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# NEW YORK IN THE 1944 ELECTION LINE-UP

*(Keynote Address to the New York State Convention of the Communist  
Political Association, New York City, June 10, 1944)*

BY GILBERT GREEN

**F**ELLOW DELEGATES and friends:

The great invasion is on. The two-front war, the nemesis Herr Hitler thought could never come, has finally descended upon him. It is this that must govern our every thought and our every action. The order of the day is pointed and clear. Everything behind the invasion! Everything to assure its success! Everything to hasten the day of victory!

That is the keynote of this first Empire State Convention of the Communist Political Association. Our deliberations here today have but a single purpose: to help us do our full part, to help us weld together the people of our great state into a solid phalanx behind the fighting front and the nation's Commander-in-Chief.

We know that the opening of the Western Front signalizes the beginning of the end of the Nazi beast. But we have no illusions. Victory will not come easily: for America, the period of grimmest fighting and greatest sacrifice has but begun.

The next weeks and months will be trying ones. The greatest military drama of all history is unfolding before our eyes, and millions of American sons—of our own flesh and blood—will be among its heroes. Upon the outcome of this titanic conflict depends the future of civilization as we know it—the way you and I will live our lives and the way our children and our children's children will live theirs.

This, therefore, is the moment to rededicate ourselves anew to the noble cause for which we fight. This is the time to put aside secondary considerations. And let us be perfectly plain—all considerations are secondary to that of winning the war.

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The danger to our country has not yet passed. The enemy is not yet beaten. His towel is not yet in the ring. It's true, he's weaker, but with fiendish cunning he stalls for time, holds on in the clinches, tries to conserve his strength for the last round. And his seconds urge him

on, while his spies in our corner would have him believe that our sudden show of strength is but a flash-in-the-pan.

America has been electrified by the news of the invasion. It has been jolted out of its complacency and sobered up to its responsibilities. The people are proud and happy, but beneath the surface there kindles a nervous tension that was absent a week ago. Sensing the mood of the people, the peddlers of defeatism have momentarily withdrawn their wares. As during the first few days following Pearl Harbor, they speak suavely for national unity. But already this is wearing off. Soon these gentlemen will be back at their old stands.

If the victories are rapid and the casualties light, they will try to lull us into a false sense of optimism. They will tell us that the war is as good as won and that we ought to get on with the real war—the war of class against class, South against North, white against Negro, Gentile against Jew, Protestant against Catholic, Republican against Democrat — in short — America against America. They will tell us that, now that Hitler is as good as licked, watch out for Stalin, watch out for Churchill, and, above all, watch out for *that man* in the White House!

If the casualties are heavy, if the fighting is tough, if we suffer temporary set-backs, they will sing their same treasonable tunes, but in another key. Their object will be to produce panic, to destroy morale, to make us lose confidence in our fighting men and in our

leadership. They will shed crocodile tears over our glorious dead and call for an end to the carnage. They will accuse us of fighting other people's wars—meaning, of course, the Jews, the Russians, the British—for, after all, wasn't it the Jews, the Russians, and the British who were attacked at Pearl Harbor? The shrill cries of the negotiated-peace chorus will rise to the pitch of hysteria. "Peace Now," will be their theme song, and it will be chanted by the motley sextet of Patterson, McCormick, Coughlin, John L. Lewis, Hearst, and that chaste paragon of patriotism, Norman Thomas.

Too many people discount the defeatist treason all about them, because its instigators are but a small minority. Sure, they say, the *Daily News* is putrid, stinks to high heaven, but— isn't Dick Tracy a good comic strip?—and who wants to miss Dick Tracy? And the person who complacently reasons this way, may himself have a son on a beachhead in France, a son who may pay with his life for our misguided tolerance of treason.

Do I exaggerate? Ask yourselves these questions: Why does Hitler continue fighting? How does he continue to hold the Germans in line when by this time even a Nazi-dumkopf should know that Hitler's jig is up?

