

Special Election Supplement

The Decisive 3 Months

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I. Election Developments and the Outlook for November

America now enters the final and most decisive stage of the fateful 1944 elections. Most of the primaries have taken place. The national conventions of the two major parties are over. The Republicans and Democrats have chosen their standard-bearer and their platforms. The crucial last three months of the election campaign begin.

And this—the most vital period of the election campaign, coincides with the key and most significant phase of the war in Europe. It takes place together with the final assault of the Allies against Nazi-occupied Europe and against Germany itself.

This is to say, the conclusive phase of the elections in the USA takes place as the war in Europe nears its end; also as the war in the Pacific enters a new and more favorable stage. The successful invasion of France and, above all, the great and unparalleled seven-pronged summer offensive of the Red Army open the way toward an early and victorious conclusion of the war against Hitlerite Germany.

This is evidenced by the decisive and strategic successes of the Red Army—and the signal progress of American and British troops, which, among other things, have brought about the developing disintegration and sharpening crisis within the Wehrmacht and the government of the Reich, as well as within the ruling circles of Japan.

The Nazi enemy is severely battered, demoralized and is on its last legs. Its doom approaches. However, it is not yet smashed. Heavy, fierce and costly battles still confront the United Nations before a quick and complete victory is assured.

THREE CONDITIONS

Clearly, the prerequisites for speedily ending the war, which is now fully possible, and for securing a just and durable peace, depend upon three interrelated things:

A—The speediest extension of the Allied operations in France, coupled with new landings, so as to fully synchronize Anglo-American military operations with the pace and scale of Soviet operations;

B—Consolidating and developing further the unity and cooperation of the American-Soviet-British coalition on the political and economic fronts, as well as on the fields of battle;

C—Strengthening national unity within the country in support of the government's war and postwar programs.

It is in the light of these great needs and national objectives, the fulfillment of which will bring an early victory and a stable peace, that we must examine the results of the Republican and Democratic party conventions and the immediate tasks which now confront labor and the nation.

GOP CONVENTION

In respect to the Republican Party and convention, it is necessary to note the following:

The Republican convention mobilized everything for war, not for war against Hitler and the Axis, but for waging ruthless, unprincipled and partisan warfare



Men of the sea gratefully observe some comely misses distributing war ballot applications in the Times Square area of New York City. These sailors know how they want to vote and why.

against the Commander-in-Chief and the government's anti-Axis program.

The Republican Party placed at the head of its ticket Hoover's protegee, Dewey, and Taft's nominee, Bricker. The so-called Old Guard Republicans kept and strengthened their reactionary control over the GOP. The Hoovers, Tafts and Vandenberg, in alliance with the pro-fascist McCormicks, were and are in the saddle. They called the tune. They nominated their candidates. They molded the platform in their own image.

On the cardinal issue of foreign policy, the Republicans retreated from the program of Mackinac, which in itself was a compromise between the Vandenberg-Taft forces and the followers of Willkie. And this retreat was, and is, away from the policies of Teheran, from the Administration's program, as exemplified in the challenge to Teheran delivered at the convention by Hoover and Dewey.

FOREIGN POLICY

The position of the Republicans on foreign policy now represents a new compromise; a compromise between the rabid, incorrigible anti-Sovieters like McCormick and Hearst and those like Luce, who favor limited and short-term postwar cooperation with the Soviet Union and Great Britain. Both of these groups have found a wide area of agreement to foster an aggressive imperialist policy of American aggrandizement and domination.

Unfortunately, this coalition enjoys the electoral support of people like Eric Johnston, who are in general agreement with the Administration's policy of promoting friendly and closer collaboration of the United Nations now and after the war. Unfortunately, it has the support of many win-the-war Republicans who, while dissatisfied with the foreign policy of the GOP, are blinded by their partisanship and group interests, are disoriented by their opposition to the labor and social legislation championed by the Administration, and are frightened by the growing strength of the labor and progressive coalition supporting Roosevelt.

DOMESTIC ISSUES

The position of the GOP on foreign policy predetermines its stand on domestic issues, especially on the vital problems of postwar security and prosperity. By proposing to modify or scuttle the

agreement of Teheran; by proposing high tariffs; by advocating the abolition of price control and other wartime regulations; by rejecting the principle of the nation guaranteeing full employment; by opposing governmental aid to help stimulate private enterprise and production; by making irresponsible and contradictory promises to diverse economic and social groups; by championing a program of states' rights vs. Federal responsibility and coordination of essential public works and of social and unemployment insurance—by these actions, principles and platform planks, the GOP has come forward openly with a program designed to foster inflation and economic chaos, unemployment and insecurity. In short, the Republicans have adopted a platform to advance the vested interests of the most predatory and reactionary monopolies at the expense of the nation: of labor, agriculture and industry, large and small.

Finally, the Republican convention endeavored to don the mantle of guardian of liberty and freedom. Leaving aside for the moment its repudiation and rejection of the concords of Moscow, Cairo and Teheran—the guarantees of the freedom and independence of the peoples and nations—let us examine the position of the Republicans on democratic rights.

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

The Republicans cried out against bureaucracy and regimentation. They denounced the alleged fascist tendencies of the Administration. They took upon themselves to defend the rights of the Negro people.

But the Republicans were strangely silent on the rights of the soldiers to vote, a right denied and hamstrung by Governors Dewey and Green, and the majority of the Republican Congressional delegation.

The Republicans were silent on the role of most of their Congressional representatives in voting against cloture on the anti-Poll Tax bill. And by plumping for "states' rights," the Republicans would keep intact the rule of the Southern bourgeois and circumscribe or nullify the Bill of Rights.

In the name of "restoring liberty," the GOP proposes to usher into government a coalition resting upon the power of the Hoovers, Tafts and Vandenberg, of the America Firsters, of Henry Ford and William Randolph Hearst.

In other words, the GOP seeks governmental power for a reactionary combination which would aid and encourage the pro-fascists and the advocates of a negotiated peace, and would entrench their sinister strength within the party and the government.

ROOSEVELT-TRUMAN

Now, a few words on the Democratic party and convention. The Democratic ticket headed by Roosevelt and Truman continues the national leadership dedicated to speedily winning the war and forging a just peace. It is a ticket representative not only of the Democratic Party, but of important and wider sections of the camp of national unity.

