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AMERICA'S DECISIVE BATTLE

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by
EARL BROWDER

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NOTE

This pamphlet contains the text of a report by Earl Browder, President of the Communist Political Association, to a meeting of its National Committee, held in New York City, March 10, 1945.

Published by NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS, INC.
832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.  209 March, 1945.

AMERICA'S DECISIVE BATTLE

By EARL BROWDER

President Roosevelt has returned from the Crimea Conference of the three leading powers of the United Nations. He brought back to us the agreements containing the key to early victory, the organization of a peaceful world, the healing of the ravages of war, and the inauguration of a long-time process of rising standards of life for America and for all peoples of the world.

The President has supplemented the official communique on the decisions of the Conference by a report delivered personally to the Congress of the United States, and through Congress to the people. In that report he said: "Unless you here in the halls of the American Congress—with the support of the American people—concur in the decisions reached at Yalta, and give them your active support, the meeting will not have produced lasting results."

The issue thus joined is the most important ever placed for decision in the history of our country. As goes the decision on this issue, so goes the prospects of America and the world. To this dominant issue all else must be fully subordinated. The American people must be aroused and organized in support of the Crimea decisions in such overwhelming numbers that the potential opposition within Congress will not dare to show itself.

Who Is For and Who Against Crimea?

The alignment of opposing forces on the issue of Crimea is but the further development of that which took place in Teheran, fourteen months before. This is in itself convincing evidence that politically the Crimea decisions were fully based upon those of Teheran and carried them to a higher stage. If we need spend little time in examining the Crimea accord in its details, that is only because already in our evaluation of Teheran in January, 1944, we included the substance of Crimea as its inevitable consequence. What occurred in Yalta confirmed everything we had said of Teheran, every promise of which was realized. The destruction of Nazism is also the guarantee of our final victory over the Japanese. We are therefore prepared to proceed immediately to evaluate the forces on each side of the Battle for America which opened with the President's report.

Who is for Crimea? The most obvious fact is sometimes given the least attention, so it is worth while to point out that the three most influential leaders in the world are for Crimea, since they were the men who formulated its decisions. To remove the last chance of any misunderstanding we may even name the three. They are Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin. These three are the joint leaders of the world political camp upholding the Crimea policy.

Who is against Crimea? Again, the most obvious answer may be in danger of being overlooked and neglected. And it is just as significant as it is obvious that the world political camp opposing the Crimea coalition policies is gathered under the leadership of Hitler and Hirohito.

Every American must make a personal decision to uphold or tear down the policies adopted in Crimea. If he decides to uphold Crimea he is joining the camp under the leadership of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, for the purpose of

wiping out from the world the regimes of Hitler and Hirohito and everything they stand for. If he decides to tear down Crimea he is just as inevitably joining that camp which is under the leadership of Hitler and Hirohito, for the purpose of overthrowing the leadership of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin and everything they stand for.

Yes, the main issue is just as simple as that!

If there is anyone who wishes to challenge this stark outline of the main question before the world, such a person must undertake to show an existing or potential *third camp* which can hope to defeat Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin, as well as Hitler and Hirohito!!! The search for such a *third camp* will prove as illusory as the search for perpetual motion. The whole world today is divided into two camps, and the fate of every individual or group which thinks it rejects both will be similar to that of wanderers in no-man's land between the military battle lines. Americans will choose one of the *two camps*, a choice which can be stated even more simply in the question: "With Roosevelt or with Hitler?"

Which Americans Are Choosing Hitler?

The grand historical showdown is now here. It is judgment day. All men must search their hearts and minds anew and make their final choice. And in such a solemn moment, the last before the zero hour, there is the final opportunity for the temporizers, the ambiguous ones, the "neutrals," to break with their past and join the great camp of Crimea. That is true for nations, and after Crimea we witnessed the hasty declarations of war by many who had long kept a foot in both camps; such late arrivals have been welcomed even though their past will not be forgotten. It is equally true for American individuals and groups whose past role has been ambiguous; they also have their final chance to choose their own alignment, and no one has the right to list any American with Hitler's gang on the basis only of the past, where such

a person today steps forth to join the camp of Crimea, of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin.

Therefore in listing Americans who are choosing Hitler's side, we enter the names only of those who since the Crimea Conference have openly called for its rejection and defeat, or who act in a way designed to achieve that same end.

In Congress only a few have spoken out to put their names on Hitler's list, a few die-hards like Senators Wherry and Wheeler and Representative O'Konski.

Senator Vandenberg made a daring and Machievellian sortie against President Roosevelt's policy, as late as January, just before the President left for the Crimea Conference, which was intended to prevent the agreement that was there arrived at. Vandenberg's coup failed of its purpose. Since Crimea he has kept silent. No one seems to know which way he will turn. Since Vandenberg is the leader of the Senate minority, with potential strength to block the two-thirds majority required for treaty ratification, the President was undoubtedly wise to include his name in the U. S. delegation of eight to the San Francisco meeting of the United Nations on April 25. The Senator, after long hesitation, has finally let it be known that, since the President has left him free to choose his course in the last seconds of the final moment of the eleventh hour, he will accept the delegateship. We therefore leave Vandenberg's name off the Hitler list, awaiting his final decision, which cannot be postponed much longer.

