



By Eugene Dennis

# THE ELECTIONS

and the

OUTLOOK

for

# NATIONAL UNITY

TEN CENTS

THE ELECTIONS  
AND THE OUTLOOK  
FOR NATIONAL UNITY

By Eugene Dennis

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS  
NEW YORK

#### NOTE

*This pamphlet contains the abridged text of a report delivered by Eugene Dennis at a meeting of the National Board, Communist Political Association, on November 17, 1944.*

## C O N T E N T S

	PAGE
THE NATION'S VICTORY . . . . .	7
I. THE ELECTION RESULTS . . . . .	10
II. NATIONAL COALITION SECURES VICTORY . . . . .	16
III. THE POST-ELECTION OUTLOOK . . . . .	22
IV. KEY TASK—CONSOLIDATE NATIONAL UNITY . . . . .	30
V. ANTI-CORRUPTION ENDANGERED THE NATION . . . . .	43

#### ABOUT THE AUTHOR.

Eugene Dennis, the author of this pamphlet, is a Vice-President of the Communist Political Association and a member of its National Board. He is an Associate Editor of *Political Affairs*, formerly published as *The Communist*, and of *The Worker and Daily Worker*.

*The illustrations in this pamphlet are by the distinguished American artist, William Gropper, and are reproduced by courtesy of the Morning Freiheit*

## THE ELECTIONS AND THE OUTLOOK FOR NATIONAL UNITY

By EUGENE DENNIS

### THE NATION'S VICTORY

NOVEMBER 5, 1944, was one of the great moments in the political life of America and world history. It registered one of the decisive military and political victories of this great people's war of national liberation. *It was a triumph for all the American people, for patriots of all classes and walks of life. It was not a victory for any one class or group in the country. It was a victory for the nation.*

For the outcome of the presidential elections in the United States is a notable victory for the camp of national unity and the alliance of the United Nations. It marks a powerful political blow against Berlin and Tokyo. It signifies a serious political defeat within the country for the Hiram-McCormick-Parnemon axis and for all other advocates of disunity, reaction and a "soft" or compromise peace.

The election of Roosevelt and of a Congress which will more actively support the nation's policies, reaffirms the desires and intent of the American people to prosecute the war against Hitlerite Germany and militarist Japan to final victory, to implement the war and post-war policies of the Roosevelt Government. It constitutes a popular referendum and endorsement of the concords of Moscow and Teheran. Likewise it gives a go-ahead signal for the realization of the President's Second Bill of Rights and the goal of sixty million peace-time jobs.

In estimating the far-reaching significance of the election, it will not detract from the greatness of the electoral triumph of November 7 to point to the closeness of the vote and how dangerously near the reactionary Hoover-Dewey and the pro-fascist America First crowd came to winning. Nor will it minimize the magnitude of the electoral victory if, while reminding the fact that the G.O.P. campaign policy of obstructing the war effort, of class division and anti-Communism failed to succeed at the polls, it is pointed out, nonetheless, that the Red-scare, the Hitlerite issue of anti-Communism, as well as the poison of anti-Semitism and Negro baiting, were used to advantage among certain sections of the population. In fact, these after-effects of the G.O.P. campaign present a series of involved problems jeopardizing the unity of our people and the solidarity of the United Nations.





Only by signaling these dual but dialectical aspects of the elections will it be possible to obtain a balanced picture and evaluation. For this over-all approach is necessary to appreciate more fully the odds encountered, the victory achieved and the tasks ahead. And from this viewpoint it is necessary to examine some of the surrounding facts of the election returns.

## I. THE ELECTION RESULTS

**T**HE PRESIDENT was re-elected with 452 electoral votes to Dewey's 99, and with a popular plurality of over three and one-quarter million out of some 47 million votes cast. In other words, the total popular vote as well as the presidential plurality is slightly under that of 1948. In fact, it is the closest presidential race since 1916.

The large vote for Dewey, as well as that for many of the isolationists who were also defeated, cannot be minimized. However, it would give a false picture and lead to incorrect conclusions if electoral comparisons were based solely on quantitative consideration and the figures of 1944 and 1948.

A number of factors should be borne in mind, including the following:

(1) Approximately 50 per cent of the armed forces, over eight and one-half million men and women, were disenfranchised and unable to vote in these elections due to reactionary Republican and Southern Bourbon sabotage. Yet it should be remembered that Roosevelt's majority among the some two million-odd soldiers' vote cast, exclusive of the South, ranged from 63 per cent to 77 per cent.

(2) Several million war workers, outside of the South, were disqualified from voting due to arbitrary and undemocratic new voting requirements.

(3) While the presidential contest was close, the majority of those voting for Dewey stand for victory and, in the main, support the foreign policy of the Roosevelt Government. These voters accepted at face value Dewey's promise of international cooperation to win the war and secure the peace. Moreover, they were influenced by partisan considerations, in-

cluding the positions taken by Governors Saltonstall and Baldwin, as well as Republicans of the type of Eric Johnston.

### The New Congress

Next, and of great significance, are the results of the Congressional campaign. The new Congress, the 79th, will have some eighty new faces. It will have 244 Democrats in the House as compared to 222 in 1949, with four seats still in doubt. It will have 57 Democratic senators, the same figure as in 1949, with one Senatorial race still in doubt.

But the important thing is not merely, nor so much, the fact that the Democrats will have an increased majority in the House and will retain their majority in the Senate. *The decisive thing is the qualitative changes which have taken place in the composition of both party delegations in the House and Senate.*

A vital part of the core of the reactionary, defeatist and isolationist bipartisan groups in both the Senate and House now have been eliminated. An influential number of pro-Roosevelt, pro-United Nations and pro-labor Congressmen have been elected.

From the Democratic side, the 79th Senate will be immeasurably strengthened by the absence of Champ Clark, "Cotton Ed" Smith, Robert Rice Reynolds, D. Worth Clark and Guy Gillette, and by the presence of Myers, Magrason, McMahon and Taylor. From the Republican ranks there will be missing the arch-isolationist Senators Nye, Dunsen, Davis and Hoffman, and there will be added pro-United Nations supporters like Saltonstall and Morse.

In the House of Representatives, such isolationist and red-baiting spearheads like Fish, Dies, Marx, Doy, Costello, Starnes and Busby have been removed. On the other hand, some two-score progressives and anti-Hitlerite Congressmen have been elected from Pennsylvania, Washington, Illinois, Connecticut, Ohio, California, West Virginia, etc. All this will

help cleanse the political atmosphere in Washington and reinforce the Administration's position and the nation's war effort.