The platform of the Democratic Party expresses the united position of the Democratic organizations and of all-forces supporting it to execute and implement the victory program of United Nations' collaboration pursued by the President. It is a platform based upon and subscribing to the agreements of Moscow, Cairo and Teheran. It is a program against aggression and tyranny and for the continued unity of the American-Soviet-British coalition.

With Teheran as the anchor point, buttressed by support of the international farm, relief and monetary conferences, and coupled with endorsement of the principles set forth in the Kilgore Bill, the Democratic convention advanced a domestic program to cope with some of the most vital postwar economic problems. It adopted points of a program to meet numerous questions affecting reconversion, postwar trade, investments, production and employment.

MINORITY GROUPS

On the basis of the ambiguous wording of the inadequate plank dealing with the rights of minority groups, it might appear that the Democratic convention yielded ground to the poll-taxers, to the Southern bourgeois on the question of the rights of the Negro people, and, therefore, on the issue of all democratic liberties. But actually such an estimate does not correspond to the real state of affairs.

The renomination of Roosevelt and the selection of a vice-presidential nominee who supports his policies; the adoption of a positive and constructive platform for winning the war and the peace; the convention's action in seating the pro-Roosevelt wing

of the Texas delegation; and, particularly, the continuation of the Roosevelt-labor coalition—all this will facilitate and continue to promote the rights of the Negro people, as well as the democratic advance of all the American people.

Two other aspects of the Democratic convention need to be noted. First is the positive and constructive role and influence of labor, which was unique in American political life and history. Labor, especially the CIO, played a key role in helping determine the national ticket. By its pre-convention activities it helped guarantee that Roosevelt would be the Democratic standard-bearer. By its last-minute activities it helped elevate Wallace into a position of national stature and political prestige, and prevented the nomination of a Byrnes or a Rayburn as vice-president.

LABOR'S INFLUENCE

Labor also exercised great influence in shaping the program adopted by the convention. And labor, AFL as well as CIO, has emerged from the Democratic convention as a more constructive force and as an independent political factor within the camp of national unity and the political life of the nation.

Secondly, the question is put whether or not labor and the people, the cause of progress, suffered by Wallace's defeat for the vice-presidential nomination?

The answer to this is a categorical NO!

It is true that Wallace, a staunch supporter of Roosevelt's policies and the leading choice of the popular forces, failed to secure the vice-presidential nomination. But it is also a fact that the nominee selected is a win-the-war candidate and is a consistent supporter of Roosevelt's war and postwar policies. This can hardly be judged as a defeat for labor and the popular forces!

Moreover, it is also a fact that Truman has added certain strength to the national ticket. His candidacy was, and is, backed by the AFL and will facilitate the activation of the AFL and the promotion of united labor action in support of Roosevelt. Likewise, Truman's nomination serves to unify further the Democratic Party organizations and to enlist additional conservative and middle class support in behalf of the President's re-election. In other words, it tends to promote a broadening of the Roosevelt coalition and base.

This, of course, does not mean that Truman's nomination has not created some confusion and doubts in liberal, labor and Negro circles. But this, in the main, can and will be overcome when it is made clear that Roosevelt and the camp of national unity have been strengthened and not weakened by Truman's nomination.

The question now arises as to the relative voting strength of the two parties and the forces supporting them.

On the positive side of the ledger the following should be noted:

A—The favorable progress of the war in Europe, which has been facilitated by the leadership and victory policies of the Roosevelt government. This is and will further influence millions of Americans, of all classes and party affiliations, to support the re-election of Roosevelt so as to guarantee the most rapid and successful completion of the war and the destruction of fascism.

B—The orientation and efforts of the Administration to help solidify the cooperation of the American-Soviet-British coalition (Continued on following page.)

not only on the military field, but likewise to establish an international postwar organization for the maintenance of peace and to bring about international currency stabilization and a new system of international credits and investments for postwar reconstruction and expanded trade. This, too, will strengthen the electoral position of the President and of the candidates for Congress supporting the Commander-in-Chief.

C—The growing political influence of organized labor in the elections and its coalition with the Roosevelt Democrats in rallying broader sections of the working people and progressive forces in support of Roosevelt and the nation's war and postwar objectives. In fact, during the past weeks there has been a noticeable increase not only of the activities of CIO-PAC, but also of the AFL and of joint and parallel labor political action involving substantial sections of the AFL, together with, or alongside of, the CIO. The formation of the broad and influential National Citizens' Committee for Political Action will accelerate this process and strengthen labor's political role and cooperative ties with other patriotic forces.

D—The patriotic position of the President in accepting the renomination and his non-partisan approach to the central questions of this wartime election is serving to awaken and arouse labor and other democratic forces to the issues at stake. It is influencing many patriotic Americans of different political affiliations to develop the election campaign on a non-partisan basis, in behalf of men and vital war issues instead of traditional party labels.

VICTORY NOT ASSURED

These are some of the positive factors and trends which favor the election of Roosevelt and Truman, which favor the triumph of the victory coalition supporting the Democratic ticket.

But these in themselves do not yet guarantee victory in the elections. In fact, the overall political scene indicates that there is no room for complacency; there is not yet certainty of success. Rather, there is need to sound a note of warning. The anti-Roosevelt forces can, and may, emerge victorious in the elections, if the country is not put on the alert and actively rallied.

In this connection, it is well to take into account the following:

A—The latest Gallup polls, which, with all their inaccuracies and partisan motivation, offer a relatively fair barometer, show that at this moment Dewey is leading FDR in such states as New York, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin and Minnesota. Together with this, the wartime elections held in 1942 and 1943, as well as many of the 1944 primaries, showed that the Republicans polled a larger vote than the Democrats and achieved certain electoral gains. Secondly, the Republicans control 90 percent of the press, as well as 26 state administrations. And in practically all of these states, particularly in New York, Ohio and Michigan, the Democratic organizations are weaker and less capable of waging an effective election campaign than in 1940 or in 1936.

B—Next, and most important, is the fact that the majority of the nation continues to be artificially divided into two partisan alignments—Democratic and Republican partisan interests continue to divide the win-the-war and the anti-Hitler forces, still prevent a Willkie, a Saltonstall, etc., from entering into an electoral coalition with the Roosevelt Democrats and still impede the common action of organized labor and the progressives.