It's simple. The Nazis still believe they can get a negotiated peace, and every time they begin to have doubts on that score, they reassure themselves by reading some editorials or articles from Col. Patterson's newspaper. Goebbels doesn't deliver speeches any more,

you will note, for no one would believe him. But when he broadcasts and reprints the gems of veracity and wisdom from our treasonable gutter sheets, the average Nazi must certainly think that the civil war has started all over again in this country.

When Norman Thomas launched his new "Peace Now" campaign a week ago, he spoke not alone to the American people. That would have been bad enough. But you can rest assured Herr Goebbels just wouldn't miss a speech of Norman Thomas. It's like a shot in the arm to Nazi morale, telling them to keep right on fighting, to put aside all thoughts of surrender, for America is being softened up for a negotiated peace. And what do you think was the reaction in Berlin when Mr. Avery, of Montgomery Ward, told the U.S. Government to go to hell, or when Mr. Lewis pulled 600,000 miners out on strike?

Many patriotic Americans have argued that we need national unity to bolster the morale of our fighting men and that we need uninterrupted production to supply them with the materials of war. This is true. But the average person knows that the morale of our soldiers is high and will remain high and that we have pretty nearly won the battle of production. There has been much dispute over whether the Montgomery Ward plant in Chicago is a war production unit. The fact is that it is. But whether it is or not does not affect the issue. One thing we do know, the Montgomery Ward strike, and all strikes in whatever industries they take

place, are a boon to Nazi and Japanese morale, help prolong the war, and cost the lives of countless American men, just as surely as if they were murdered in cold blood. (And in that connection, the editors of *PM* might well bear this in mind the next time they rush to support some strike provoked by the pro-fascist Averys in the ranks of management and the equally pro-fascist Trotskyites in the ranks of labor.)

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The importance of responsibility must be emphasized and re-emphasized today. Let us remember that in the midst of the most crucial military battles of the war, we shall also find ourselves in the throes of a national Presidential election. Thus, while millions of American boys are engaging the enemy in mortal combat abroad, we face the danger of becoming embroiled in bitter partisan political strife at home.

This, too, is part of Hitler's calculations. If yesterday he believed coalition warfare between the Allies an impossibility, and gambled his all on that assumption, today he is gambling on the development of a sharp internal political conflict in the United States which may upset the nation's war leadership and policies.

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Under no circumstances must the election be permitted to obscure the war. On the contrary, the war and its needs must fashion the issues and shape the character of the election. He who partakes of the forbidden fruit of partisan politics must be made to suffer the penalty

of ignominious defeat at the hands of the people.

The Communist Political Association of New York is a non-party political organization. As such, it does not propose to become the protagonist or antagonist of any political party, whether Democratic, Republican, or American Labor. Its concern is not with party labels. It takes its stand on the basis of issues and on candidates as they stand forth in regard to issues. It is the ardent friend of the honest, progressive, national unity forces in all parties, and the intransigent foe of the defeatist, corrupt, venal, and reactionary forces wherever they may be. In the words of Earl Browder:

"We will participate in political life as independents, through the established party organizations of our progressive associates, without committing ourselves to any party label. We will judge issues and men on their merits."

How to overcome the dangers of extreme partisanship, how to guarantee that the election struggle does not play into the hands of the enemies, how to keep the defeatists from seizing the reins of political power—these are the burning problems confronting our country today.

And certainly the solution of these problems is not to be found in the direction of compromising with, or surrendering to, the bluster, threats and blackmail of the reactionaries and their defeatist friends.

At this very moment, only three days after D-Day, we are witnessing a despicable example of political blackmail directed against the Presi-

dent and our war effort. In the states of Texas and Mississippi, the Southern bourbon reactionaries have seized control of the Democratic State Conventions, have refused to choose electors pledged to support that party's candidates, and are threatening to bolt if the national convention renominates Henry A. Wallace for Vice-President or takes a clear-cut stand in support of the recent Supreme Court decision guaranteeing the democratic rights of the Negro people.

To give way to this cabal would be disastrous. It would throw millions of Negro votes and millions of white progressive votes in the Republican column, and it would certainly prolong and endanger the war. How can we ever hope to arouse the hundreds of millions of the colored peoples of Asia and the Far East to battle on our side in this war, if every day we tell them that we consider them inferior peoples by our treatment of the colored people here at home?