Thomas E. Dewey, titular leader of the Republican Party, has refused any statement on the Crimea Conference. The peculiar grounds for his silence is that he has not yet learned what took place there, although he has the same information which was sufficient to bring an unanimous vote of approval from the British House of Commons, not to speak of the enthusiastic endorsement of the vast majority of American press and public. Since Dewey makes only the most formal pretenses to real leadership, he will probably be among the last to

make up his mind which way to go. Anyway, for the moment his name is on the doubtful list, since he cannot decide even so quickly as can the Turkish government.

Since many men of high political position are remaining silent and uncommitted on the Crimea Conference decisions, however, the main conclusion is inescapable that strong and virulent opposition exists among them corresponding to that which is openly expressed in the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Washington Times-Herald*, the *New York Daily News*, the Hearst chain of newspapers, and their lesser imitators. These newspapers in tone and content are indistinguishable from the Berlin radio in their dealing with the Crimea Conference. They are openly and arrogantly in agreement with Hitler in demanding the defeat of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, and carry on with full immunity.

We must also understand that a number of lesser voices in the newspapers, typified by David Lawrence, speak not for themselves but for powerful political and financial circles, when they openly plead for Nazi Germany against the Crimea decisions, and assail the President with every available poisoned arrow.

Finally, we must note that the anti-Crimea—and consequently pro-Hitler—camp in America extends its tentacles into the ranks of organized labor and of “liberalism,” through the sinister conspiracy that unites John L. Lewis, some of the chief leaders of the A. F. of L., the David Dubinsky group of the Social-Democratic Federation dominating the Liberal Party in New York, the Norman Thomas Socialists, the Trotskyites, and the friends of all these groups who are infiltrated into some positions of power in several C.I.O. unions. This motley array of Roosevelt’s enemies, some disguised as “friends” with access to the White House itself, like Dubinsky, is a deadly danger through its secret conspiratorial unity and its unprincipled exploitation of the explosive strike weapon, of wage issues, and the question of national service legislation.

The Anti-Roosevelt Conspiracy in Labor's Ranks

A glimpse into the strategy with which the anti-Roosevelt conspiracy operates in the labor movement is given in the *New Leader*, weekly semi-official organ of David Dubinsky and his Liberal Party, issue of March 3. In a front-page article from Washington, by Jonathan Stout, this is set forth as follows:

"The President returned to the Capital this week to find his administration facing a crisis. It isn't any one thing that has created the critical situation but a combination of fateful issues. Before another month passes, it is safe to prophesy, Mr. Roosevelt will know that he has been through a battle.

"His first task, of course, is to justify the moral sell-out of democracy at Yalta.

"His second is to meet the revolt of all sections of the organized labor movement against his Administration.

"His third is to cope with the critical coal mine situation which holds deep significances that go far outside the immediate issues.

"His fourth problem will revolve about his effort to force labor conscription on the American people.

"And that just lists the headlines. There are a score of other problems, many of lesser importance but some very nearly as critical as the four named above."

There is the outline of strategy of the whole anti-Roosevelt camp. They know they are defeated on every single issue, taken separately, but they speculate that by forcing all issues to a head simultaneously, embittering them all to the maximum, creating as much confusion as possible, they will be able to coalesce all the separate minorities into a sufficiently obstructive force to break down the Roosevelt Administration as a whole.

As a demagogic cover to this campaign, these gentlemen are

already labelling the President as an "unconscious potential fascist." Here is the way Stout puts out this line:

"How deep the chasm has grown between the Administration and the labor movement was brought home to me in startling words this week when one of America's most prominent labor leaders—who has been ardently pro-Roosevelt since 1932—told me that he had been driven unwillingly to the conclusion that the thinking of the top layer of Administration leaders was bent in totalitarian directions . . . that they were unconscious potential fascists!"

The anonymous "most prominent labor leader" thus quoted is undoubtedly David Dubinsky!

Spearhead of this anti-Roosevelt conspiracy "which holds deep significances that go far outside the immediate issues" to embrace the defeat of the Crimea decisions and the break-up of the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance, is unquestionably John L. Lewis and his threat to plunge America into a nation-wide coal strike with consequent halting of war production and a national crisis.

Lewis and His Strike Threat

The rôle of Lewis in attempting to bring about the defeat of the Crimea policies, and the whole foreign policy of America, as planned by the anti-Roosevelt conspiracy, is described by Jonathan Stout, Dubinsky's clerk, as follows:

"It is against this background of incipient rebellion in the labor movement against the Administration that John L. Lewis is cannily making his entrance on the stage. . . . Instead of chewing his fingernails over the evidence that the Administration is preparing the propaganda weapons with which to crush him and the coal miners, Lewis characteristically retaliated this week with an aggressive punch. This was his filing of a 30-day notice of intent to strike. . . ."

"If the Administration thinks it can crush Lewis on such an issue then it is sadly out of touch with sentiment in the labor movement. Deeply significant of how labor feels about it is the fact that publication of the mine workers strike notice was followed by a flood of congratulatory telegrams from members of the C.I.O. Automobile Workers in Detroit and from members of labor unions elsewhere. . . . And there is evidence pointing to the probability that once more John L. Lewis is seizing the situation at a strategic moment to become the symbol and spearhead of the deep protest of the American labor movement against such totalitarian measures as the Administration-sponsored 'Allentown Plan' and the Administration-backed May-Bailey slave labor bill, against the Administration's freezing of wages while permitting profits and prices to zoom skyward, against the betrayal of the ideals of the American people at Yalta, etc., etc., etc."