C—Closely connected with this is the harmful influence and play of vested class, group and sectional interests which infringe upon and jeopardize the national interest. These, coupled with par-

tisanship, lead important anti-Axis forces, such as those represented by the New York Herald Tribune, to make common election cause with the McCormicks and Kempers. These influence the Connallys and Rayburns to condone and tacitly support anti-Roosevelt and anti-war elements like the O'Daniels and E. B. Germanys. These enable the Woll and Hutchesons to blind and confuse a section of the AFL membership from developing joint activity with the CIO and the Roosevelt Administration.

WEIGHT THE SCALES

Additional factors which up to now have tended to weight the election scales in favor of the GOP are:

A—The disenfranchisement of approximately 90 percent of the armed forces, over 60 percent of whom support and would vote for Roosevelt if they had the opportunity.

B—The shifts in the working population which have created serious difficulties for millions of war workers to register and vote, especially in the middle and far western industrial centers.

C—The economic strains and dislocations in our wartime economy and the inadequate provisions for coping with the current and future problems of conversion. These are fostered and demagogically utilized by the GOP, the Lewisites, Socialists and Trotskyites to stir up strife and strikes within the labor movement, to create dissension within the middle class and to direct this against the Administration and labor.

D—The position of the Negro people, despite certain economic and political gains achieved under the Roosevelt Administration, remains very unsatisfactory. This, coupled with the confusion accompanying the defeat of Wallace for the Democratic vice-presidential nomination, as well as the somewhat ambiguous plank of the Democratic platform on the rights of the Negro people, provide fertile fields for GOP demagoguery and for the disruptive activities of the Socialists and Trotskyites.

E—Mention also should be made of the confusion and dangerous prejudices existing among a number of important national groups within the country, particularly among the Italians, German and Polish-Americans regarding the status and future of the countries of their birth or ancestry. Not only the fifth column, but the GOP as well, is trying to sow suspicion and distrust among these groups regarding the policies of our government and allies.

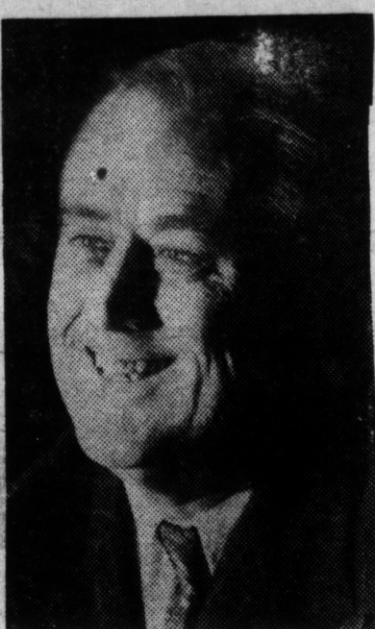
CAN BE CHANGED

It is clear that many of these difficulties and factors which now tend to favor the Republican campaign are not fixed nor irremovable obstacles. Many of these, are of such a nature that they can be turned into their very opposites.

But these difficulties and negative election factors can only be transformed into their opposites if the central issues are clarified; if the election campaign is really organized to reach, involve and influence these sections of the electorate; and, above all, if the win-the-war camp, particularly labor, pursues a firm course of national unity and non-partisanship.

II. The Key to Victory: A Resolute Non-Partisan Policy to Strengthen National Unity

One of the central conclusions which must be drawn from the latest political and election developments, including the outcome of the Republican and Democratic conventions, is the need of strengthening labor and national unity. Now, more than ever before, as Earl Browder has stressed, it is necessary to steer a resolute



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

course of non-partisanship in the elections, to work to unite patriots of all classes and party affiliations for the re-election of Roosevelt and the election of a victory Congress. For only in this way can victory be assured in November for the coalition supporting the Commander-in-Chief and the government's war and postwar policies.

In terms of practical election considerations it is clear that only a non-partisan election policy can succeed in influencing and rallying the bulk of the independent voters, who comprise over 25 percent of the electorate—and a most decisive part. Only such a policy can influence the majority of the Negro people to support the re-election of the President. Only such a policy can influence the thinking and draw into progressive political action the millions of new workers who have entered into war industry. And only such an approach can influence tens of thousands of the adherents of Willkie to rise above partisan considerations.

SPIRIT OF NATIONAL UNITY

No less important than such considerations as these is the cardinal fact that the most vital interests of the nation's war effort require that labor, the Roosevelt Democrats, as well as all patriotic Republicans, really conduct the election campaign in a spirit of national unity. This is a supreme necessity in order to consolidate the unity of the nation for the final military undertakings now being launched and for insuring the most stable internal political relations after the war. And this is equally needed to help strengthen the postwar collaboration of the American-Soviet-British coalition, for securing the peace and solving the problems of conversion and reconstruction.

Therefore, among other things, it is necessary now as never before to make clear that Roosevelt must be supported, not because he is a Democrat and the candidate of the Democratic Party, but because he is a great patriot and the foremost leader of the national interest and of the national coalition dedicated to victory. Roosevelt must be re-elected to insure the continuation of his leadership as the vital and successful head of our nation's military effort, and as one of the great architects of the American-Soviet-British alliance, of the Moscow, Cairo and Teheran conferences, which guarantee the way toward victory, a durable peace and postwar security.

On the other hand, it must be made clear that labor and the popular forces oppose Dewey not because he is a Republican, which he is—nor because he is a fascist, which he is not.

DEWEY'S ROLE

Dewey is opposed because his election would bring into governmental power, reactionary and defeatist forces that would impede the prosecution of the war and the attainment of complete victory. His election, therefore, would adversely affect America's relations with our allies. It would obstruct the realization of measures designed to promote maximum production and employment after the war. It would engender unprecedented internal disunity

and conflict and would aid the pro-fascists and the advocates of a "compromise" peace.

Furthermore, it must be made clear that the election of a Governor Thye or a Governor Baldwin must be opposed in spite of their personal integrity and win-the-war intentions, because a vote for them would bring strength to the Republican presidential ticket and, therefore, to the reactionary and pro-fascist forces behind Dewey and Bricker.

