

Browder Nails Lewis for Strike Incitement

Brands Mine Chief As Plotting Stoppages; Hits Walter Reuther



EARL BROWDER

Following is the text of an address by Earl Browder, at Symphony Hall, in Boston, Friday night.

Tonight I want to discuss the main economic problems of the war and the peace to follow.

Before I go into these main problems, however, I think it necessary to say a few words about a current economic problem of a most specific nature, namely, the strike of maintenance men in the Detroit automotive industry in which a few hundred wildcat strikers threatened to die up the entire war industry of that key center. It is my profound conviction that this strike was a product of a conspiracy against our nation's war effort and against the labor movement which must be exposed and stamped out if the war is to be won at minimum cost and a secure peace established. It is necessary to know who is responsible for this strike, and brand those responsible, so that such things shall not spread.

First of all, it must be established that the vast majority of the United Auto Workers Union members and officers are loyally and steadfastly adhering to the no-strike policy, and have done their best to restrain the little group of wild-cat strikers who have been stirred up by sinister outside influences. I said the overwhelming majority—but not all. The time has come when the Auto Workers Union must stop tolerating that little minority in its midst who secretly conspire with John L. Lewis to bring about strikes and disorder in the industry. For it is John L. Lewis and his vast corps of organizers who are directly behind most strike movements in America today.

Secondly, the time has come to call a halt to the activities of those who, formally supporting the no-strike policy, in actual practice work with and protect those who openly incite strikes. I refer to one of the officers of the Auto Workers Union, Walter Reuther, without whose toleration, sympathy and collaboration, the strike-inciters could not carry on their damaging work.

Thirdly, it is necessary to say that John L. Lewis dares to openly reject the no-strike policy and conspire to bring strikes in other industries, only because he has the protection and collaboration of candidates Dewey and Bricker and their election campaign backers. The time has come when the whole country must join the labor movement in demanding that this unholy combination shall be broken up.

The American trade unions as a whole have a magnificent record of adherence to the no-strike policy, of unexampled performance in the production of war materials for our armed forces. They will not permit this glorious record to be clouded by any little groups of wild-cat strikers incited by John L. Lewis in his political campaign of vengeance for a private feud against the President of the United States and on behalf of a candidate for office who is willing to benefit from such damaging work.

Now to proceed to the larger economic problems of war and peace, which are the heart of all our political problems upon which America must pass judgment in the current elections. The key to these problems is contained in a full understanding of the terms "conversion" and "reconversion."

"Conversion" is a term which sums up the millions of detailed problems that were involved in turning America's peacetime industries to the tasks of war, to

put the full force of our country's unexampled productive forces in the service of our Army and Navy to annihilate the Hitler-Japanese enemies of civilization.

Our country's economy, under the stimulus of war and with the cooperation of management and labor and government, performed miracles in the process of "conversion." We raised our nation's total production to two and a half times as high as it ever was before in history; we supplied our armed forces as armies and navies were never supplied; we provided weapons, munitions and supplies to our allies in unprecedented volume, and with it all, notwithstanding some shortages and hardships at home, we provided the domestic market with a greater total of goods than in any peacetime year, and double the total national production of the time of Hoover.

Conversion was a smashing success. Now, at the moment our soldiers with our allies are clinching victory in Europe, and thereby also sealing the doom of Hirohito in the Pacific, the foundations of policy are being laid to guarantee that victory will not catch us unprepared as did war, that America will be ready to make as good a job of "reconversion" as we made of "conversion."

Reconversion, however, is not a simple return to the conditions before the war. Such a goal as that of merely the pre-war status would mean that America would have to lay idle some 60 percent of our productive economy, and render unemployed a large proportion of our working population. No, reconversion must have another goal, nothing less than the maintenance of the full operation of our nation's economy, at the level at least of the high mark demonstrated to be possible during the war. Reconversion is the task of organizing American economy to produce for peacetime needs on the scale we now produce for war.

What unsolved problems stand in the way to prevent us from reaching such a goal? Not technical problems of production, for management and labor, working with government, have demonstrated that they have the ability to solve any and all technical problems.

If we want to put our finger on the chief difficulty of reconversion, let us ask ourselves what factor which was present in the conversion period is still absent in the plans for reconversion. The answer is, of course, the market. Conversion was speedy and reached tremendous heights, because it was organized and directed toward the definite goal of the production of specific things, for which the detailed orders were given and payment was guaranteed even before production. Conversion was aimed at a definite and unlimited market. That is the key to its unparalleled success.

Reconversion will be successful just to that degree to which management, labor and the government are able to find or to create markets on a scale comparable to the market of war, markets which demand very definite items of production for which our economy is equipped, on a scale limited only by our ability to produce, and with payment therefore approximately as certain and prompt. If we cannot organize such markets, then all our talk about reconversion and full employment is so much shouting into the wind.