There you have it, plain enough for the most blind to see! Everything leads up to the one inevitable aim, the defeat of the Yalta Conference decisions, the halting of American policy for victory over Hitler and the organization of a peaceful world, the breaking of Roosevelt's leadership and its substitution by that of John L. Lewis! And the weapon for all this, is to be a national strike of the coal miners!

It is true, of course, that the coal miners have many justified demands and grievances. One of the oldest and strongest unions, their wages and conditions remain on a level below that of the steel workers who are only recently organized. The difference between the achievements of the two unions arises from the difference in their leadership; the steel workers are headed by Philip Murray, who has consistently maintained the no-strike policy, and led the unions in political action in alliance with the broad progressive majority of the country, in support of Roosevelt; the coal miners are led by Lewis, who led the miners into four national strike actions in 1943, has aligned the miners union with the most reactionary political circles, and has broken the solidarity of labor consistently over

the past several years. If the coal miners have special grievances, these must in the first instance be placed to the account of the misleadership of Lewis, and they cannot be remedied by more of the same misleadership.

The coal miners will have to learn this bitter lesson, that so long as they permit John L. Lewis in their name to sabotage the war effort, to lead them into strikes at the height of the war, to carry on civil warfare against the President, and to conspire to defeat America's foreign policy, just that long also will the miners suffer sub-standard conditions of wages and labor. No one can help the miners to improve their conditions so long as they permit John L. Lewis to throw their power into action against the war effort, against the nation, and against the bulk of the labor movement. The coal miners will pay with their skins for the misleadership of Lewis just as surely as the Germans must pay with their skins for the crimes of Hitler.

Lewis with his strike threat endangers not only the miners but the whole labor movement. For it is clear that the nation as a whole, including labor, will not tolerate a nationwide shut-down of the miners in this critical moment of the war, and the occurrence of such a strike will create the imminent danger of new laws being passed denying the right to strike. Thus the magnificent record of the labor movement which has *voluntarily* enforced as its own policy the no-strike pledge, through more than three years of war and against the worst sort of provocations from reactionary employers, with only small deviations until recently outside the miners and these the result of the work of Lewis's friends, would be lost in the last period of the war, and all unions be placed under the stigma of *enforced* no-strike legislation.

It must be clear that a labor movement working under anti-strike legislation will be seriously weakened and handicapped, as compared with a labor movement enforcing the no-strike policy as its own voluntary choice.

The voluntary character of labor's no-strike policy, which wins for labor a strong strategic position to advance its interests in harmony with general national policy both during war and in the peace to follow, cannot be understood however as voluntary in the sense that it can be adopted and discarded at will or caprice by separate leaders or separate unions. It is voluntary in the sense that the labor movement as a whole has adopted it as its own policy for the duration, and undertakes to enforce this policy itself without the intervention of anti-strike legislation. Labor's voluntary no-strike policy has meaning and advantage to labor because, while retaining the legal right to strike, the labor movement as a whole decides not to exercise that right and restrains any separate part of the labor movement from violating that general decision. If the labor movement tolerates any of its parts abandoning the no-strike policy, and such violations assume the proportions of a danger to the war effort, then the whole policy is transformed into a fraud and a delusion. Labor must *enforce* its own voluntarily-adopted policy, or by failure to do so admit its inability to protect the nation in its darkest hour of trial.

This means that the labor movement must bring John L. Lewis under the general discipline which he has disclaimed and defied. It must denounce the threatened national tie-up of the mines. It must appeal directly to the miners over the head of Lewis not to follow him into this disastrous action. It must make clear beyond the shadow of doubt that those conspirators are wrong who, like Jonathan Stout and his boss Dubinsky, speculate that any considerable part of the labor movement will rally to the support of Lewis or follow his example.

The C.I.O. Must Put Its Own House in Order

Lewis is speculating that through his strike movement he will emerge as the Number One labor leader of America, not only of the miners but of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. as well.

He is being welcomed by the senile and bankrupt top leaders of the A. F. of L. Executive Council, who hope he will give their councils the dynamic quality in which they are so sadly lacking. He is receiving the secret collaboration of a small clique of C.I.O. leaders long associated with Dubinsky, and hopes these men will betray the Murray leadership today as Dubinsky betrayed the C.I.O. while Lewis was still at its head some years ago. These collaborators with Lewis and Dubinsky are operating the same strategy within the C.I.O. that Lewis and Dubinsky operate outside and in the A. F. of L.

It is time that the Lewis aides inside the C.I.O. be publicly identified and placed in their proper category. They are Samuel Wolchok, the first president of a C.I.O. union to publicly renounce the no-strike policy, when he played into the provocative plans of Sewell Avery of Montgomery Ward and gave him exactly the strike he wanted; Emil Rieve, head of the Textile Workers Union, who most recently renounced the no-strike policy and resigned as member of the War Labor Board without consultation with the C.I.O. leadership; and Walter Reuther, one of the vice-presidents of the Auto Workers Union, the leader most responsible for the failure to restrain the wild-cat strikes that have marred the otherwise splendid record of that organization in war production.