These changes in both houses of Congress, together with the greater strength of the democratic camp, create the conditions for bringing about an entirely new relationship of forces in Congress far beyond the quantitative changes involved. These changes make it possible to mobilize the majority of Congress actively to support the nation's war and post-war program.

In analyzing the results of the elections, mention should also be made of the fact that the number of State Administrations under Republican control has been reduced from 28 to 22. Pro-Roosevelt Democratic governors have been elected in Washington, Ohio, Massachusetts, Missouri and Idaho. Although data is incomplete, it appears that favorable changes have also taken place in the composition of a number of State Legislatures, including those of Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Washington.

### FDR—the Nation's Candidate

There are a number of other aspects of the presidential and congressional vote which contain important lessons. These pertain to the class, nationality and geographical composition of the vote. And these warrant exact and detailed study, state by state and election district by election district.

There are not sufficient data available at this time to make more than a preliminary and rough estimate of some of these facts. But among certain things which can be noted are the following:

The main electoral strength of the President continues to be in the large industrial centers, especially from among the working people, including the mining areas.

The elections also show that the inroads into the rural areas which the reactionaries have been able to make in and around the Republican Party since 1928, and particularly during the 1942 elections, have been checked and in some states offset.

This is evidenced by the vote in the South and the West Coast states. It is also true in regard to the Roosevelt vote in upstate New York and downstate New Jersey, and, in a more limited way in regard to certain rural areas in Minnesota and Illinois. This indicates the realistic possibilities which now exist to help bridge the gap between the urban and rural sections, especially as the policy of national unity is developed further in the post-election period in such a way as to reach out and influence wider sections of the farming population.

Likewise, the elections demonstrate that Roosevelt was truly the candidate of a broad national unity. In addition to the working class and a substantial middle class vote which Roosevelt obtained, important sections of finance capital likewise supported his candidacy and foreign policies, even though powerful sections of business and finance supported Dewey. While there are few election statistics to prove this in terms of votes, this is indicated by the position of the *New York Times* and by the stand taken by such outstanding representatives of Big Business as Sutherland, W. Harrison, Donald Nelson, J. Byrnes, A. Huggins, Henry Kaiser, and others.

As for the Negro people, with few exceptions the pro-Roosevelt vote in the main Negro communities reached what may be an all-time high. The same is true for the vote of the Jewish people and the Americans of Slav extraction. The Polish vote continued as in former years to be predominantly progressive and pro-Roosevelt. The Italian vote exceeded all expectations and, despite some support for Dewey, was predominantly pro-Roosevelt. Even the German-American vote, which was heavily pro-Dewey, showed sizable support for the President. However, among Americans of Irish extraction there were certain defections away from the Roosevelt camp; although here there was no uniform trend and no pronounced swing to Dewey.

Concerning the geographical areas, Roosevelt and his supporters won a definite and decided lead in most of the Atlantic and Pacific states. Despite the Republican maneuverers and

heavily financed anti-Roosevelt "revolt," the traditionally Democratic South remained united behind the President. However, the anti-Roosevelt, anti-Negro and anti-labor campaigns of the Martin Dies, Germanys, O'Daniel and "Cotton Ed" Smiths unquestionably was a factor in reducing the popular plurality of the Roosevelt vote in the South as compared with 1936. Yet it is also a fact that the struggle against the Southern Bourbons and their Republican colleagues, which embraced all classes and patriotic groups in the South, resulted in a national unity movement which promises locally to alter the relation of forces within and around the Democratic Party in the South, in favor of progress and democracy.

### The Non-Partisan Approach

One additional fact concerning the election returns needs to be noted. It is a fact of major importance which helped



determine the outcome of the elections. The presidential vote this year revealed a crossing of party lines, of bi-partisan and non-partisan voting, on a larger scale than that equalled in any previous national election campaign.

While the majority of the electorate in such states as Connecticut and Minnesota cast their votes for a pro-war Republican gubernatorial candidate, they also voted in their majority for Roosevelt. Whereas the majority of the electorate in Massachusetts and Oregon voted for the Republican semi-social candidates who favor international collaboration, the presidential plurality went to Roosevelt.

In a number of congressional races the non-partisan approach of the electorate to candidates and issues was even more pronounced. For instance, in such contests as those which led to the defeat of Fish and Nye, as well as to the election of Murrain and Powell—both of the latter obtaining a popular majority on all three tickets, Democratic, Republican and American Labor Party—the trend towards splitting party tickets, towards exercising a discriminatory non-partisan approach was eminently successful. And this was fostered, not only by labor and the Communist Political Association, but also by leading independent Republicans like Senator Ball, Bartley Crum and Russell Davenport.

While this non-partisan tactic was limited in its application in the elections, nonetheless it played a big role in helping re-elect Roosevelt and in removing from high office a score or more of defectors and isolationists. *The further development of this approach and tactic is one of the keys to most effectively shape political realignments in the post-election period within and around the two-party system and along democratic lines. It is one of the keys to strengthen national unity.*

## II. NATIONAL COALITION SECURES VICTORY

**I**N THE LIGHT of the election results and trends, the question inevitably arises: how was this victory secured? Before answering this basic question, it is crystal-clear even from an examination of the close election returns, that victory on November 7 was not inevitable. It is clear, as Earl Browder has stressed, that if any one of the major points of the desperate and reckless tactics and strategy of the reactionary Republican high command had fully succeeded, then the outcome of the elections would have been radically different. Then, too, the outcome of the war and the efforts to attain a durable peace would have been placed in jeopardy. For this strategy consisted of obstructing the military conduct of the war, creating hostility and resentment against our British and Soviet Allies, provoking industrial conflict and stirring up of national discord and strife, etc., particularly through the weapon of anti-Communism and anti-Semitism.

But victory was achieved. The election results were, in the main, positive and favorable. This is so because of several vital factors. Amongst these the following should be noted:

First of all, these elections were held during the height of the anti-Axis war. They took place at a moment when the main military-political strategy and policies developed by our Commander-in-Chief and the Government, based on the unity of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, were, and are leading the country, in unison with our Allies, to victory. This was one of the dominant factors which stimulated the organization of broad non-partisan support behind Roosevelt. This influenced the majority of the electorate to take the unprecedented step of electing Roosevelt to a fourth term.