Let me give you direct confirmation of this alarming condition. Some weeks ago a letter came from a serviceman in the American air force fighting on the Chinese front. Let me read you what he wrote: "the treatment of Negro troops is unfortunately all too familiar and the one glaring contradiction of our war aims. After being through the Far East I know that the elimination of such practices in the United States would inspire hundreds of millions of Indians and Chinese, almost half the population of the globe to greater heights of sacrifice for the prosecution of the war." This

was written by an American who was also a veteran of the Spanish Civil War. He was a Communist. He was my friend. His name was Larry Lustgarten. Larry Lustgarten is dead. He has since been killed in action on the China-India front.

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It is our firm and considered judgment that the most important non-partisan task to be achieved this year is the re-election of Franklin D. Roosevelt. We support the re-election of President Roosevelt as an urgent war measure.

Without even weighing the pros and cons of the probable Presidential candidates, we flatly declare that any change of Commander-in-Chief at this time would be tantamount to a national calamity. We go further—even the remote possibility of a change of national leadership in this country becomes a factor aiding Nazi and Japanese morale and prolongs the war; for it encourages the enemy to believe that a political upset in the United States could open the doors to a negotiated peace. And no amount of fulminating on Governor Dewey's part would convince Adolf Hitler to the contrary, as long as a McCormick, a Gerald L. K. Smith, and a Hoover are plugging away in Dewey's corner—and for that matter, neither would it convince any American who knows what the score is. On April 10, in this city, Gerald L. K. Smith said the following about Tom Dewey:

"Any candidate trying to line up New York and certain seaboard states has a right to insult me once or twice in order to make votes."

Hitler could very well say the same.

Thus, in the interest of the most rapid victory, in behalf of the lives of our fighting men, we must once and for all dissipate the fallacious Nazi notion that we Americans are stupid enough to play their game on election day, and the sooner we do this, the better our chances will be of winning the European phase of the war even before November 7.

If only all the American people could see the elections in this light, if only they could put aside their partisan prejudices, there would be no doubt as to the outcome. President Roosevelt would be re-elected with the largest majority ever given a President of the United States. And the Republicans know this too; hence their fear of a large soldiers' vote and their defeat of an effective G.I. vote bill in Congress. They know that the soldier in the foxhole and on the beachhead has no stomach for partisan considerations, that he wants the war won and over with, and that he wants the additional assurance that what he fought and bled for will not be betrayed by wily politicians at home.

More and more Americans, from all walks of life, but especially from the ranks of labor, are beginning to see the elections in this light. That is why a growing number of Republicans in our state are thinking of supporting President Roosevelt for a fourth term.

But partisanship is a dangerous virus that seeps into the pores of our national life, leaving its poisonous effects even upon men and women of honesty and integrity, often

without their recognizing it. We see it happening in this city and in this state. Note the change that has come over the independent Republican newspaper, the staid *New York Herald Tribune*, since it decided to join the partisan parade for Tom Dewey. Only a month ago, on May 9, this paper published a courageous editorial entitled "Timid America," in which it derided what it called the "childish fear of . . . the reds" and declared: "For better or worse, the days of the *cordon sanitaire* of A. Mitchell Palmer and the 'Red Scare' have gone forever." But forever lasted a week for the *Herald Tribune*. In recent days it has engaged in some subtle and some not-so-subtle Red-baiting of its own. Why? Because the Republican National Chairman, Harrison Spangler, has decreed that Red-baiting is to be used as a special Republican weapon this year against the President, the C.I.O. Political Action Committee, the A.L.P., and all progressives who reject partisanship and seek a win-the-war Congress.

We also note how sincere and patriotic people like Mrs. Sarah Pelham Speaks, A. Clayton Powell's Congressional opponent, and Congressman-elect Mr. Ellsworth Buck, lend themselves to partisanship and become bait to catch votes for Dewey. We have no quarrel with Mr. Buck for desiring to go to Congress, but we do accuse him of playing partisan politics when he levels attacks upon the national Administration and campaigns in behalf of Dewey.