SPECIFIC ISSUES

In applying the policy of national unity in the elections, greater attention needs to be given not only to the correct presentation of general issues and to the organization of non-partisan committees of the Negro people, of independent voters, of Willkie Republicans, etc., in support of the government's victory program, of a Congress pledged to these policies, and of the re-election of the President, but also special consideration should be given to singling out a number of specific issues around which broad, non-partisan election movements can be developed. Among such issues are those pertaining to the soldiers' vote, registration, and the enactment of the principles of the Kilgore Bill.

For instance, in respect to the various campaigns now being launched to enable the members of the armed forces to vote, far greater attention must be given to organizing this movement on an all-party basis. The campaign for the soldiers' vote cannot be organized on the widest and most effective scale if it is projected and conducted simply as a partisan campaign to defeat Dewey and Bricker.

It is necessary, of course, that labor and all other patriotic forces should systematically expose the infamous role of Dewey and the Republican-bourbon coalition in Congress in denying the soldiers the right and opportunity to vote. But this exposure must be supplemented with the organization of a broad, national unity campaign to provide all servicemen with an opportunity to vote. If the campaign for the soldiers' vote is developed in this way, as it has been in New York, then it will be possible to enlist and influence substantial Republican support. It will be possible to cross party lines and to strengthen national unity around the Commander-in-Chief.

REGISTRATION

Similarly, in respect to the question of registration. Labor, especially the CIO, has, and is, conducting a fairly effective campaign in certain communities to register war workers. In some areas the Democratic Party has begun a serious campaign to register and get out the vote. These campaigns should and must be continued, supported and extended.

Nonetheless, it is already evident that these activities in themselves will not bring about the registration and voting of the majority of the non-registered voters, of the bulk of the war workers, nor of the passive, stay-away and undecided voters.

To secure a mass registration of tens of millions, which is so essential to bring about victory in the elections for the camp of national unity, it is necessary to supplement the registration campaign of labor and the Democrats. It is necessary to form broad, non-party committees embracing Republicans, Democrats, trade unionists, Negroes and civic leaders, which will launch concerted civic and community registration drives, and place the question of registration as a wartime obligation of all patriotic citizens in a fighting democracy.

KILGORE BILL

A different kind of issue, but one of great importance, which likewise must be taken up and developed on a non-partisan basis, is the urgency of mobilizing the widest support for the principles of the Kilgore Bill, particularly in support of those measures which provide for an overall approach to the problems of conversion and which will secure increased and

extended unemployment insurance benefits for demobilized war workers and veterans.

According to reliable estimates, some 2-3 million war workers will be displaced during the last quarter of this year, due to cut-backs and shifts in war schedules. So far, the Republican-bourbon bloc in Congress has stymied the enactment of legislation which would protect the demobilized war workers during the period of conversion. One of their motives has been, and is, to try and place the responsibility for this situation on the Roosevelt government and to create discontent and division within the labor movement and among the supporters of Roosevelt.

In the interests of the nation and the needs of the workers laid off, in the interests of reducing the difficulties and dislocations of reconversion, and in the interests of the elections, it is high time that labor and the progressives developed a real crusade to provide for the "human factor" in demobilization. Here, what is most needed is the organization of a non-partisan campaign and movement involving trade unions, government agencies, community and industrial leaders in support of the principles of the Kilgore Bill to insure full social security, rapid re-employment and expanded production.

NON-PARTISAN APPROACH

Before leaving this principal point, it would be well to consider at least two other aspects of the problem of how to most effectively apply the policy of national unity in the current election situation. We must understand that an effective non-partisan election policy requires something more than the organization of non-partisan committees for the re-election of Roosevelt, as well as for the election of Congressmen who will consistently support the nation's program for victory, security and a durable peace. It requires, among other things, that all win-the-war organizations employ and master a non-partisan approach and tactics. This is particularly true in regards to the trade unions.

There can be no question but that many sections of labor, especially the CIO, are displaying greater understanding of the need and importance of applying a policy of national unity. This is evidenced, in part, by the position of the AFL state organizations in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois, by the program of PAC and the efforts of the CIO to establish joint action with the AFL, the Negro organizations, the Democrats, etc. It is evidenced by labor's united support in behalf of such Republicans as Burdick, Welch, Bennett, etc.

However, it must be stated that not only the AFL, but also even the most progressive wing of organized labor, the CIO, has not yet freed itself from partisanship in its election activity. Labor as a whole has not yet succeeded in presenting and furthering its election program, which champions the national interests and victory, as a non-partisan matter, as a question of strengthening national unity.

NARROW CONSIDERATIONS

In matters of sponsoring, selecting and endorsing congressional and local candidates, in questions concerning the organization and official leadership of various public campaigns, electoral and otherwise, the CIO and PAC, as well as the AFL, in many instances, do not yet evidence the necessary statesmanship, understanding and initiative to forge the broadest labor and national unity. Frequently many CIO and AFL organizations and leaders are too concerned with narrow considerations of prestige and organizational control. They often confuse the basic question of strengthening labor's political influence and positions with that of capturing posts, securing nominations and dominating committees.

They often fail to see that, by broadening and sharing leadership with labor's allies and collaborators, labor's own welfare and strength, (Continued on following page.)

as well as the national interest, can and will be advanced.

Moreover, quite frequently when representatives of labor or pro-labor candidates are nominated, the trade unions wage a narrow and sectarian labor campaign in their behalf, primarily on the basis of calling for the election of labor and pro-labor candidates. Labor often loses sight of the fact that the nominees who are trade unionists are the representatives and candidates of the nation, the community and a consistent victory program, that precisely as trade unionists they can most loyally and effectively serve the interests of the nation at war and in peace.

Clearly, to apply effectively and fully a policy of non-partisanship, of genuine national unity, it is necessary to understand that more is required than a non-party approach.

Labor, for instance, must rise above narrow, partisan, trade union interests and considerations. Labor, in its own interests and that of the nation and victory, must understand that narrow, one-sided labor political action, will divide labor's ranks and repel and frighten labor's win-the-war and postwar allies.