## The Democratic Party

Another factor which helped in a decisive way to determine the outcome of the elections was the nature of the Democratic Party's campaign and the valuable contributions of many of its organizations. Victory would not have been possible without the national program and policies of the Democratic Party which were mapped out and formulated by its leader, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who is also the leader of the national win-the-war coalition and the head of the government.

The aim and strategy of Roosevelt's campaign as the Democratic presidential nominee was directed towards securing an electoral victory for the camp of national unity and not just for the Democratic Party. This is by the main strength and power of the Democratic national campaign which, while not entirely free of partisanship, was conducted on the basis of speeding victory in the war, strengthening America's relation with its Allies, securing a stable peace and a post-war economy of expanding production and employment.

Most of the national spokesmen of the Democrats, such as Pepper, Hatfield, Wallace and Truman, as well as a large number of the principal pro-Roosevelt Democratic candidates running for the Senate and the House, developed their campaign on this basis. Moreover, it should be noted that most of the national leaders of the Democratic Party did not capitulate to the provocative and divisive anti-Communist campaign of Dewey Bricker and Company. While they did not squarely meet the issue, nevertheless they correctly stressed the fact that the Republican tactics of Red-baiting were patterned on the Hitlerite technique and strategy of divide and conquer.

However, the role of the various state Democratic Party machines in organizing for victory was very uneven. Some of these organizations were paralyzed by inner sabotage and bouds. These exhibited great weaknesses and were less of a factor in determining the outcome of the elections than in previous campaigns. Such was the case in many of the county organi-

rations, particularly in New York, Ohio, Michigan and Indiana.

On the other hand, a number of decisive county as well as state organizations of the Democratic Party did display great vitality and strength. This was so in Cook County, Illinois, and in many districts in California, Washington and Pennsylvania. These and other Democratic organizations were a positive, and in some cases, a key force in assuring the relatively large registration and in mobilizing the pro-Roosevelt vote.

Furthermore, in the course of the campaign, both in the primaries and the elections, new forces and leaders arose from among the Democratic Party ranks to challenge and help defeat the Farleys, O'Daniels and Elys. Important changes took place in a number of state and county Democratic organizations, as in Texas, Minnesota and California. New and more favorable opportunities now exist for these Democratic organizations to become stronger instruments of support for the Administration's anti-Axis policies and for enabling the camp of national unity, in most states and communities, to operate more effectively on the electoral front primarily through the channels of the Democratic primaries.

### The Role of the People

It must be acknowledged, however, that the elections could not have been won without the unparalleled initiative, the mass activities and the fighting enthusiasm which were developed during the course of the campaign by labor, by the organizations of the Negro people and the main nationality groups, and by scores of independent cultural, professional and business groups and committees.

Never before in American political history have labor and the people, including representatives from all walks of life, from both major parties and from the ranks of the independent voters, intervened so forcefully and effectively in a national election. Never have they displayed such profound

political understanding, such creative energies and such political drive.

Time does not permit an estimate of the constructive part played by each of these groups and movements, such as the important and unique role exercised by the Independent Voters Committee of the Arts and Sciences, composed of the foremost representatives of the cultural movement and scientific thought of America, of men and women who came forward in the role of great citizens and exercised a notable influence upon the course of the election. Nor is it possible here to analyze the important contributions of such groups as the Independent Republican Committee for Roosevelt, the Businessmen's Committee for Roosevelt, the Farmers for Roosevelt Committee and a host of very influential non-partisan Citizen's Committees. But it is appropriate to state in passing that it is in the best interests of the nation that most of these committees and movements should be continued in the post-election period. Whatever modifications or changes may be necessary in their organizations to achieve greater unity and cooperation among them, these committees and movements have a distinct and vital contribution to make to the cause of national unity, victory and progress.

### Labor Advances National Unity

Now at this point it is necessary and advisable to single out for emphasis the special role of labor in these elections, particularly of the C.I.O. and a number of A. F. of L. organizations.

This of course is not the first national election in which the labor movement has actively participated and exercised considerable influence. However, this is the first national election in which labor emerged on the national political arena as a major force, politically and organizationally. This is the first time in a national election that the decisive sections of labor championed the interests of the entire nation and worked to

close contact with wider sections of the non-working class population.

In these elections, the most politically active sections of labor, through the C.I.O. and its Political Action Committees, through the Labor Division of the Democratic Party, and through local A. F. of L. and United Labor Committees, came forward not only as the champions of the rights and interests of labor. They came forward as never before as the best organizers and most resolute defenders of the national war effort, of the country's welfare.

The decisive sections of labor pursued a course of promoting unity within the nation and sought the United Nations as the key to spending victory and ensuring a lasting and prosperous peace. Despite many weaknesses and shortcomings, and despite the unevenness of its activity and contributions during the election campaign, labor overcame many of its former sectarian attitudes towards non-labor groups and towards certain political machines. It learned to work within the two-party system, and especially in collaboration with the Roosevelt Democrats.

Labor helped defeat numerous strike and racial provocations instigated by pro-fascist employers, by John L. Lewis, the Trotskyites and Socialists. The main body of labor did not fall victim to the Red-baiting assaults of the Republicans. Labor was a decisive force which rallied and influenced the Negro people at certain moments of indecision and vacillation. And certainly, labor performed miracles of organization in the campaign to register and get out the vote.

Labor's strength and contributions in these elections were multiplied by the growing political maturity and statesman-like policy of the national leadership of the C.I.O. Labor's role was strengthened because important sections of the A. F. of L. actively entered into the elections, displayed considerable initiative and understanding, and developed closer relations with the C.I.O., as well as with the Roosevelt forces within the Democratic Party.



### Communists Aid Victory

If the main forces of the labor and people's movement played a new and more influential role in the elections, even though not yet a leading role, no small credit is due to the correct policies and the growing political influence and activities of the Communist Political Association.