We hope that the true progressives and patriots among the prom-

inent Republicans of our state will let their conscience and their love of country be their guide. Men and women such as Newbold Morris, Genevieve Earle, Channing Tobias, Rolland Marvin, Stanley Isaacs, and Wendell Willkie must not fail the vast number who look to them for leadership.

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The people of New York State face a tremendous responsibility in this year's election. New York is the largest state of the union, with forty-seven votes in the electoral college. New York State is also the home of President Roosevelt and of the leading Republican aspirant for the Presidency, Governor Dewey. The race will in all likelihood be between these two New Yorkers. Thus, the fight in our state will grow fast and furious.

We have complete confidence that the people in their overwhelming majority will understand the issue in this year's election and rally behind their Commander-in-Chief. But we want to sound a note of warning. This understanding will not be achieved of itself. The people must be reached. They must be made conscious of the issues, and of the dangers. They must be rallied and organized for electoral victory.

A great danger stems from the fact that it is the defeatists, the enemies of the war effort, the professional Roosevelt haters and the patronage boys who have their eyes on the elections, who are busy day and night building their political machines, while the people, who really want to win the war, are busy

with production, in civilian defense, and are, it should be said, not sufficiently concerned with politics.

Let us not forget that two war-time elections have already taken place in the State of New York. In both of these the Republicans were able to elect their statewide candidates. In 1942, they elected Dewey for Governor; in 1943, Hanley for Lieutenant Governor. These statewide elections and the numerous local elections provide us the lessons that must be studied if victory is to be achieved this year.

Point No. 1 that must be ever kept in mind is that the people cannot depend upon the old, political machines to do the job for them. Let us take the Democratic Party in this state. In many upstate regions, especially in the rural counties, it is pitifully weak and demoralized, and in more than one place led by a dummy leadership under the control of the local Republican boss.

In New York City, where it is the strongest party, it is also in a rather sorry state. Having been kept out of City Hall all these years and having lost the governorship two years ago, the Democratic Party is hungry for patronage, and patronage, my friends, is the life-blood of both major party machines. This has affected the morale of the Democratic Party and reduced its manpower. At the same time, the Democratic Party is ridden through and through by treachery. Let us but recall that if Tom Dewey is today Governor of the great state of New York, his first thanks should go to one by the name of James Aloysius

Farley. Jim Farley has just resigned as Democratic State Chairman. We say, good riddance! Let us hope the next chairman is not the stooge of Genial Jim but a man determined to do the people's job.

In the lower ranks of the Democratic Party this treachery is taking the form of outright defections and deals with local Republicans, who now with the state machinery in their hands are the boys in the gravy. So flagrant is this condition, that at the time of the special election in the 21st Congressional District, in one of the Election Districts not even the two Democratic election captains voted for their candidate. Out of 98 enrolled Democratic votes in this Election District, not a solitary one went to the Democratic candidate!

At the same time, the various county leaders are so steeped in the old school of politics, so bigoted and narrowminded, that they are actual deadweights on their own organization, pulling down the whole party with them. Despite the shellacking the Democrats received in the local Councilmanic election, they have learned nothing whatsoever from it. The lesson is still lost upon them as to why a Communist, Peter V. Cacchione, got the highest first choice vote of any candidate in the city; or why Stanley Isaacs, the Republican progressive, received the largest total vote in the city; or why the second Communist Councilman, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., was able to win in Manhattan after having been told he hadn't a chance; or, why Michael J. Quill of the Bronx got more votes from the Jew-

ish people of that borough than did Louis Cohen, the Democratic wheel-horse who was not even elected. The Democratic leaders still operate on the theory that a barrel of beer and a box of pretzels will deliver more votes than the right kind of people's candidate fighting on the right side of issues. And when their candidates lose, or squeeze through by the skin of their teeth, the only conclusion they draw, and that only after a great deal of pondering, is that they ought to change their brand of beer.

It is this kind of political thinking, if you can call it that, it is this contempt for the people and their interests that explains the refusal of the New York County Democratic Committee to designate the most effective champion and the most consistent supporter of the President for re-election to Congress—labor's own fighting Congressman, Vito Marcantonio.

