

Text of Browder's Garden Speech

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

Friends and Fellow Americans:

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

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

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

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

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

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this election campaign as in any way an issue, directly or indirectly.

To this end we unhesitatingly sacrificed our electoral rights in this campaign, by refraining from putting forward our own candidates; we went to the length of dissolving the Communist Party itself for an indefinite period in the future; we declared our readiness to loyally support the existing system of private enterprise which is accepted by the overwhelming majority of Americans, and to raise no proposals for any fundamental changes which could in any way endanger the national unity; we went out into the trade unions and the masses of the people, straightforwardly and frankly using all our influence to firmly establish this policy of national unity; we helped with all our strength to restrain all impulses toward strike movements among the workers, and to prepare the workers for a continuation of national unity after the war. We have conclusively established our policy not only in words but in deeds.

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

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

Dewey, the Prosecutor Attorney, knows full well the significance of the declaration in the Supreme Court, that there was complete failure to establish any "moral turpitude" in my record, and he knows full well that he is endeavoring to make the public believe falsely that my name is the embodiment of moral turpitude.

Mr. Dewey knows full well that the Supreme Court record gives him the lie, when he makes the public believe that I was in prison for acts injurious to the Government or any individual; he fully knows that the Supreme Court record says: "It was not a common law crime; it does not injure the one to whom it is exhibited; and it does not directly injure the Government."

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

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

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

Candidate Dewey is not always so sensitively opposed to "ex-convicts." In fact, Mr. Dewey maintains a very notorious "ex-convict" in a key post in his own political machine. I refer to Mr. Edward A. Rumely, who was convicted and sent to prison in the last war under the Trading With the Enemy Act, having used some million and a half dollars of enemy money to buy a New York newspaper. Mr. Rumely is at this moment certified to a Federal Grand Jury for indictment for refusing to disclose to a Congressional Committee the sources of money he is spending on behalf of Candidate Dewey. Mr. Rumely's leader is loyally standing by his "ex-convict" supporter, and is the most confidential friend of Rumely's immediate employer, Mr. Frank Gannett. Evidently it does not injure a man's political and social relations with Candidate Dewey, to have a record of conviction of trading with the enemy Germany.

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

It would be a mistake, however, to describe Mr. Dewey's manipulations with the anti-Communist banner as unprin-

ciplined. No, unfortunately, the situation is worse than that. Candidate Dewey and his high advisers have evidently, with cold calculation, decided to guide their campaign upon certain principles. They are the principles of the "anti-Communist crusade," the same which Hitler institutionalized in his notorious "Antikomintern," which is the name of the Fifth Column.

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

In order to see just what Candidate Dewey's course leads into for our country, let us suppose that the highly improbable happens, that a majority of American voters on Nov. 7 vote for Dewey because they have accepted his frantic warnings of the danger of communism, and his program of "driving the Communists out of public life," his principle that it is immoral and dangerous to cooperate with Communists. What effect will that have on the conduct of the war?

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

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

It would be a message to China, withdrawing and cancelling the great efforts which our Government has been making to obtain a settlement of China's internal dissensions, which are endangering the whole Pacific war and costing mounting numbers of American lives; it would tell Chungking that America does not wish the formation of a coalition

government of national unity in that country, that this proposal was one of President Roosevelt's "mistakes" which caused him to lose the elections.

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

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

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

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

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

Third, it will start a witch-hunt throughout America, in high places and low, the feverish search for "hidden communists," from which the only exemption will be that ferocious hatred of everything progressive and enlightened which is the hall-mark of fascism. The atmosphere of the Dies Committee will rule American life. Our national unity will be undermined and destroyed in its very foundations.

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

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

We are living in fateful days.

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Browder Speaks Tomorrow At Carnegie Hall

Earl Browder and J. B. Salzberg, member of the Ontario, Canada, provincial parliament, will address the opening meeting of the first national conference of the Morning Freiheit Association tomorrow (Saturday) night in Carnegie Hall.

Delegates from all sections of the country, participating in the two-day conference, will be present at the meeting.

Other speakers will include Alexander Bittelman, Ben Gold, Paul Novick, editor of the Morning Freiheit, Max Perlow, acting president of the Jewish People's Committee, and Abraham Chapman. Rubin Salzman, general secretary of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, will be chairman.

Anti-Semitism will be among the main topics.

The meeting will open at 7:30 p.m. Tickets are on sale at the Morning Freiheit, 35 E. 12 St.

Text of Browder's Speech

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

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

We know quite well that the America that Roosevelt leads is a capitalist America, and that it is the mission of Roosevelt, among other things, to keep it so. We know that only great disasters for our country could change this perspective of our country from that of capitalism to that of socialism, in the foreseeable future. Only failure to carry through the war to victory, or a botching of the peace and failure to organize it, or the plunging of our country into another economic catastrophe like that of the Hoover era, could turn the American people to socialism.

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

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

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

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

This aspiration and program for a better world and a better America cannot be realized under the

leadership of Dewey, Brickers and Hoovers.

It can be realized under the leadership of Roosevelt.

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

France to Run Big Auto Plant

While Louis Renault awaits trial as a collaborationist, the French Provisional Government announced Wednesday that it has taken over and will operate his huge motor plant.

The government passed an additional decree confiscating all profits derived from trading with the enemy, the black market or illicit deals in gold or foreign exchange during the German occupation.

Operation of coal mines in the north was also assured by the establishment of a National Association of Mines of the Nord and Pas de Calais. This is the first step in a plan for government operation of several basic industries for which non-collaborationist owners will be compensated.

British Battle Foe Rearguards in Burma

SOUTHEAST ASIA HEADQUARTERS, Kandy, Ceylon, Sept. 28 (UP).—Despite a British flanking thrust which has by-passed them to the southeast, Japanese rearguards are putting up a stiff fight in an effort to check British units which have driven to within 16 road miles of the important enemy base of

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