Reconversion markets as big as

those which made conversion a success must be found at home and abroad, in the domestic and in the foreign fields. These two fields present quite different problems which need to be examined separately. But they are also tied together; first, by the fact that both must expand, for if one shrinks it will stop the other from expanding; second, by the fact that their combined necessary total is already fixed by the existing level of war production, and to the degree that the domestic market falls short of that total the foreign market must make it up; and finally, by the fact that in the long run the expansion of the foreign market also forces even more expansion of the domestic market, as and when long-term credits and investments in the foreign field are amortized.

In the long run it is the domestic market which is decisive. The consumption of goods by the American people as a whole, on an expanding scale, is the only way in which American economy can be kept in full operation. That is what is involved in an expansion of the domestic market.

To distribute goods for consumption, however, requires not only a sufficient number of persons who want the goods and are willing to do the consuming. In order to become customers such persons must also have the money to buy what they want. The problem of our domestic market expansion is the problem of finding domestic customers, that is, persons who want to consume more and have the financial means to do it, in sufficiently large numbers.

From the point of view of achieving full production and employment, it is immaterial who does the consuming so long as it keeps all production plants in a balanced economy in operation. But since the problem is the expansion of consumption, it is basic policy that no important section of the population should, in the reconversion period, restrict its consumption under the present level. Therefore, it is basic policy for full employment, that the working class, which is the largest group of consumers, should continue as a minimum to receive a take-home wage equal in volume to that it now receives, regardless of any change in average working hours.

Our country as a whole always has the full purchasing power required to pay for the products of full operation of its economy. It is not absence of purchasing power in the country that endangers full production in the reconversion period; the trouble is only in the fact that to a high degree the purchasing power is in hands which already consume about as much as they can, and which hold this purchasing power for purposes of investment. If they could invest on a huge scale, they could put this purchasing power to work; if they cannot invest, they leave this purchasing power standing idle, and to that extent American plants and workers stand idle also.

Therefore, if we take our economic system as it stands now,

and if we envisage no radical changes in the distribution of purchasing power among existing individuals and classes, the key problem of reconversion has been reduced down to the task of putting all available investment capital to work, of finding safe and profitable investment opportunities for all the vast accumulations of idle money or purchasing power.

It is quite clear, however, that domestic investment opportunities on the requisite scale do not exist at this stage. That is so because our nation's industrial plant has already during the war been expanded far and away beyond the scale of our former peacetime market, and until this peacetime market can catch up with our plant expansion, all possible domestic investment opportunities will aggregate only a minor fraction of the accumulated idle investment capital.

America is therefore faced with the choice, either to carry through a radical redistribution of the national income, so as to bring the idle purchasing power into the hands of that part of the population which would use it for consumption commodities, or to find foreign fields of investment which would bring an equivalent volume of orders to American industries, on a scale which would engage all idle capital in the United States.

The first possibility of solution through a radical redistribution of the national income may be ruled out today as politically inaccept-

able to the majority of Americans. There remains, therefore, only the field of foreign investments in the form to produce foreign markets for American products.

It is for this reason that the perspective of a vast expansion of America's foreign trade has become, of necessity, item No. 1 in any program of reconversion to full production and full employment for peacetime. Without a vastly expanded foreign market, the American economy cannot even begin to think in realistic terms about the over-all problem of reconversion.

What are the most essential preconditions which must be established in order to begin the organization of such huge foreign markets as needed by America?

First of all, there must be stable peace throughout the world. There must be no wars of threats of war between nations; there must be no civil wars to engage any large or important part of the world's population; there must be a world order of the family of nations of such stability and permanence as to give the whole world the hope and expectation of a long-range peace. Without such a peace, there can be no serious development of the huge foreign investment opportunities that are absolutely required by American capital and by the American economy as now organized.

That is the problem which was (Continued on Page 9)

A Meeting Boston's 'Firsters' Couldn't Stop

BOSTON, Oct. 8.—All the concentrated venom of Boston's pro-Dewey organ the Boston Herald-Traveler, all the "indignation" of a band of 15 Coughlinite harridans picket-

the Massachusetts Communist Political Association which sponsored the meeting, declared: "Candidates Dewey and Bricker can hardly expect not to have their campaign of red-baiting hysteria picked-up by the lunatic fringe and fascist gangster elements in every community. Nor can any responsible paper avoid any consequences of the publicity it gives to such elements and their plans."

Miss Burlak pointed to the possible serious consequences of a panic and called upon the police to find those responsible, to question Miss Birmingham closely, to uncover any direct connections with Republican circles.

Meanwhile, the Traveler and Miss Birmingham rushed to cover their own responsibility with the cry that the Communists had done it themselves!