This basic lesson and tactic need to be learned and mastered everywhere, especially by some of the CIO forces in New York, Michigan, Minnesota and Pennsylvania. This will enable the CIO and PAC, and the pro-Roosevelt forces in the AFL, to strengthen labor's political role and influence and to extend rapidly the joint and parallel political activities of the CIO, AFL and RR Brotherhoods. It will enable labor to establish closer working relations and cooperative ties with the Roosevelt Democrats, Willkie Republicans, with the Negro people, the veterans' and women's organizations, and with the fraternal and nationality groups.

GOP SUPPORTERS

Finally on this point, on the concrete application of the policy of national unity in the elections, the question is posed: is it still correct or possible for labor and the people to follow a policy of national unity in view of the fact that the largest aggregations of finance and industrial capital are supporting the Republican presidential ticket?

Time does not permit a full and comprehensive answer to this important question. Therefore, I would like to confine my remarks to certain limited aspects of the problem.

In approaching this question, it is necessary to remember, first of all, that influential and powerful monopoly and financial interests, such as are represented by Stettinius, Taylor and Baruch, Lehman and Nathan Strauss, not only support the government's victory program, but are part of the Roosevelt Administration. This is a fact. And existing collaboration with these sections of Big Business in support of the government's victory policies can and must be continued.

Secondly, it should be borne in mind that the Democratic Party, which rests upon and is influenced by labor's support and growing influence within the Administration and within the Democratic Party itself, is composed of a coalition which embraces powerful financial, industrial and sectional group interests, as well as a series of local and state machines having vested financial and partisan interests. The Democratic Party as a whole is not yet a people's party. It is a bourgeois party—albeit a liberal-bourgeois party—pledged to the government's war and postwar policies, and subject to the influence of labor and the political realignments in the country.

CLOSE COOPERATION

It is a fact that labor is cooperating with the Democratic Party nationally and with those win-the-war sections of capital in and around it. In some areas labor is a part of or in close alliance with it. Certainly, no honest and clear-thinking worker and advocate of national unity can

question the need of continuing and developing this collaboration on the basis of supporting and implementing the Administration's anti-Axis program and the victory platform adopted by the national Democratic convention.

Next, we should keep in mind that those powerful reactionary and conservative sections of Big Capital, supporting and comprising the leadership of the Republican Party, are not one homogeneous whole. They do not represent a solid, unbreakable grouping.

Obviously, it is necessary to administer a decisive electoral defeat to these forces and their presidential and congressional tickets. But to accomplish this it is necessary to distinguish between those forces represented by the Chicago Tribune and those around the New York Herald Tribune. It is necessary to differentiate between the fascists and pro-fascists in and around the GOP and those influenced by them.

At the same time, it is necessary to expose sharply and consistently the selfish and shortsighted partisan and group interests which determine the policy of the New York Herald Tribune crowd. It is imperative to show how a Republican victory would jeopardize and negate not only the foreign policy which they espouse, but also would endanger the very economic and class interests, the trade, capital investment and profit interests which they desire to further.

WHAT WILL DETERMINE

Further and most important, it is necessary to bear in mind that the position of such capitalists as Eric Johnston and Thomas Lamont, in the final instance, will not be settled either by their subjective intentions, nor by election arguments. Their position is and will be determined by pressing considerations of postwar trade, commerce and capital exports and, in the first place, by the relation of forces, internationally and within the country.

In respect to the latter, to the internal political situation, the position of organized labor and of our association can be influential and, in some respects, decisive. This may be so if we make clear our position and program on national unity in the postwar as well as during war time to help achieve a lasting peace and to solve the problems of postwar production, employment and security in the common national interest, and if we adhere firmly to labor's no-strike policy and develop this policy further in accord with the nation's postwar needs.

If all this is done, much can be achieved to break up the unstable coalition now supporting Dewey and Bricker and to influence important sections of Big Business now lined up behind the GOP to participate in or go along with the camp of national unity after the elections.

III. Some Problems of Organizing the Election Campaign

It must be admitted that in the recent state primaries, wherein "Cotton Ed" Smith, Dies, Starnes, Clark, Holman and Lambertson were defeated, many contests for congressional and assembly district nominations were, however, lost to the reactionaries and defeatists. This happened not only as a result of political weaknesses and tactical errors, especially in applying the policy of national unity, but also because of gross neglect in doing the simple ABC organizational jobs of registration, canvassing and getting out the vote on primary day.

In view of this, it would be worth while to emphasize a number of important organizational tasks which urgently require solution.

It is a fact that labor in these elections, particularly as a result of the political activities of the CIO and the lower organizations of the AFL, occupies a more influential and key role than in any previous election. In many of the recent primaries, labor played a



SEN. HARRY TRUMAN

leading role, politically and organizationally, in helping determine the outcome of the elections. And it is already safe to predict that a larger labor vote, AFL and CIO, will be cast for Roosevelt in November, 1944, than in 1940, '36, or '32.

MINORITY INVOLVED

But labor's magnificent efforts and key contributions must not obscure the fact that only a minority, and not a majority, of the organized labor movement is as yet actively involved in the election campaign and is fully clear on the main issues.

Labor's role in the elections is still limited, primarily to actions of the top, to the positions and work of the officers and executive boards and political action committees of the internationals, of the state and city councils and bodies and of the locals. Far too little attention is being given to reaching, educating and mobilizing the bulk of the trade union membership, not to speak of their families and friends, and to organizing joint and parallel action of the AFL, CIO and Brotherhoods on a plant, ward and city basis.

To help change this situation, it is high time, among other things, to recognize and to act upon the premise that for rallying maximum trade union strength in the elections there are two key and indispensable election posts around which labor's political activities, election campaign and apparatus must be built and gravitate. And these are the shop stewards and precinct captains.

It is high time to recognize that even in those international unions, CIO as well as AFL, where the union has taken a position in support of President Roosevelt and his congressional supporters, from 30 to 40 percent of the membership have not yet been convinced of the correctness of this decision, and a larger percentage has not yet registered or been drawn into day-to-day election activity which will implement the union's decision.

SHOP STEWARDS

Herein, for one thing, lies the extraordinary importance of the role and function of the shop steward, who is the key link for transmitting the decisions and opinions of the union leadership to the membership and the best medium for securing the active participation of each trade unionist in some phase of election activity. Herein lies the importance of organizing shop stewards' conferences to clarify the central election issues, to explain the election program of labor, to raise finances, to mobilize for registration and precinct work, to promote the unity of action of labor.