In retrospect, and in all modesty, it can be stated that the policies and the work of our Association were an indispensable factor in helping win victory. The conclusions which Earl Browder and our National Committee drew from Teheran for the nation and for our own organization; our resolute efforts to strengthen national unity and the collaboration of the anti-Hitler coalition; our inflexible insistence on subordinating everything to winning the war; our timely and stubborn

crusade to influence the labor movement to support Roosevelt for a fourth term; our uncompromising position against third party moves and movements; our insistence on a non-partisan approach and the development of this tactic to reach and influence all patriotic forces irrespective of class or party, as well as our decision to run no independent ticket but to merge the main election activities of our members with those of the mass organizations and broader national coalition movements—all this, coupled with the practical organizational work of the Communist trade unionists and that of our lower organizations, contributed greatly to the election victory. This is true, notwithstanding many weaknesses and the unevenness of the work of our Association and its leadership, including a tendency in certain mass organizations to underestimate the possibilities for affecting a decisive change in Congress.

There can be no question but that the elections have amply confirmed the validity of the decisions of our National Convention. What is especially urgent now is to develop further our main policies and tactics in accord with the new political developments following the elections, and the new world-wide phase of the war which we have now entered.

### III. THE POST-ELECTION OUTLOOK

**WHAT ARE** the probable effects of the elections on the course of political developments internationally and within the nation?

Internationally, the outcome of the elections clears the way for a new advance towards implementing the concord of Tehran. The decision of the American electorate which was hailed in Moscow, London and Paris, makes it possible to reinforce the solidarity and the alliance of the United Nations and its leading anti-Hitlerite coalition.

The final and most difficult phase of the war in Europe can now be completed by the Allies more rapidly because the closer and long-term collaboration of the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain which the electorate affirmed, and which the election promises, will now help facilitate the solution of a number of involved political and economic problems confronting the United Nations, including some acute problems arising out of Anglo-American economic rivalries. At the same time, the elections, in continuing the Roosevelt government and endorsing its war program and foreign policy, have shattered the hopes for a negotiated or "soft" peace on which the Nazis counted in the event of a Dewey victory. Therefore the elections have helped to remove one possibility that might have prolonged the war.

In the Far East, one of the consequences of the elections will be to enable the Administration to move more firmly and successfully in helping to effect a solution of the critical internal situation within China brought about by the Chiang Kai-shek government which has obstructed and delayed the most effective concerted prosecution of the war against Japan.

## National Unity Strengthened

Within the country the effect of the elections will accelerate and strengthen the trend and movement to consolidate and to broaden the camp of national unity around the Commander-in-Chief and the nation's war and post-war objectives. The elections will stimulate and facilitate the establishment of a stronger national victory and democratic coalition composed of the most politically active and forward-thinking elements from all classes and groups. The elections will encourage and stimulate all democratic currents and progressive forces, especially those of the labor movement and of other people's organizations and movements, whose role now can be enhanced and who can acquire a greater voice and influence in the affairs of the nation.

At the same time, the outcome of the elections will impel important capitalist groups, who assumed a position of neutrality in the campaign, to cooperate more closely with the Administration and with the popular forces, particularly on the vital issues of international security and the effective expansion of the foreign and domestic markets.

This trend and stimulus towards national unity which the elections favor, and which can be hampered by a correct post-election orientation and policies of the labor and progressive movement, has excellent chances of succeeding. For one thing, the elections have weakened the enemies of national unity and victory and have strengthened the position of the Roosevelt Government and the whole democratic camp. This now makes it possible to achieve a stronger and longer-term collaboration of the various classes and groups comprising the national coalition.

And here it should be remembered that the degree of national unity which has been forged in the United States in the course of this war, on the basis of the common national interests of the patriotic forces of all classes and groups, *i.e.*, to crush Nazi-fascism and Japanese militarism, is not a transi-



ney or socialized phenomenon which will automatically disappear with victory in the war. In fact, national unity can and must be strengthened and continued in the post-war period. For it is in the interest of all loyal Americans, of all classes, to preserve and strengthen our national unity, to achieve the utter destruction of fascism, to prevent the recurrence of aggression, to achieve a prosperous post-war economy and to protect and buttress our democratic institutions and way of life.

And while the relation of forces within the camp of national unity will change in the period ahead, and while many differences and contradictions will inevitably arise in the course of future political developments and struggles, as in the past, the conditions are now more favorable, after the elections, internationally and within the country, to resolve or compromise these differences in the interests of the nation, of the people, of progress.

### The Plans of Reaction

But it must not be forgotten that the November elections will also foster another trend, a counter-movement. The camp of reaction and isolationism headed by the fanatical monopolists, by the DuPonts, the Hearsts and McCornicks, will not passively accept the results of the polls. These forces were thwarted on November 7th in the most desperate bid for governmental power which they have yet made. They have been checked and partially defeated. But they have not yet been routed and smashed. In fact, during the course of the election struggles they did succeed in organizing powerful reactionary and pro-fascist groupings and activities. They did succeed in obscuring and misleading millions with their anti-Communist crusade.

Clearly, these reactionary circles do not intend to wait until the presidential elections of 1948, nor even until the Congressional elections of 1946, to renew their drive to try and alter or reverse the direction of American policies at home and in world affairs. Even though they will systematically and exer-

getically prepare for the coming municipal and Congressional elections, these forces may be counted on to redouble their efforts now to create dissunity within the nation and among the United Nations, to continue to obstruct the prosecution of the war, the attainment of a complete victory and the establishment of a stable peace.

These pro-fascist, imperialist elements will try to exploit the narrow margin of the presidential vote so as to distort and circumvent the popular mandate of November 7th. They will seize upon all difficulties and differences accompanying the concluding stage of the war in Europe and in the Pacific. They will seize upon all problems arising from the endeavours of the United Nations to reach a common approach and agreement on the questions of the peace settlement, economic reconstruction and trade, on collective security to prevent future aggression and war, so as to weaken or break the unity of the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

They will aggravate and demagogically utilize the impending critical economic difficulties and dislocations of the reconstruction period. They will continue and augment in every conceivable way their anti-Communist, anti-Semitic, anti-Negro and anti-labor campaigns and incitements.

To achieve their anti-national unity and anti-United Nations objectives, this pro-fascist and reactionary imperialist clique will, among other things, use their huge economic and financial resources in such ways as to try to bring pressure to bear upon the government, so as to retard or block a national program for reconstruction and to torpedo such measures as the Bretton Woods agreements on international currency stabilization, credits and capital investments, as well as that of the Dumbarton Oaks decisions for the establishment of an international security organization. They will use their weakened but still relatively strong positions in Congress, as well as in many government departments and agencies, so try to undermine and sabotage the government's program from within.