Wolchok, Rieve, and Reuther all participated in the latest C.I.O. national convention which unanimously re-affirmed the no-strike policy and declared that no grievances and no employers' provocations could justify its abandonment or relaxation. They are personally bound by this decision by having participated in making it. But they seem to keep two sets of books, one in C.I.O. national conventions and for ceremonial occasions, and an entirely different one in the practical conduct of union affairs. They have done everything in their power to promote and encourage strikes and to break down the governmental machinery for peaceful settlement of disputed labor problems. They have paved the way for John L.

Lewis and his present threat to paralyze the nation at war. Without their aid and encouragement it is doubtful if Lewis would have dared go so far with his conspiracy against the nation.

It is clear that the C.I.O. will not be able to defeat the coming Lewis *blitzkrieg* against its very existence unless it puts its own house in order. If it tolerates the application of the same strategy Lewis is using, on the part of leaders within its own councils, without calling them to responsibility, then the C.I.O. will be paralyzed from within when Lewis throws all his forces into battle for his grand *coup*, his bid for power. If C.I.O. National Convention policies cannot bind even the men who participated in making them, then of course they can have not the slightest validity for John L. Lewis who has long arrogantly proclaimed that he is responsible to no one but himself.

We are now going through the great battle for America. The C.I.O. must put its house in order and discipline its ranks, must enforce its own solemnly proclaimed policies, if it is to honorably perform its historic tasks.

Is There a Labor Revolt Against Roosevelt?

Dubinsky's scribbler, Mr. Stout, writes that there is a general revolt of the labor movement against Roosevelt and his Administration. It is undoubtedly the aim of Lewis, his backers and associates, to create such a revolt if it can possibly be accomplished.

Let us examine this idea carefully, in all its many-sided significance, and understand what it means in the world of political reality.

First of all, if labor should be in revolt against Roosevelt this would mean that labor has repented of its role in the 1944 elections, that labor regrets having helped decisively in electing Roosevelt, that labor admits it made a mistake and should

properly have supported Dewey—in which case Dewey would have been elected President instead of Roosevelt.

Suppose Dewey were President now, there would be no conflict between the Government and John L. Lewis—on the contrary, Lewis would most probably be a member of the Government in Dewey's Cabinet. Labor knew that on November 7, but went to the polls to vote overwhelmingly for Roosevelt and against Dewey-Lewis. What has happened since November 7 to cause labor to change its mind? Obviously nothing has changed except to further confirm labor in the correctness of its choice!

Suppose Dewey were President now, there supposedly would be no disputes between the Government and the trade unions about how to settle labor problems peacefully—because Dewey promised to remove all government ceilings on both wages and prices and refer all disputes back to labor-employer settlement. Labor knew that on November 7, but voted overwhelmingly against this Dewey line, because it knew that in a race with runaway prices the wage standard would be irretrievably shattered, trade union life thrown into confusion, and the nation plunged into economic chaos. Why should labor desire the Dewey policy any more today than on November 7? Obviously there is no such reason whatever!

Suppose Dewey were President today, there is some reason to assume that because of his lukewarm attitude to the war he would not have made the recommendation for a National Service law (although this is not so certain, since Dewey might propose such legislation for entirely other purposes). But labor knew on November 7, that Dewey was lukewarm on the war and would not aggressively urge and guide its prosecution, and that is precisely one of the main considerations that brought labor in great majority to the support of Roosevelt. What has happened since November 7 to cause labor to be any less determined to carry on the war to the quickest possible victory? Obviously nothing, unless we count the confused illu-

sions in some circles that the war is already over but for the shouting!

Suppose Dewey were President today, there would be no Crimea decisions to pass judgment upon; there would be no San Francisco Conference of the United Nations coming on April 25; there would be no settlement of the Polish, Greek, Yugoslavian, and similar questions; there would be no united policies with our Allies; the United States could decide all questions by itself—and fight the war to conclusion largely in a careful isolation from our present allies. Labor knew all those things on November 7, and voted for Roosevelt precisely because he promised and labor expected that Roosevelt would bring to America such a settlement as that of Crimea. What has happened since November 7, that labor should have changed its mind, and wish now to go back to the line of Dewey and Hoover and Vandenberg and Wheeler and John L. Lewis? Of course, nothing has happened that could bring that about, but on the contrary the labor movement is enthusiastically united as never before in support of Roosevelt because of the Crimea decisions!

It is reactionary nonsense to talk about a labor revolt against Roosevelt.

Does this mean that labor is satisfied, contented? Of course not! Labor has demands and grievances which are growing, labor is restless and looking for improved methods and better solutions, and above all labor is confused by the shrill clamor of reactionary agitation and the provocations of employers who are trying to drive labor into revolt. These are real problems, presenting real dangers.

All these unresolved problems and dangers, however, can be properly evaluated only when they are taken in their general setting and framework. That is the war, and the needs of war, which require in labor's own interests as much as of the nation as a whole, that all problems shall be settled in such a way as to promote and not hinder the war effort.