In regard to the vital election activities of the trade unionists who are precinct captains and volunteer workers, it is necessary to extend and improve trade union ward and precinct organizations, as well as to re-examine the way and channels through which this activity is conducted.

For instance, in some areas the most effective work of the trade unions in the communities may be attained through the organization and function of labor and other independent political action

committees operating on a ward or election district basis.

However, in many wards and congressional districts the most effective trade union election activity can be performed if the trade union members function as precinct captains or volunteers of one of the major parties. This, for example, might be the case in Detroit, at least in certain districts, where the UAW, large as it is, has restricted ties with the AFL and with middle class forces. This might be the case again in a number of industrial centers where the CIO is a minority of the labor movement and is a still smaller minority of the entire population.

MASS REGISTRATION

Judging by the extremely low vote in the recent primaries, as well as by the much larger total Republican vote in the primaries as compared with the combined Democratic vote, and taking into account the fact that a majority of the eleven and one-third million members of the armed forces may be virtually excluded from voting in November, it is clear that a big registration is a key to a Roosevelt victory and to the election of most of the pro-Roosevelt congressional candidates.

Therefore, steps must be taken to get out the traditionally stay-away vote and the vote which is hampered by numerous technical difficulties. This means special measures to reach, register and activate war workers, housewives, the Negro people, as well as the soldiers.

Among those measures which need to be taken to guarantee a sizeable registration are the organization of central, mass registrations, that is, the mobilization of important sections of the membership of trade unions, churches and fraternal organizations at a given date and time to register collectively at the central place of registration, either at the city hall, the county election board, the township, ward or precinct booth, at a plant or at some stipulated center for traveling registrars.

Secondly, it is necessary to help organize non-partisan, civic and community activities and committees which will promote mass registration in the community, the neighborhoods and in each city block on the political basis of performing a most elementary and sacred duty of American citizenship and exercising the Bill of Rights.

Finally, mass registration for the elections can also be facilitated in the shops and trade unions by developing a more effective educational campaign designed to reach the members of the locals, in the plants and factories, or at their homes; to acquaint them with the vital issues involved and to convince them that it is a patriotic and civic obligation to register and vote.

MOSTLY WOMEN

For the first time in a national election in our country more women will vote than men. Both the Republican and Democratic parties, taking account of this phenomenon, are putting forward a larger number of women candidates and involving more women in the campaign.

But, so far, it must be recognized that the trade union and progressive movements have not yet drawn all the necessary conclusions regarding the role of women in the elections.

Therefore, it is essential that we exercise our full influence to stimulate and help establish a correct orientation and approach to mobilizing the women and to championing their special needs and demands.

Among other things, it is necessary to encourage and help form women's committees of trade unionists, of independent voters and of soldiers' wives and mothers. It is necessary to involve the churches, the women's clubs and college organizations. Through these committees, the trade unions

and other mass organizations, there should be developed special and systematic activity among the women in their organizations and in the neighborhoods, in behalf of the soldiers' vote and soldiers' welfare, in support of job and social security for women war workers, as well as to rally the women electorate in support of the Teheran, including support for an international peace organization based upon the alliance of the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

NEGRO VOTERS

Never before the Negro vote will be one of the decisive factors in the elections. Judging only by the Negro vote in the midwest, the following can be noted: in Illinois there are over 200,000 Negroes of voting age; 80,000 in Indiana; 137,000 in Michigan; 190,000 in Ohio; 312,000 in Pennsylvania; and 165,000 in Missouri. This, to repeat, is the approximate voting strength of Negroes eligible to vote.

Together with this, it is useful to remember that the margin of the Roosevelt vote in Illinois in 1940 was 100,000, some hundred thousand less than the total Negro vote. In 1940 Roosevelt lost Indiana by 25,000 votes, or 75,000 under the available Negro vote. Roosevelt lost Michigan in 1940 by 6,700 votes, whereas in Michigan there are 137,000 Negro votes.

This year the Negro people occupy an even more crucial electoral position. Their vote may be decisive in a whole number of midwest and eastern states, especially since the elections will be close.

What are some of the difficulties and problems which may adversely influence the Negro vote? First, there are the unsolved problems and grievances of the Negro people. Among these are the continued unsatisfactory position of the Negroes in the armed forces, as well as the lack of seniority rights and job security of the Negroes in war industry, particularly during the reconversion period.

Secondly, there is the fact that the Negro people are alarmed over the defeat of Wallace for the Democratic vice-presidential nomination and at the ambiguous minority rights plank in the Democratic Party platform. Many Negro people are confused and misled by the promises of the Republican platform and by the fact that the Republican Party has brought forward in the north scores of Negroes as candidates on the Republican tickets.

Moreover, the Negro vote in these elections is uncertain because of the divisive role of the Randolphs, Norman Thomases and Trotskyites who are bending every effort to influence the Negroes to oppose Roosevelt and Truman.

CAN BE WON

Despite these factors, the Negro vote can be and must be won for Roosevelt and the coalition of victory and national unity. The majority of the Negro people can be influenced to support Roosevelt if they are approached and mobilized on a non-partisan basis to support Roosevelt and not just the Democratic Party; if they are shown the political and economic gains which the Negro people have secured in alliance with labor and other progressive forces under the Roosevelt Administration; if Republican promises are measured in terms of Republican deeds; and, above all, if the Negro people are shown that it is the labor and democratic coalition supporting and gathered around Roosevelt; the anti-fascist unity of the nation and the unity of the United Nations, which hold the key to the future of the Negroes in the USA.

The Negro people can and will be won for Roosevelt if the central war and postwar issues of the elections are made clear and if the democratic coalition backing Roosevelt, especially the trade unions, provides leadership now to defend the interests of the Negro people, particularly to fight against the discrimination of Negro soldiers in civilian life, to insure Negro soldiers the right to vote and equal opportunities in all branches of the services, and to

(Continued on following page.)

guarantee Negro soldiers and war workers upgrading, equitable seniority rating and trade union protection to safeguard their rights and interests during the postwar, and especially now in the period of conversion. And, together with this, in the interests not only of the Negro people, but also of the entire labor movement and nation, it is imperative that labor and all democrat forces energetically combat and smash in time the divisive and treacherous anti-Negro provocations, racial sentiments and other fifth column activity of the Gerald K. Smiths, the Peglers and the pro-fascist monopolists.