They will strive to strengthen their grip on the Republican Party machines and will make new efforts in the South and elsewhere to strangle control of various Democratic Party organizations. At the same time, they will encourage and foster formation of third party movements and organizations, utilizing for this aim the reactionary Social-Democrat, Trotskyite, and Leninistic cliques and such instrumentalities as the Liberal Party of New York and the Michigan Commonwealth Federation.

They will try to maneuver with the Lewises and the Keatleys and particularly with the Wohl-Hatchison wing of the A. F. of L., both to check and to prevent the growth of labor's unity of action nationally and internationally, to provoke new divisions within the labor movement, and above all, to precipitate large-scale industrial strife and class conflicts.



These sinister forces will also attempt to create a powerful nationwide fascist movement with a mass base. Towards this end they can be expected to build up a number of existing fascist groups ranging from Gerald Smith's America First Party to the K.K.K., as well as to launch new fascist organizations, perhaps with the leading participation of such elements as ex-Senators Reynolds and Nye, and ex-Congressmen Dies and Day.

It would be a fatal mistake if the country, impressed with the victories of November 7, were to minimize or underestimate the strength, the cunning and the desperate lengths to which the camp of fascist-minded reaction will go in its attempt to steer America away from the path of Yehovan and national unity. But it would be even more disastrous if the democratic camp were to fail to see and utilize the new conditions, the new opportunities, which the elections and international developments provide to nullify and defeat these reactionary and pro-fascist objectives.

These lessons of the election results must be fully grasped to understand the immediate and central tasks which now confront our nation and the people.

#### IV. KEY TASK—CONSOLIDATE NATIONAL UNITY

Unquestionably the single most important national need and task of the post-election period is to unify and consolidate the loose coalition of national forces which supported Roosevelt's re-election and at the same time to weld an even broader unity. This broader national coalition should include millions of Republicans who voted for Dewey but who are desirous of bringing the war to an early and victorious conclusion and of guaranteeing a lasting and prosperous peace.

The establishment of this unity of action and common endeavor for speeding victory over Hitlerite Germany and militarist Japan and for bringing about effective international security in the post-war period remains the central and most urgent problem facing labor and the nation. Certainly this is the prerequisite for preserving the unity of the United Nations, for defeating pro-fascist reaction in the United States, for realizing the President's Sacred Bill of Rights, for assuring the welfare and progress of our nation.

As the elections have demonstrated, the time is ripe to make a series of new advances to solidify the camp of national unity and to strengthen within it the political influence of the most consistent anti-fascist forces.

The Commander-in-Chief, who was and is the leader of the national victory coalition, has emerged from the elections in a stronger position within the country, within his own party and within Congress. In Congress the prospects are, and the conditions warrant, the welding of a broader pro-Roosevelt coalition which will include, not only the progressives and consistent Roosevelt supporters, but a larger number of conservative Congressmen both from the South and the North, including a number of Republicans on the basis of the Admin-

itation's foreign policy and a united national effort to assure an expanding economy in the post-war period.

This can and must be achieved. To facilitate this, labor and the progressives should learn to work in a new way, to develop a new approach to Congress. Among other things, they should help influence the progressives in Congress to avoid functioning in the new 79th Congress along the lines of the old liberal bloc. They should encourage the staunch Roosevelt supporters to cooperate with the many conservative elements who support the government's foreign policy on the most vital and central points of the nation's war and post-war program. This will strengthen considerably the national coalition within and outside of Congress.

### Organize the Coalition

Secondly, and even more important, the conditions now exist nationally and on a State scale, for bringing about an organized coalition of the representatives of the main forces and groups in the nation who supported Roosevelt's re-election. It is now possible, as well as urgent, to help coalesce and bring together in national and state-wide conferences, committees or councils, some of the outstanding national leaders from the labor movement, from business circles, from the arts and sciences, from the veterans, farm, and Negro movements, including leading Democrats and independent Republicans. It is necessary and possible to achieve an organized coalition of various national and state leaders and groups who are interested in coordinating their efforts to win the war, to build a durable peace and to realize an economy of abundance and maximum employment.

But the realization of such projects and objectives would be seriously impeded if these were viewed as establishing dual or rival centers to the Democratic Party which has become the national electoral vehicle of the democratic coalition. Similarly, such unity moves would be hindered if the leaders of existing

national citizens committees would attempt to transform their specific committees into the main organizational structure and medium through which the broader forces should operate.

Undoubtedly, the form of the organized cooperation of the main leaders and groups from the camp of national unity should be loose and flexible. This is advisable so as to permit the broadest representation, the maximum coordination of the combined efforts of the most diverse groups and individuals, who can be united around specific points of common national interest, but who will insist on retaining freedom of action to independently pursue their own detailed programs in accord with their specialized interests. Whatever the form this unity of action may take, one consideration is paramount, and that is: the crystallization of a broader and more effective national unity cannot materialize on the basis of blueprints or by the adoption of a maximum political and economic program. It must develop on the basis of common and parallel action around a number of vital and key issues of national interest which are essential to winning the war, securing the peace and promoting economic prosperity.

### The Vital Issues

These issues would include, first of all, such measures as resolute support for all governmental policies required to complete military victory, including increased and uninterrupted war production, systematic and energetic support for the Dumbarton Oaks agreement, as well as the continuation of Lend-Lease, and a considerable expansion of U.N.R.R.A. For these and similar measures will continue to provide the common denominator for the development of the broadest cooperation of all classes and patriotic groups on a national unity basis, including the involvement of certain business circles which up to now have speculated on a change in Administration and which therefore have been reluctant to cooperate closely with either the government or labor.

These issues might also include support for the main features of the Administration economic stabilization program and a series of practical measures to implement the President's goal of sixty million peacetime jobs, including legislation embodying the principles of the Baruch-Hancock report, the Murray-Kilgore-Dingell Bill, continued price and rent control and a large-scale housing program. And this should likewise encompass the President's proposals for establishing seven new T.V.A.'s, particularly for the creation of a Missouri Valley Authority and the starting of the St. Lawrence seaway. For these are all economically sound measures and can serve to unite all classes, from workers and farmers to businessmen, in a progressive and united national effort.

These issues could also embrace specific measures of vital national importance, to extend the franchise and to eliminate racial and religious discrimination in industry and in the armed forces.

These issues should include too, many proposals requiring action on a state scale, including state legislative measures to basically improve existing state unemployment, health and veterans' legislation, the adoption of concrete bills and appropriations for developing an adequate state public works and housing program, and other legislation to supplement the national reconversion program.