The economic aspect of labor's unsolved problems must, further, be placed in some proportionate relationship to a little-noticed fact which is, however, unprecedented in history. That fact is that the U.S.A., under Roosevelt's leadership and primarily because of his policies, has been able to conduct all-out war for three years and furnished unexampled aid to our allies, without diminishing the general volume of supplies to the civilian population, but on the contrary expanding that general volume of supplies to a height never before reached.

Every other country has paid for this war in a sharp reduction of living standards, and especially for the working class, which in most countries has approached catastrophic proportions. The U.S.A., on the contrary, despite a war budget of astronomic figures, has gained in this war an unprecedented expansion of its whole economy, which made possible the expansion in wartime of the total volume of civilian consumption including that of the working class. Such a phenomenon has never before been witnessed in all history. It has been accomplished by the deliberate policy of President Roosevelt and in battle against all his enemies who said it could not be done.

This is the great economic fact against which all grievances and problems must be measured. This is the fact that reduces to irresponsible prattle all talk about a general revolt of labor against President Roosevelt.

The Limits to Labor's Economic Advance in Wartime

Labor can continue to advance its position, economically as well as politically, even in wartime. Labor's demand for a revision of the stabilization formula to take account of the actual rise of living costs is sound, from the standpoint of war production, and there need be no worry because the miners, under Lewis, have abandoned this general demand of the labor movement which can make better progress without Lewis. Fur-

ther advance can also still be made by a more general adoption of the incentive wage principle, which is fully established within the stabilization structure, but is not yet fully utilized by the trade unions. Sub-standard wages can still be pulled up to a more adequate level, and inequalities ironed out, within the established policies. And especially the machinery of adjustment can be improved, and made more authoritative and prompt in action. These things would go far to eliminate the restlessness of labor's ranks, would disarm the reactionary demagogues, and generally strengthen the home front. There must be the most serious efforts made to unite labor, management, and the government to reach such solutions.

It must be fully understood by labor, however, that there are distinct limits to labor's possible wartime economic advance within our existing economic and political set-up. That limit is where it encroaches upon the necessities of production for the war and for supply to our allies. The limit thus set will be broken down only when and as victory in the various theatres of war opens up the possibility of large-scale reconversion of the war economy to peacetime production.

Only with victory, and the organization of a stable peace, will the great potentialities of economic advance for the working class and the whole population open up in any volume corresponding to the needs and aspirations of the working population, and then only on condition that the working class and all democratic and progressive forces keep themselves firmly united around the program of President Roosevelt, and defeat all the conspiracies directed against it.

It is not the purpose of this report to make a re-examination of all the complex economic problems of the labor movement in wartime. That will be done in another report by Roy Hudson. It is sufficient for my present purpose to place these problems in the broad political and economic framework within which alone they can be properly judged.

Crimea Results in Stronger National Unity

There is no doubt that the Crimea Conference has brought a wider national unity than has hitherto existed, far wider than that which re-elected the President last November. This is reflected most clearly in the press; a considerable section of the newspapers that supported Dewey in the election, and that hailed Vandenberg's diversion in January, have now come out unequivocally in support of the Crimea decisions, including the projected world organization to be formed at San Francisco in April. The reactionary coalition is melting away. Even the most vehemently disputed aspects of the Bretton Woods economic plan are gaining ground among former opponents. All signs indicate a heavy swing of public opinion behind Roosevelt, operating among all classes including the big bourgeoisie.

Much remains, however, to be done in this respect. The unity taking shape on the broad over-all plans must be given a firmer foundation by more practical detailed development of labor-management-government cooperation in jointly solving all questions, from the plants and localities upward. The labor-management committee movement, which has become somewhat quiescent and neglected during the past year, must be revived and developed on a broader and more intensive scale.

The time is over-ripe for the emergence of a higher type of labor-management cooperation. That higher type which must now emerge, without delay, is the coming together of the most sober and responsible national leaders of both capital and the trade unions with a *common program* for the finishing of the war, the guarantee of stable peace, and the full utilization of American economy after the war with a constantly rising standard of living for the entire population. This is no longer labor's program alone, it is accepted by a growing section of the business, industrialist, and financial world, as by middle

classes. This agreement which exists, which more and more extends to the details of approach, method, and policy, must be given an organized center of expression and practical work. It is time for bold and decisive steps in this direction.

London and Crimea—World Trade Union Congress Established

While the Big Three were making their historic decisions at Yalta, there gathered in London an equally significant international gathering of the representatives of the organized labor movement of some forty countries, which also arrived at decisions of lasting consequence.

Originally called by the British Trade Union Council, on behalf of the Anglo-Soviet Committee, as a purely exploratory and advisory conference, the London meeting explored the question of a world organization to such good effect that, in its last days, the new world organization was definitely launched.

Declaring its decision to set up the new World Trade Union Congress, the London meeting elected a broadly representative committee with a smaller executive, authorized to represent the world movement before all governments and international gatherings that may take place. This committee is charged with preparation of a draft constitution for the new organization, and with the convening of the constitutional congress of the new body in Paris in September.

The London Conference was the trade union counterpart of the meeting of governments in the Crimea. It enthusiastically endorsed the decisions taken at Yalta, and decided to send its sub-committee to the San Francisco meeting of the United Nations. It began the crystallization of an international working-class program in relation to all common issues facing labor.

