what has been going on now for twelve long years.

I say that our industrial plant is not built. I say that our frontiers have not been discovered. I say they have not even been hear of yet, and when we get an administration which believes in the future of this country, which believes that we have places to go, which believes that we have infinite possibilities for a technical empansion, for every form of improvement in our standards of living, which believes invention is absolutely unlimited in the future, then we can start going places again.

The second thing I want to do, it is something in which I have had a little personal experience. I should like on Jan. 20, or as soon thereafter as the needs of war will permit, to start in Washington and in a large number of field offices in the forty-eight states, the largest and best house cleaning that anybody ever did.

I should like to clean house on those political satellites which have fastened themselves on your pocketbooks and mine for twelve years. I should like to get rid of the wasters. I should like to get rid of that crew to whom my opponent is so indispensable.

We should start, of course, with Harold Ickes and Madame Perkins and then we would go through with the elegant collection of loafers contributed to the Government by the Kelly machine in Chicago and your neighboring Pendergast machine in Kansas City, and those destroyers of civil liberty on the Federal payroll from Jersey City, and then we would go through the Sidney Hillman crew of the PAC and, finally, or perhaps first of all, clean out those who hold their office and whose political and philosophical affiliations are with the gentleman who my opponent had to pardon so he could wage this campaign, Mr. Browder.

RESTORE GOVE MMENT TO PEOPLE

And finally we shall restore in Washington, on Jan. 20, a Government which does never promise one thing and gives you the opposite. We shall restore the Government of the United States in the position of the hearts and minds of its people so they know its spoken word can be trusted and believed.

We shall believe honestly in our Government, intellectually, morally and every other way, and with that as a beginning we can then go forward and do those things that are so necessary. We can start vewriting the laws so men may know what they may do. We shall start rewriting the laws so that men may know that they are going to work, that they can create business, that little business can thrive and prosper without the tentacles of Washington choking them slowly to death.

We shall revise the tax system so offensive to our people and we shall restore an attitude in the point of view of our Government which says that we believe in the American people. We shall go forward. We want to go forward. We want everybody to have his place in the sun, and we want every man with an idea that can make a job and go ahead and make it.

We want all our mento come back here to a free America. We want a free people. We don't want to regulate their lives, but to go ahead and bring forth richer and better life which is the birthright of every American.

TEXT OF BROWDER'S GARDEN SPEECH

The following is the text of an address made by Earl Browder, president of the Communist Political Association at a meeting last night in Madison Square Garden:

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, and 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 to contribute to the quickest victory and the most secure establishment of a longtime peace. Every other consideration, every other interest must be pushed aside if it in the slightest degress fails to contribute to this supreme cause or hinders its triumph.

VICTORY ONLY DISPENSABLE THING

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.

It is my opinion that America 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. Everyone 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.

SPOKESMAN FOR AMERICA'S COMMUNISTS

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.

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 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 extemoraneously, and according to reporters mentioned my name as an exconvict 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 and 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 individual; 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.

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 pretences. 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.

DEWEY SHOULD NOT HAVE RAISED ISSUE

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.

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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."

PRINCIPLES OF ANTI-KOMINTERN CRUSADE

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.

Does America need an anti-Communist crusade" now? Willit 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.

WHAT EFFECT WILL DEWEY'S ELECTION HAVE

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 immoral 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 America 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 possibley be any other consequence, no matter what anyone should say.

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CONSEQUENCES IN DOMESTIC LIFE

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 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 erlightened which is the hallmark 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 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.

WE ARE LIVING IN FATEFUL DAYS

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 proud and happy 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 capitalism to that of socialism, in the forseeable future. Only 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.

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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.

Our experience in the war has proved that these things are possible. American production potentiality 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 ever 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 forebears 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.