Obviously, the consolidation of national unity will be influenced to no small extent by the course of action pursued by the national Administration. Much will depend upon how resolutely the Administration fights for its program for victory, peace and security within and outside of Congress. Much will depend on the efforts made to extend and improve the practice of establishing representative bipartisan Congressional committees and citizens' conferences, like those initiated by the State Department on the questions of an International Security Organization. And much will depend upon whether the President moves energetically to strengthen his Cabinet and a number of government departments and agencies with per-



sound which will pursue a firmer anti-Hitlerite and national unity policy.

But more, even much more, will depend upon how effectively labor and the people continue to rally to the support of the main policies of the Government, and how freely they aid and help influence the Administration and Congress to resolutely implement the policies of the Commander-in-Chief, including those points of his program raised in his campaign speeches in New York and Chicago.

### United Labor Action

In this connection, the role, initiative, unity and activity of labor, including the Communist Political Association, can be of decisive importance, just as they have been and are in relation to all problems of strengthening the unity of the nation and the United Nations.

*However, to play a more influential role and to make its maximum contribution, the mass activities of labor will have to come forward even more boldly and consistently than in the past, on all national and public issues, as the strongest bulwark of the government's anti-Axis policies, as the strongest defender of national security and the nation's welfare.*

Everything should be done to strengthen and expand the unity of action and cooperative relations of the C.I.O., of the A. F. of L., and the Brotherhoods which have developed in the localities and states on an extensive scale during the course of the election campaign.

Today, as in the recent past, the greatest headway towards establishing joint and parallel labor action will materialize in support of coordinated efforts to assure victory in the war and to secure the peace. And this will take place particularly around a number of key legislative issues of national and state import in respect to the burning problems of foreign policy, war production, reconversion, social security, maximum production and employment and expanding foreign trade and capital exports.

It is equally important that labor develop its political activities in such a way as to avoid and overcome all tendencies towards narrow and partisan trade union interests and policies; and that it work in closer union with the Roosevelt Democrats, the Willkie Republicans and with all mass organizations of the veterans, farmers, Negro people, and nationality groups, as well as with all forward-looking groups of management and business.

To seriously and decisively shape the course of national unity in the post-election and post-war period, it is vital that labor should greatly strengthen its organizations and should approach the problem of protecting and advancing the interests of the working people within the framework and on the basis of maintaining the national coalition for victory, peace and security, within the framework of facilitating and assisting military victory, a stable peace, national progress, expanding production and employment and an orderly solution of class differences and demands. Any other orientation could only lead to class conflict and division, to the break-up of national unity, which would weaken the camp of democracy and strengthen the forces of fascism. To realize this perspective and the anti-fascist unity of the nation, the labor movement, including the Communists, will among other things, have to develop further and far more effectively its program, its policies, its mediums for mass political action: electoral, legislative and public relations.

In this connection there are several specific questions which merit consideration:

The first pertains to the future of such political instrumentalities as P.A.C. Unquestionably, the Political Action Committees expressing, in part, the growing political activities and strength of the C.I.O. are here to stay. They are an indispensable part and arm of the labor movement and of the political life of the nation. Certainly now the political influence and political action of the C.I.O., just as of the A. F. of L., should and will be continued, multiplied and enhanced.

But from this it does not and should not follow that P.A.C., as a specific organizational form and apparatus should or must be perpetuated along rigid lines or inflexible forms. What is desirable is that P.A.C. should be developed further as an organic and integral part of the C.I.O., of its affiliated unions, its locals and councils. It should implement C.I.O. policies and decisions on the electoral and legislative fronts, working within and through the basic organizations of the C.I.O., and enabling the C.I.O. directly to work in concert with broader movements and combinations of national forces.

Likewise, the existing local and state A. F. of L. and united labor legislative and political action committees should be strengthened wherever possible. In this connection it would be advisable to explore all possible avenues and mediums, including various non-labor organizations and committees, to draw a larger number of A. F. of L. organizations, nationally and locally, into common legislative and electoral action with other patriotic groups and organizations, including the C.I.O.

### Non-Partisan Committees

Closely related to this, the labor and the progressive movement, including the C.P.A., has a major responsibility to develop the broadest unity mass movements in the communities. For it is clear, as the elections have demonstrated, that the course of political realignment in the country and the outcome of many political struggles will depend to a considerable extent upon the widest mobilization of the working people jointly with other strata of the population on a *permanent, election district, and community* basis. This is why the utmost consideration should be given to the formation of broad citizens' non-partisan committees, of representative people's lobbies, legislative conferences and movements organized on a permanent basis in each community, city or state, around one or several critical issues of foreign policy, war production, reconversion, or social security.



These non-partisan committees and councils should be composed of representatives of labor, of the churches, civic, professional and business groups, of Democratic and Republican leaders and precinct committeemen, of the Negro and fraternal organizations, and wherever possible, also of representatives of the Communist Political Association. These committees and movements should be approached, not as substitutes for the independent and specialized community and public relations activities of the Democratic clubs, of the trade unions or of various civic groups, but as coordinating committees, at local centers of national unity, of united community action.

Many of the various non-partisan citizens' committees which were organized during the elections should continue or be re-organized on a broader basis, with the aim of supporting the main policies of the President's victory and security program.

or of some of its specific points. These and additional committees, built in a hundred or more key congressional districts, could become powerful instruments for uniting and rallying the widest sections of the people for victory, for influencing Congress and the state legislatures, for preparing and helping guarantee the outcome of the coming spring elections, which are of exceptional political importance, for the crucial 1948 Congressional elections, and for shaping political realignments on a solid, progressive and extremely effective functional basis.

### Dangers of Third Party

A few special comments should be made regarding the question of a third party. Certain genuine progressives within and outside the labor movement are once again raising the question of state labor or farmer-labor parties and the establishment of a national third party. These people are influenced in their thinking by the strengthened political role and activities of labor and of various independent citizens' committees. They are swayed by the relatively large vote secured by the A.L.P. and the Liberal Party in New York, as well as by the favorable outcome of a number of congressional and state legislative contests in which labor and progressive candidates were elected. They are also animated by a state of chronic contempt and hostility to the established major party machines and politicians.