The Western Hemisphere was represented in London by a large delegation from the C.I.O.; from Canada, delegates from both Trades and Labor Congress (A. F. of L.) and Canadian Labor Congress (C.I.O.); and from Latin America, a delegation from its broad regional federation—the C.T.A.L.—headed by Vicente Lombardo Toledano, as well as from specific countries.

From the Americas the most significant absentee was the American Federation of Labor of the U.S.A., which refused to attend on the expressed grounds that it refused in principle to sit in any conference including the C.I.O. and the trade unions of the U.S.S.R.

There is much work to be done in the U.S.A. by all trade unions and such organizations and individuals who serve the labor movement in any capacity, in making known among the broadest masses the work of the London Conference, its significance, and its future problems. For the trade unions, participation in the new World Trade Union Federation must receive the same sustained attention as does participation in the United Nations organization by the U. S. Government. This must not remain simply the business of delegates who attended or the top councils to which they report. It is a matter demanding the participation of the broad masses of the membership.

It will be necessary to win the adherence of the A. F. of L. This cannot be accomplished *merely* by appealing to its top leaders. The message of world unity must be carried to the mass of A. F. of L. members and the lower leaders over the head of the Executive Council.

It is clear that the A. F. of L. Executive Council, dominated by Matthew Woll and William Hutcheson, finds itself in an unexpected and embarrassing isolation as a result of the London Conference. These gentlemen had been misled by their chosen advisers, such as the anti-Soviet Russian émigré Abramovich and the German Social-Democratic émigrés, to-

gether with some of their friends in Britain, who had promised them that nothing would result from the London Conference. They had pinned their program upon maintaining the moribund International Federation of Trade Unions, and maintaining a split world labor movement. But all such calculations were wrecked when the obstructionist influences in Britain were overwhelmed by the influence of Crimea and finally gave in to the great demand for unity, and when even the I.F.T.U. itself, which was given representation in the Conference, joined in its decisions and accepted a place on the continuations committee. Now the A. F. of L., to maintain its old position consistently, will even have to withdraw from the I.F.T.U., or willy-nilly it will be at least indirectly associated with the new World Labor Federation. It is, of course, an impossible position, and an energetic enlightenment campaign among the A. F. of L. union members and leaders can soon rouse a strong movement to reverse the old bankrupt policy.

Some Lessons of the Mexico City Conference

It is too soon to give a conclusive estimate of the conference of American Republics still going on in Mexico City. It can be said quite definitely, however, that the mutual pledge of common action to halt any aggression in this hemisphere is a big step forward; it fits into the over-all framework of the Dumbarton Oaks plan, and it finally does away with the unilateral Monroe Doctrine which hitherto, even at its best, had disagreeable overtones for Latin America. The declarations of Stettinius indicate a policy fully in the spirit of Crimea, while the economic program enunciated by Clayton is clearly along the same line, notwithstanding some Latin-American misgivings concerning the excessive emphasis on "free enterprise," which is a phrase not worshipped south of the Rio Grande as it is in the United States.

There is still no indication of a forthright handling of the

problem of Argentinian fascism, nor of its more general form of Falangismo and relations to the Franco regime in Spain. It remains a fundamental and damaging contradiction in U. S. policy that it continues appeasement of Franco while trying to combat the extension of Franco's role in Argentina.

Neither are there any measures visible as yet looking toward the dissolving of Anglo-American rivalry in the Latin American markets, the factor which has blocked every effort to handle Argentine fascism and the problem of Falangism.

Much of the good work being accomplished in Mexico City, despite the hesitancy on key questions, will depend for its lasting effect upon the proper handling of the future status of Puerto Rico. While the Mexico City conference is on, the Puerto Rican legislature has unanimously adopted a measure proposed by Munoz Marin calling for a plebescite on independence. The U. S. can do nothing but cooperate fully in this proposal without fundamental damage to hemisphere relations, not to speak of the many other considerations requiring the affirmation of Puerto Rican nationhood.

In Mexico City we have been given much light on the merits of one of our own domestic squabbles of last December. The forthright progressive role played there by Stettinius and Clayton serves to show up how stupid, shortsighted and damaging to national unity was the fight against their appointment made by the newspaper *PM* and a group of mislead liberals in the Senate. It is now clear beyond any doubt that the fight against the State Department appointments was just as hurtful and unnecessary from the one side, as the fight against Wallace for the Department of Commerce was from the other side.

It still remains a good rule in such matters to think twice, and a third and fourth time, before coming out in opposition to the proposals of President Roosevelt. His sure wisdom and sound political judgment have been vindicated so many times in the past four years against opposition from all directions, that it would seem to be time for some of our bright young men to

draw a few conclusions from their experience. And that goes also for the leaders of the trade unions on a number of other matters.

Unifying the Nationality Groups Behind Crimea

A big job that requires completion now is the unification of the various nationality groups in America in support of the President's policies. Crimea has given us the conditions for breaking down the last remaining mass influence of the centers of reactionary leadership in this field. A detailed memorandum on many of these problems has been prepared which I commend to your careful examination. I will add only a few comments.