Our association must take up these problems as a central and major win-the-war and election responsibility.

PROVOCATIONS

As the last months and weeks of the election campaign draw to a close, there is evidence to point to the fact that intensified efforts will be made to provoke and encourage wildcat or other stoppages of work and to stir up race riots.

As Westbrook Pegler publicly related recently, representatives of the GOP will participate in and help foster this anti-war conspiracy. The Trotskyites, the Socialists and the Lewisites also can be counted upon to do their reactionary bit. And the recurrent local stoppages in auto and aircraft, coupled with renewed anti-Negro provocations, indicate that their dangerous efforts may not be in vain.

Therefore, greater vigilance, greater awareness and stricter trade union discipline and understanding is now required to prevent the outbreak of race riots and to maintain labor's no-strike pledge. This is imperative in order to meet the pressing needs of our mounting military offensives and those of our allies. This, as well as the projection of labor's policy of promoting national unity and industrial peace in the postwar, is equally required in order to strengthen national unity, in the elections and afterwards, especially to favorably influence the position of important sections of the unorganized workers, of the middle class and of certain Big Business circles.

IV. Regarding Some Election Issues

Just as the struggle to develop and apply the policy of national unity and to organize the election campaign will be influenced greatly by the understanding and mass work of our association, so, too, the clarification of the central election issues and problems is dependent to no small extent upon our Marxist knowledge and political activity. It will be influenced considerably by the use we make of our press and publications, especially of Browder's book, *Teheran: Our Path in War and Peace*, and upon the political role and educational activity of our members and clubs.

In considering how to present and cope with the various issues in the election campaign, central and secondary, thought must be given to answering the multitude of issues raised by the GOP, even though these are posed demagogically and in a distorted and incorrect fashion.

Here we must understand that we have to speak to and convince not so much the pro-Roosevelt supporters, but especially those people and groups influenced by the Deweys, the Brickers and McCormicks. We must remember that what is clear for us and for our collaborators may not be, and usually is not, clear for others.

OTHER ISSUES

Besides dealing with the position of Dewey, Bricker and the GOP on such vital questions as our nation's foreign policy, national unity, reconversion and the postwar economy, it is also necessary to give attention to such issues as the following:

The Republicans have raised a hue and cry about whether the President intends to "exploit" his position as Commander-in-Chief to promote his candidacy; and



THOMAS E. DEWEY

they have raised the question of whether or not Roosevelt really is the Commander-in-Chief of our armed forces.

It must be made clear that Roosevelt actually, factually and constitutionally is the nation's Commander-in-Chief, and that this duty, this power and authority, cannot be abrogated even during an election campaign. To abandon this, a President's highest responsibility, would be to invite national chaos and military disaster.

It must be shown that what the reactionary Republicans are really challenging is not so much the President's official position and title as Commander-in-Chief, nor his right to tour the country or to attend international conferences abroad as President and Commander-in-Chief; but they are challenging the war strategy of Roosevelt; the policy of American-Soviet-British cooperation and United Nations unity which Roosevelt as Commander-in-Chief promotes and which they oppose.

PARTISAN ISSUE

This controversial and partisan issue must be turned into its opposite. It must be demonstrated to the American people that a vital prerequisite to shorten the war, to smash through to victory quickly, requires that the position and victory policies of the nation's Commander-in-Chief shall be unitedly upheld and vigorously supported. Any one or any group who questions the authority of the Commander-in-Chief or who opposes the government's program for hastening victory and forging a durable peace, which the Commander-in-Chief is guiding and executing, is performing a disservice to our country and the nation's war effort, and needs to be treated as a blind partisan, an obstructionist, or as an enemy of victory.

"FASCIST" CHARGE

Republicans like Joseph Martin and Landon also have raised as an election issue the question of fascism. They brand the Roosevelt Administration, which they call the New Deal, "fascistic." They claim that Roosevelt is a dictator and that the government fosters an American brand of National Socialism, of fascist regimentation and undemocratic bureaucracy.

In meeting this partisan attack and this pro-fascist demagoguery, several considerations and basic propositions should be borne in mind. For one thing, it should be made clear that at no other time in American history, as under the Roosevelt Administration, have the workers, the Negro people and all popular forces, been able to exercise such freedom of organization and democratic rights. It must be explained that those Republicans who charge the Administration with being fascist are motivated either by partisan purposes, i.e., they try and direct the strong anti-fascist sentiments of the American people against the Roosevelt government; or they are actuated by the ancient precept of robbers calling, "Stop, thief!"; or they are active participants in the negotiated peace crowd, some of whom try to paint the Roosevelt Administration in colors of fascism so that they might find it easier to sell the idea of a com-

promise peace with German fascism.

It is necessary for the forces of national unity to make crystal clear in this election campaign that the question of fascism—the destruction of fascism—is the central issue in the war and in the elections, toward which the national victory coalition around Roosevelt has consecrated all its energies and activities.

Secondly, it is imperative to explain widely and simply the class nature of fascism, the class roots and source of fascism which stems from the most reactionary, imperialistic and chauvinistic sections of finance capital. It is most urgent to do this in order, for instance, to help create clarity regarding the role of the German generals who are revolting against Hitler in order to try and save German imperialism and their own positions, generals with whom the Nyes, the Hoovers and the Norman Thomases would like to reach a compromise settlement and peace.

This is also necessary in order to really explain the class nature of fascism so as to place the nation on guard against the reactionary and pro-fascist monopolists working within and through the Republican Party; against the fascist-minded monopolists who finance and foster the Coughlinites and Gerald K. Smiths.

THE RED BOGEY

The Republican high command likewise has indicated that it intends to try and make Communism a central issue in the elections. Presumably, the master strategy here is to employ the defunct technique of Dies, of the system of "transmission belts" and "Communist fronts." According to this pattern, Communist trade unionists participate in PAC; PAC endorsed and campaigns for Roosevelt's candidacy; and, hence, ipso facto, Roosevelt is a Communist, or at least a fellow-traveler!

It will not be enough merely to laugh off such stupidity and lack of ingenuity. For, while red-baiting and anti-Communism no longer pay the same reactionary dividends as before, it must be recognized that the virus of anti-Communism still operates. A sizeable percentage of the American people is still influenced and deceived by the red-baiters who are working out new angles and maneuvers.