In addition to these honest but misguided trade unionists and liberals, the Social Democrats of all stripes and the Trotskyites and Lovestonites are now plumping for a third party venture. It seems from information at hand that they intend to organize in the very near future a national conference, with the Liberal Party as its nucleus, for the purpose of launching some sort of a National Commonwealth Federation, and at the same time try to initiate a number of third party enterprises in a series of cities and states.

The position of the C.I.O. to expand its political activity

and mass work in unity with all other patriotic groups and to operate on the electoral front in the next period through the established two-party system will be decisive in constructing, preventing, or at least limiting or narrowing any third party movement. A national gathering and crystallization of some of the main writers and leaders of the national anti-Hitlerite forces, would also serve to offset, check or restrict the damage which the third-partyites could and might do to national unity if they were to receive any serious support or benevolent toleration within the labor and people's movement.

But in addition to this, it is incumbent upon the most advanced progressives, and especially upon the members of the Communism Association, to make clear that any third party move under present conditions would divide and weaken the unity of labor and the nation. It would therefore limit and retard labor's political influence and activity both in the coming elections and in the general political life of the nation.

The honest militants in the trade union movement should be helped to distinguish between form and content, and in this case between the strengthened and independent role and action of labor and the new and specific organizational forms in which the American labor movement is developing its political activities. They should be shown that despite the "unorthodox" forms, labor's political activities are now developing on a scale and in national influence such as the early and most consistent advocates of labor's independent political action could not have visualized a decade or even a few years ago.

The entire labor and progressive movement have already seen what political miracles can be achieved in the interests of the nation and people if labor and the progressive forces steer a firm course of national unity and non-partisanship on the electoral front. If labor and the progressives utilize the new and more favorable opportunities which now exist to work through the two-party system and primaries, far greater miracles can and will take place!

## Developments in G.O.P.

Undoubtedly the outcome of the elections will sharpen all differences and struggles within the Republican Party. These will include increasing conflicts and struggles for party control as well as cleavages within and outside of Congress on all questions of major policy. Thus we may witness, not only a struggle between the so-called internationalists and isolationists, between the progressives and the reactionaries, but also a sharpening struggle between powerful conservative elements in the G.O.P. and the Hoover-McCormack leadership.

While the prospects for changes and re-alignments within and around the Republican Party are not comparable with those which may be expected in and around the Democratic Party, labor and the progressives generally cannot ignore these developments. Nor, can they accept the fatalistic viewpoint that the Republican Party is destined to continue forever as the party of reaction. The democratic coalition should try to encourage and influence all patriotic and forward-looking elements and groups within the Republican camp, particularly the followers of Willkie, to take up the struggle against the Hearsts, the Pews and the McCormacks now in control of the Republican Party.

To facilitate this, it will become necessary to develop a more effective non-partisan approach and tactic to reach and influence the millions of citizens who, for one reason or another, continue to vote Republican and maintain party loyalty.

It will be necessary to work out a differentiated approach to the Republican Party delegations in Congress and in the state legislatures, to separate the sheep from the goats, and to bring about a more effective bi-partisan coalition on specific points of the national program for victory, peace and security.

It would also be advisable if the most active and courageous independent Republicans were to remain within the Republican Party, to retain their party status. Thus they would be in a stronger position to influence the thinking and action of

the mass of Republican Party adherents, as well as to help influence constructive regroupings within the Republican Party. But to encourage this orientation, such people would have to be given the opportunity to function freely and effectively in broader circles and through various non-partisan coalitions and committees.

Finally, and in preparation for the vitally important 1948 Congressional elections which must be planned and prepared for now, labor and the entire camp of national unity should select several score of traditionally solid Republican Congressional districts for special concentration with the intention of working through the Republican Party primary.



## V. ANTI-COMMUNISM ENDANGERS NATION

ONE OF THE chief problems confronting the nation in the post-election period is to decisively root out of American politics the virus of anti-Communism. This is essential in order to consolidate national unity and to reinforce the alliance of the United Nations. This is necessary in order to protect and strengthen American democracy from the attacks of the fascist enemy abroad and at home.

It is true that in the recent elections the Republican campaign of anti-Communism waged by Dewey and Bricker and led by the McCormick, Hoar and Patterson press did not succeed in its main electoral objectives. It is a fact that scores of outstanding Red-baiters were defeated in the elections. It is also true that during the elections the Communists established firmer relations of cooperation with various leaders and groups in the national victory coalition.

Nevertheless, as Earl Browder has sharply warned, the purveyors and instigators of the anti-Communism crusade have not been decisively beaten. These pro-fascist reactionaries are still powerful, active, and on the loose. And their Fifth Column of seditionists, traitors and provocateurs still enjoys freedom of action.

Red-baiting is a poisonous Hitlerite weapon which still pollutes America's political life and roils the millions of American citizens, especially in the rural and small town areas. Discriminatory legislative measures ostensibly directed against the Communists, but actually aimed at undermining the democratic institutions and practices of the country, still exists on our statute books. And anti-Communist classes and practices continue to operate in certain trade unions, even in some under progressive leadership.

Thousands of political, trade union and civic leaders—anti-fascists—are aware of and recognize the patriotic role and the contributions of the Communists to the national war effort. They understand that Communism is the antithesis of fascism, is the mortal enemy of fascism. Yet many of these same leaders, under pressure from the Red-baiters, from our nation's enemies, frequently find it expedient to condemn the Communists, and even go so far as to try to lump communism together with its diametrical opposite and its implacable enemy—fascism.

This state of affairs must be ended. This is required by the supreme national interests of our country. For the victorious conclusion of the war and the establishment of a lasting peace demand that the anti-Hitler and anti-fascist unity of our nation must be strengthened now and developed further into the post-war period.

All obstacles and prejudices standing in the way of national unity therefore must be speedily overcome and thrust aside. This demands in the first place a new and united effort of all anti-fascists to lay low the bogey of Communism and to resolutely combat and isolate the Red-baiters who are also the most rabid exponents of Soviet and British baiting, of labor and Negro baiting, of anti-Semitism, and of everything else which is divisive, reactionary and treasonable.

Toward this end, it is timely and necessary to fully acquaint the country with the pro-fascist nature of the anti-Communist election strategy of the G.O.P. high command. It is necessary to show how dangerously close this Hitler-like strategy came to bringing about a reactionary Republican victory on November 7, and consequently, a national disaster. And it must be explained again and again what consequences would follow from the triumph of an anti-Communist policy in the United States—consequences which would result in the establishment of a government headed by fascist-minded monopolies, in the subversion and destruction of American democratic institutions, in a reversal of America's foreign pol-

icy and the negation of the Teheran agreements which alone hold the promise of victory, a durable peace and orderly progress.