The Polish-American and German-American communities were the only large nationality groups within which considerable minorities still followed reactionary leadership in the November elections, and went against Roosevelt and for Dewey on considerations of foreign policy. The Italian-Americans might possibly be added, though it is questionable there if America's foreign policy was in any way decisive.

Among the Polish-Americans it is now possible to shatter the last remaining reactionary strongholds among the masses. Churchill's excoriation of the government-in-exile, in his report to the Commons on Crimea, registers the final bankruptcy of that gang in terms which the most backward and politically-illiterate Polish-Americans cannot fail to understand. Those who continue the old fight here now inevitably reveal themselves as fighting against both Poland and the United States, as well as the United Nations. Their last ground is cut from under them. They are now fighting only for an ideology which has lost its relevance in the world of reality, or for group interests patently hostile to any conception of Polish national interest. Now even the most clerical-dominated Polish-Amer-

ican communities can be won over to the progressive camp, to Crimea, as the only alternative to political nihilism.

So also among the German-Americans, we can now proceed successfully to the dissolution of the reactionary groupings insofar as these are held together by considerations of the future of Germany. Crimea dissolved the last hope that the old Germany could stage a come-back through the crevices of a divided Coalition. But Crimea also showed the way, and the only way, by which the German people can hope eventually to rehabilitate themselves in the family of nations. Whosoever among the German-Americans today fights against the Crimea program is obviously throwing his influence for the dismemberment and obliteration of Germany, for that is the only possible alternative to Crimea.

In the Jewish-American community we still must deal with that poisonous center of hostility to the United Nations represented by the *Daily Forward*, the Dubinsky machine dominating the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and the so-called Liberal Party. It has been held together so far only by the most desperate two-facedness and double-bookkeeping, illustrated by Dubinsky's close alliance with the anti-Semitic John L. Lewis. Crimea has brought the inner contradictions of this grouping to the breaking point, as it was revealed when the *Forward* greeted the Crimea communique with the identical words that came from Herr Goebbels over the Berlin radio. Dubinsky is now toying with the idea of breaking openly with Roosevelt, whom he has secretly knifed for the past four years, and speaks of the President as an "unconscious potential fascist." That is the inevitable logic of the anti-Teheran, anti-Crimea, anti-Soviet, anti-United Nations platform of this whole group of leaders. But it is also the step which will immediately split them from the bulk of their present followers. The *Forward* cannot carry its readers past this turn in the road, Dubinsky cannot take his garment workers there, and the Liberal Party becomes nothing but the remnants of

the Social-Democratic Federation when it breaks with the President. The fight for Crimea and the leadership of President Roosevelt, to which the overwhelming mass of the Jewish-American community surely can and must be won, becomes the battle for the final unmasking, discrediting and isolating of the Dubinsky-Forward-Social Democratic clique which for so long has poisoned the political atmosphere of New York. Let the struggle go on to its fore-ordained conclusion!

Prepare for the Municipal Elections of 1945

A large number of communities, among them the most important, will hold municipal elections during 1945. They have great importance in their own right, and obtain manifold significance as tests of the maturity of the progressive coalition and the ability of its parts to work together in solving practical problems. They are of hundredfold importance as preparation for the Congressional elections of 1946.

It is not my purpose to discuss concretely the problems of any particular locality. My remarks will be confined to some general considerations which must serve as a guide for all.

In most municipalities a very favorable factor for non-partisan coalitions is to be found in the relative weakness of traditional party ties in determining local voting. In these elections the authority of the old party machines is at its minimum. Therefore the possibility of uniting the most forward-looking persons of all party affiliations is at its maximum.

But there is, at the same time, another factor that is most unfavorable for progressive coalitions. That is the lack of intense public interest in the elections, such as that generated in State and especially National contests.

These two factors determine the main approach of the progressive coalition to its problems. It is necessary to relegate formal party considerations as much as possible to the background, and at the same time to make use of every other

possible means to arouse and intensify public interest in the elections.

It will be found almost invariably that both these aims will depend upon the personal characteristics and reputation of the candidates selected. The progressive coalition depends for its success upon securing candidates of outstanding strength of character and high prestige.

Strong individuals as candidates are also indispensable for welding the unity of the coalition. General statements of purpose and practical programs of action are necessary but they can by no means substitute for strong candidates.

Trade unions and their political action committees must be mobilized to their maximum strength, but at the same time they must not be permitted to stamp a "Labor" tag upon the ticket or the campaign as a whole. Business, professional, and other middle-class circles must be brought into equal activity and prominence.

The basic issues should center around honest, efficient and non-partisan administration of local affairs; abolition of all discrimination; the maximum development of child-care, schools, social services and public utilities, with orderly labor relations and collective bargaining; and the guarantee of adequate municipal income which in most cases now suffers from encroachments by the States. From this foundation the larger state and national issues should be developed upon a strictly non-partisan basis, with the full production and employment program given a concrete local approach, in terms of local industries and a housing program, with emphasis upon the returning soldiers, and the Crimea program for victory and world organization shown in its relation to local community life.

"Community cooperation for a better city" should be a keynote of the campaigns, and the whole conduct of each campaign must be such as to give an example of how the

community can cooperate without unseemly disputes and quarrels.