These Dewey supporters had reason to fear the effectiveness of Bandwagon. Its satire, its music, song and dance were sensational.

The Negro and white artists hit hard for the things they believed in, victory and a secure peace, for the reelection of Roosevelt.

All in all—it was quite an evening!

In a statement released the next morning, Anne Burlak, President of

WHAT'S ON

RATES: What's On notices for the Daily and The Worker are 25c per line (6 words to a line—3 lines minimum).

DEADLINE: Daily at 12 Noon. For Sunday, Wednesday at 4 P.M.

Tomorrow—Manhattan

HEAR REV. ELIOT WHITE and prominent guest speakers who will address a special mass meeting to urge registration. See motion picture "Hell Bent for Election." Tuesday night, 8:30 p.m. at 5 Rutgers Street, corner East Broadway. East Side Club of O.P.A.

Coming

"REGISTER TO VOTE" DANCE at the Savoy Ballroom, Lenox Ave. and 140th St. Wednesday, October 11th. Popular Savoy, Guest Artists. Tickets \$1.25, \$3, \$5. On sale at National Negro Congress, 307 Lenox Ave. and Workers Bookshop. Proceeds: Southern Negro Youth Congress.

LEARN YIDDISH THE JEWISH EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE

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The course will include: Reading - Writing - Grammar with special emphasis on conversation

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Daily from 1-9 P.M.

Fee: \$5 per Semester (15 weeks)

Expose Lewis Plot, Browder Urges

(Continued from Page 8)

placed in its most immediately practical form before the Dumbarton Oaks conference, before the delegates of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union. That is the basic problem, on which we now know that a great deal of progress has been made, and which we are entitled to hope will be fully worked out in the net half-year if no government throws a monkey-wrench into the machinery.

Secondly, some framework of an international economic order must be brought into existence, to supplement and buttress the international political order being worked out at Dumbarton Oaks. There must be provision of economic machinery whereby the financial and currency system of the various countries of the world can be brought into stable relationships with one another and maintained, and there must be an international agency which coordinates the planning and direction of the flow of international investment capital, overcomes all obstacles to this free flow of capital, and sets up the guarantees of the proper and economical use of investments and of their repayment with interest. These are the basic problems which were placed for consideration before the Bretton Woods conference, composed of

delegations from the main Allied countries, and from which unanimous recommendations for action have now been placed before the world for consideration.

In the success of the Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods conferences, therefore, lie all hopes for the successful reconversion of American economy to a peacetime basis of full production and full employment, lie all hopes for jobs and security for the American people and continued profits for American business.

It is against this background that Americans, capital as well as labor, must carefully judge the studied hostility against the Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods conferences by candidates Dewey and Bricker. Dewey has made public his negative approach to Dumbarton Oaks; Bricker is stumping the country with the slogan: "We want to more Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods conferences."

One of the most influential backers of candidate Dewey, Winthrop W. Aldrich, president of the Chase National Bank, perhaps the most powerful private financial institution in the world, has put this hostility into programmatic form in a recent widely-publicized speech. Mr. Aldrich's

program, and it is reasonable to infer that this is Mr. Dewey's program also, is to scrap all ideas of international organization, and for America to negotiate agreements with one nation after another, taken singly, beginning with Britain to whom he holds out the bait of a substantial "grant-in-aid," or financial dole, if that country will go along with the program; Mr. Aldrich wants even these agreements with single countries to be negotiated by and between American bankers and their fellow bankers in other lands, without the intervention of governments.

There is one "little" trouble with the Aldrich-Dewey-Bricker program. It will not work. The day for the successful operation of all such programs is now past. There is not a single country in the world that will not resent the proposal, beginning with Great Britain. One could not find a more effective means of organizing the world against America than this program.

American bankers, industrialists and business men generally, who deal with the foreign market, must today begin to learn the lesson that John Wanamaker taught to the domestic retail merchandising field some generations ago. That lesson is: The customer is always right.

America is not in a situation where our country can dictate the conditions of international trade and commerce to all other nations taken singly. America cannot successfully operate on this basis, because our economy needs the foreign markets even more than the foreign markets need our goods. Other countries, if they must go without our goods, will only have to struggle along as best they can without being worse off than they now are; but if America does not open up their markets, on conditions satisfactory to them, then America cannot go on as it is now, but our country will suffer a catastrophic economic crisis.

That is why America cannot trust its destinies today into the hands of candidates Dewey and Bricker.

That is why Americans of all classes and of all former political affiliations, capitalists and workers, farmers, professionals and business men, Republicans, Democrats and Communists are uniting in support of the reelection of President Roosevelt, whose name is synonymous with the successful guidance of the war, with the Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods conferences which he initiated, and with the hope of successful reconversion of American economy with consequent full production and employment, jobs, security and profits for all America.