Towards this end it is also urgent and necessary that we Communists take the initiative to help clear up certain current misconceptions regarding our role and position. Obviously, our fundamental contributions to the cause of national unity will continue to be primarily in the development of our policies and activities based on the interests and needs of our nation and people, which are dedicated to winning the war, destroying fascism, ensuring a stable peace, guaranteeing democratic progress and a prosperous and expanding post-war economy in the U.S.A.



## The Citizenship of the Communists

Basing ourselves on this program and outlook for the period ahead, we must help make clear to all the American people that the problem of ensuring the full citizenship and participation of the American Communists in our national unity and democratic processes, is in the first place a question of the vigor and vitality of American democracy. It is thus a domestic, an American problem, first, last and always, which affects all aspects of our country's welfare.

What is decisive in any case is the nature of our national policy as it is developed towards all groups and sectors of Americans, including those who have a Marxist point of view. If Communists are castigated or excluded from the official camp of national unity, then national unity, by such exclusiveness, will become unstable and precarious—will annual itself.

National unity to be real and effective must be all-inclusive and embrace all patriots, all anti-fascists, from conservatives to Communists. This is one of the great lessons of this national liberation war which has been driven home to the peoples of all the United Nations, especially to those in the Nazi-occupied countries. There is no responsible leader or group in the United States, who, if they compare deeds with words, can fail to recognize that American Communists are first among the first in their devotion to our people and nation, and uncompromising in their hatred of and struggle against fascism and all reaction.

Insofar as those honest but misguided persons who contend that America must "tolerate" Americans of Communist opinion because of the importance and need of maintaining firm and durable friendly relations with the Soviet Union, the following must be said: The United States must and should develop its foreign policy in accord with our most vital national interest, and not for any other reason. And it is in accord with the deepest national interests of our country, and in concord with our common interests with the U.S.S.R.,

Britain, China, etc., that our nation needs a course of strengthening the anti-Hitlerite coalition, consolidating the military alliance of the United Nations, and helping to organize effective action of the democratic world powers to preserve and guarantee the future peace and security of world civilization.

Whether America follows an enlightened or a reactionary internal policy towards Americans who are adherents of the social science of Marxism is an American responsibility, which must be met with full concern for our nation's democratic tasks. It is not the responsibility of any other nation. America's national attitude towards Americans who value the scientific approach of Marxism as a science, can and should be of concern to other nations and peoples only to the extent that our country adopts a reactionary or a democratic policy. For if a reactionary domestic policy is adopted, then as experience has proven, this is bound to adversely affect our country's foreign policy. Whereas, if there is a progressive internal policy, this is bound to influence in a positive way our country's relations with its allies.

America must "tolerate" and accept the American Communists as full-fledged citizens because this is essential to hasten victory in the war, to complete the destruction of fascism, and to protect and develop democracy. This is necessary to fortify national unity by enlisting the contributions of all anti-fascists, from Republicans and Democrats to Communists. This is imperative in order to assure that American democracy function now and in the future with the indispensable political plasma of the labor movement, which, perforce, includes the most advanced section of the working class, the Communists.

\* \* \*

The national victory won in the elections has created new and more favorable opportunities for the democratic coalition, for the camp of national unity. It has created more favorable conditions in which to consolidate and strengthen labor's unity and the unity of the nation.

It is only by achieving this unity within the nation that our people and country will emerge victorious in the serious and difficult military and political struggles which still lie ahead in order to guarantee the realization of the great prospects of the Moscow and Teheran accords, to win the war, to destroy fascism and ensure a durable and prosperous peace.

Certainly, the need of the hour is to make the most of this opportunity. This is one of the main lessons which should be drawn from the historic elections of November 7, 1944.

Thoughtful Americans—the worker, the student, the man of action—all who wish to follow and understand the new political, social, economic forces and relationships that are emerging out of the crucible of the war, will want to subscribe to

## POLITICAL AFFAIRS

*A Marxist Magazine Devoted  
to the Advancement of Democratic  
Thought and Action*

Here's a magazine of, by and for American labor, for all genuine progressives and liberals who seek authoritative, scientific analyses of political issues and problems as they develop in the national and world arena. Edited by Earl Browder, Eugene Dennis and V. J. Jerome, *Political Affairs* was formerly published as *The Communist*. It is the leading journal of Marxist thought and opinion in the United States. Among prominent figures whose writings have appeared in past issues, in addition to the distinguished list of American political analysts, are such world leaders as Maurice Thorez of France, Mao-Tse-tung of China, Eugene Yevich of the U.S.S.R., Palmiro Togliatti (Euroli) of Italy, Hoo Roca of Cuba, R. Palme Dutt of England, Tim Buck of Canada, and many others.

*Single copies 20 cents      Subscription \$2.00*



**WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS**

P. O. Box 148, Station D (411 Broadway), New York 3, N. Y.

*First Printing, 160,000*

# TEHERAN

Our Path in War and Peace

*By Earl Browder*

Americans of all classes and political affiliations will find in Earl Browder's brilliantly illuminating book on the new problems, tasks and perspectives confronting our nation and the world as a result of the historic Teheran Agreement, a penetrating guide to the future. As the newly-elected president of Communist Political Association writes:

"The Teheran Council heralds the platform upon which you and must be gathered all forward-looking men and women of all classes and political ideologies, subordinating all other considerations to the single purpose of welding a firm and effective majority of the people and directing the nation and the world along the Teheran path."

His new work is a continuation and companion-volume to *Factory—and After*. But while in his former book the author devoted only one short chapter to the problems "After" victory has been won, his latest book is practically entirely occupied with the vast, world-wide, eye-opening tasks of post-war reconstruction which press ever more urgently for attention, and which were tremendously influenced by the outcome of the 1944 presidential elections.

Among the chapters are "The Guardians of Teheran"; "Reconstruction of Europe"; "Characteristics of Capitalism"; "Elements of an Economic Program"; "The Changes in Communist Organization"; and "What Marxist Conclusions in America."

*Cloth \$3.50; Paper 15 cents*

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Sta. D (832 Broadway), New York 3, N. Y.