This is in its broad outlines the essential guide for the manner of bringing the Crimea program into the life and understanding of every home and neighborhood through the municipal elections. This is the way of consolidating the progressive coalition, and preparing it for its greater tasks in the 1946 Congressional elections.

Position of the Communist Political Association

We are holding the first meeting of our National Committee since the founding of our Association last May, following the dissolution of the Communist Party. It is in order, therefore, to make something of a summary analysis of where our organization stands as a result of the tremendous world events and of the changes in our own organization.

Our basic judgments on the political currents of our country and the world have been confirmed by events.

Our interpretation of Teheran has been confirmed by Crimea.

Our forecast of the national elections was confirmed by the voters on November 7.

Our own policies and work contributed essentially to the victory of November 7, and thereby directly to the consummation at Yalta.

Our guidance to the broad labor and progressive movement on current questions of the day, sometimes given in sharp if temporary conflict with some of our best friends, has in each case been quickly proved by later events to be sound and correct.

Our political influence within the labor and progressive organizations and communities has grown far wider and deeper than it ever was before.

Our own organization is more unified than ever, it grows, and it carries on more work in a more efficient manner with more results.

We are gradually breaking down and dissolving the barriers built up against us over a generation by the dominant forces in American society, as is witnessed by the action of the U. S. Army in abolishing the old discriminations directed against Communists.

We can confidently look forward to even more fundamental and dramatic confirmations of the correctness of the political path which we mapped and entered upon last May in our Convention.

All of our success flows from the fact that over the years we had equipped ourselves with the highest of sciences, Marxism, the science of history which enables us not only to understand events but to help shape them; because we understood that Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action in the present unique historical moment.

Because we were not paralyzed by the fear of making mistakes, we avoided the greatest mistake of all, that of remaining in old rigid attitudes amidst a rapidly changing world, the mistake of losing the great current of history and drifting into the rotting backwaters of sectarianism.

We have much to do and far to go. Our firm confidence in our course has nothing of self-satisfaction or complacency about it. We are realizing a self-criticism more penetrating than that we knew before, because it is directed exclusively to the vital things and to results in the real world, and not to formalities or non-essentials. We are creating and bringing forward a higher type of individual, deeper and more creative thought, bolder and more consistent action. We are linking ourselves indissolubly with ever-widening masses of people. From all this arises our confidence.

We will continue to go forward unhesitatingly upon our chosen path.

International Aspects of Marxism

American Communists have not been affiliated with any international organization since November 1940. We are not now, except that as Americans we are affiliated with the rapidly crystallizing United Nations organization, and as trade unionists we share in the rising World Trade Union Federation. But we always were and remain internationalists in spirit and understanding. We therefore retain the deepest interest in the life and progress of Marxists in other lands, as a part of our general interest in the whole world. There is an inevitable kinship and identity between Marxists of all lands, as between men and women who work with similar tools for similar ends with similar results. It is not the product merely of organization, and therefore it is not abolished when organizational connections no longer exist.

As to the Marxists leading the Soviet Union, the whole world now knows that it is indebted to them for being rescued from an age of reversion to cannibalism, to which Hitler had dragged most of Europe. They have long been the high inspiration of Marxists everywhere. Now they are an equal inspiration to all democratic peoples of the world. Marxists of all lands aspire to serve their own countries with something of the effectiveness displayed by the Marxists of the Soviet Union under the leadership of the greatest Marxist, Stalin.

America is now awakening to the fact that the Marxists, the Communists, of China are in the forefront of our great struggle against the Japanese, that they are most loyal and dependable allies—even though for years the dominant American attitude had been to consider them enemies or at least definitely “undesirable.” Today it is official U. S. policy to urge the full inclusion of the Chinese Communists into the Chinese government, because this is necessary to achieve a strong China and U. S. interests demand a strong China.

Everywhere in Latin America the Marxists are actively in

the forefront of the rising labor and democratic movements, and becoming a major political force. The outstanding and unchallenged leader of the Latin American Federation of Labor is Vicente Lombardo Toledano, who, although he has never been affiliated with any Communist Party, is a talented and self-proclaimed Marxist.

In Europe the people of every country liberated from the Axis have put forward the Marxists among their most trusted leaders; no government in such liberated countries can make the slightest claim to stability unless it includes the Communists.

Marxism is the only school of political thought which is emerging from this greatest of all wars with strength not only unimpaired but increased manifold.

It is the high mission of the Communist Political Association to prove that Americans do not lag far behind this great historical trend, to worthily represent in our own country this science, Marxism, which is as universal as the knowledge of astronomy, as practical as radar, as international as human culture and progress.

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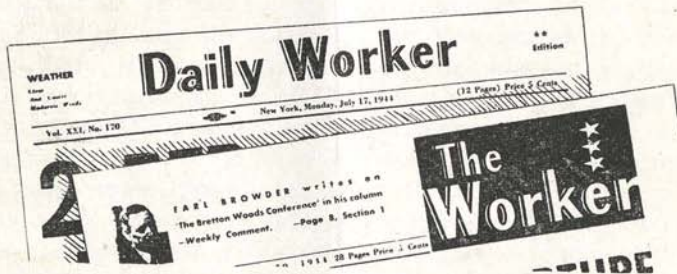
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