Now, as in the past, it must be made clear that Communism is not and cannot be made an issue in these elections. The single and decisive election issue is that of destroying fascism, of achieving victory, peace and security, within the framework of existing social conditions.

Similarly, it must be proved again and again that those who are indulging in red-baiting, in stirring up anti-Communist prejudices and divisions today, are playing Hitler's and Goebbels' game, are weakening and undermining the unity of our nation and that of the United Nations.

U. S.-SOVIET COOPERATION

However, it must also be said that the attitude and position of all candidates and parties toward the land of socialism and toward the democratic rights of Americans who advocate the eventual establishment of socialism in the USA is a question of no small importance. For the position taken on these questions furnishes a barometer of the position which the individual candidate and party may take on the crucial matter of American-Soviet cooperation, and on the question of the application and future of the Bill of Rights as it affects any minority group and all aspects of American democracy.

We Communists who bear a heavy responsibility for unmasking the divisive and pro-fascist content and objectives of the red-baiters also have another duty. Precisely because of the decisive importance of these elections, precisely because of the sharpening partisan conflicts and the acute form in which the election struggle is being waged, we Communists who are working in the main stream of national unity, influencing and helping shape the

course of events—we must now work more effectively, even though more modestly and tactfully, than ever before.

COMMUNIST EXAMPLE

In developing the most active support to and cooperation with the broad national unity movement supporting the President and other win-the-war candidates, we Communists should set an example of a real non-partisan approach and campaign. We should convince all our collaborators that we seek no partisan advancement and no special privileges or positions as a result of our activity. We must work in such a manner as to extend, and not narrow down, the coalition of national unity and victory.

That is why, among other things, we Communists must refrain from taking such unilateral actions as that of endorsing candidates, unless this is done in full agreement with the given candidate and with our collaborators. Moreover, we must strive to develop the maximum political initiative, but we should exercise this initiative carefully, in a way understandable and acceptable to the broad labor and people's movement, as an organic part of the national coalition. Together with this, we should encourage and give assistance to labor and other democratic forces to assume greater leadership and responsibility in the organization and conduct of all election work and mass political activity.

TEHERAN PACT

In the very forefront, as the heart of all issues, everything must be done to really clarify the meaning of Teheran and to muster active support for all these agreements and measures which will accelerate its realization.

This is most urgent, because only a fraction of the American people has grasped the significance of Teheran; because concrete measures for implementing the accord of Teheran, like the proposals for international currency stabilization and an international security organization will shortly come before Congress for decision and will be opposed by the Hoover-Taft-Wheeler coalition; and because the two leading national spokesmen of the GOP, Hoover and Dewey, have begun a public campaign to question, modify and change the Teheran agreements.

An elementary, but an important, thing which must be done is to really popularize the Declaration of Teheran and to show, as Earl Browder has emphasized, that this declaration means what it says. It means what it says because it is based on the friendship and growing unity of the three great and decisive peace-loving powers heading the United Nations.

But more than this. We can and must show the meaning of Teheran not only as a perspective and a goal of the future, but as a realistic program of action now. And here we must point out the fruits of Teheran which are already being harvested, such as the joint military blows of America and Britain in France, which are operating according to plan in unison with the great Soviet summer offensive that has brought the Nazis to the very brink of disaster.

DIPLOMATIC FRONT

Moreover, we can and must ex-

plain that Teheran is beginning to operate on the political and economic fronts, as is witnessed by the cessation of American diplomatic relations with Finland, by the improvement of American-Free French relations, by the steps to organize a new anti-fascist Yugoslavian government representative of all national liberation forces.

And not least of all, we can point to the initial success of Teheran in the international monetary conference at Bretton Woods which has achieved a basis of agreements for restoring and expanding postwar trade and reconstruction through provisions to bring about international currency stabilization, to limit currency devaluation and speculation in the postwar, and to assist and underwrite private and government credits for postwar reconstruction and for developing the economically backward countries.

We must make clear that the program of Teheran, including the highly important international peace and security conference (which is soon to be held, can only be effective if the alliance of the three leading anti-Hitler states—of the USA, the USSR and Great Britain—is maintained and developed.

That is why we must warn the country and mobilize the people against the dangerous, un-American, anti-Soviet and anti-British schemes and plans for a so-called international peace organization advanced by the Hoovers, the Lippmanns and Tafts which, under the guise of regional blocs and spheres of influence, would try and isolate the Soviet Union from world affairs, would try and organize a new "cordon sanitaire." Equally, we must put America on guard against the exponents of a "supreme United Nations council" which, in the name of democracy, would try and supplant the joint partnership and alliance of the USA, the Soviet Union and Britain with a new system of power politics, with the smaller nations again acting as pawns and puppets of the anti-Sovieteers and the most predatory imperialistic groupings.

In this connection, we must vividly and convincingly show that the failure of the League of Nations, that the triumph of Munichism, that the outbreak and even the prolongation of this second world war are due primarily to the lack of unity and concerted action of the USA, the USSR and England.

And, conversely, we must show that the attainment of victory in this war of national liberation and the establishment of a stable peace is and will be the result of the unity, the strength, the friendship and collaboration of the American-Soviet-British coalition and peoples. It will be brought about by a resolute struggle of the peoples and nations to fulfill the program of Teheran and to render enduring the great alliance of the three great anti-Hitler states.

HEAVY RESPONSIBILITIES

It is clear that our Communist Political Association enters the final stage of the elections confronted with heavy responsibilities. Whether it be in the sphere of helping forge and mold labor and national unity, whether it is in the field of helping organize the camp of victory, or whether it is in the clarification of issues—we Communists have a paramount obligation and we are equipped to help "deliver the goods."

What is especially incumbent upon us to understand is that it is not enough for us to be right; it is not sufficient for us to adopt a correct position. We must not only be sound and correct in our judgments. We must also act in time. We must display greater political and organizing initiative and work more effectively to insure the earliest fulfillment of our decisions, of all measures designed to further the victory and postwar objectives of our nation and people.

This is required of us to help guarantee the speedy destruction of Hitlerism and to insure victory in the elections.



HERBERT HOOVER
Dewey's Mentor