It is this situation in the Democratic Party which gives added emphasis to the importance of the American Labor Party as a vehicle of the independent voters who will throw their support to the President and all win-the-war candidates. The A.L.P. has the opportunity of becoming an important instrument through which the people, especially labor, build their own electoral machine, election district by election district, in order to make up for the weaknesses, defections, and betrayals in the Democratic Party. The A.L.P. can also be the means by which to correct the partisanship and arrogance of both major party machines in the selection of candi-

dates, especially where it exercises the effective balance of power. However, this is by no means the only way to accomplish this particular objective; the people must also learn the use of that great democratic instrument, the primary ballot. Two years ago the enrolled voters of the 20th Congressional District taught a lesson to the entrenched machines in both major parties by rejecting the hand-picked candidates and giving the nomination to their own choice, to Vito Marcantonio. We feel certain that the voters in the new Congressional district will do the same this year.

Another element of mischief in state politics is the formation of a new party—created in the image of David Dubinsky and with the aim of venting the spleen of a reactionary Social-Democratic clique. The only thing liberal about the so-called Liberal Party is its name. Its only purpose in life is to Red-bait the A.L.P. and the C.I.O., and to carry on a vendetta against those who stand for national and United Nations unity. At best it will add confusion to an already confused scene, and at worst it will play the unsavory game of meeting the Republicans more than half-way by a policy of Red-baiting from the left. These people are completely irresponsible and it can be expected that they will go out of their way to try to bring about the defeat of many honest, progressive win-the-war candidates for Congress and for State Legislatures.

Our position toward local candidates is also determined by our non-party stand. We favor the re-elec-

tion of every incumbent whose record has been consistently progressive and win-the-war. We favor the defeat of every incumbent whose record has been the opposite. We believe that Adam Clayton Powell should be sent to Congress from the new Congressional District in Harlem. We believe that not a stone should be left unturned to bring about the defeat of that pro-fascist pal of the Bundists, Hamilton Fish. We are happy to note that in his district, the new 29th, the progressive Republicans, Democrats, and American Labor Party forces are rallying for this task.

The intention of the Democratic Party in that district to give its nomination to the win-the-war Republican Augustus Bennet is a noteworthy example of non-partisanship which could well be followed in many other parts of our state. Certainly in many of the upstate counties the present reactionary Republican incumbents cannot be defeated on any Democratic-versus-Republican line-up. In these places let independent Republicans come forward and, with the support of all the win-the-war and progressive forces, win a victory for non-partisanship.

Emphasizing the strategic role of the A.L.P. in this year's campaign, it seems to us, however, that the A.L.P. has let too much grass grow under its feet since its resounding primary victory. Apparently there are not sufficient awareness and alarm over the danger of losing New York State to the Republicans and a feeling that there is ample time for an effective campaign. But

this, while perhaps true in a normal election year, is not true this year. The fight is already on, and not a moment is to be lost.

Of course, the A.L.P., while it may very well be decisive in this state, is not the only instrument the people must build for the election. The C.I.O. is already building its network of Political Action Committees, which will undoubtedly play a great part in rallying the support of Democrats, Republicans, Laborites, and independents alike, for the purpose of assuring the election of President Roosevelt and a win-the-war Congress.

In the A. F. of L. there is still a danger that the state leadership may give either direct or indirect assistance to Dewey. This, however, can be blocked, if the pro-Roosevelt forces assert greater initiative, take the offensive, and proceed to unite their ranks. Draft Roosevelt Committees are springing up in the A. F. of L., and these should press upon the leadership, both state and national, for a forthright endorsement of the President. Certainly, nothing less than this should come out of the A. F. of L. State Convention this year.

The I.L.G.W.U. Convention has gone on record for a fourth term. If David Dubinsky is sincere in this endorsement, he will rally his union for a determined fight to get the city and state A. F. of L. lined up behind President Roosevelt as well. Let us really see where Mr. Dubinsky stands on this issue.

Non-Partisan Committees for Roosevelt are also making their appearance. These, we hope, will reach

into every group and segment of our population—the Negro people, the national groups, the farmers, the women, the youth, the businessmen, etc.

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Most important and most immediate of all is the immense task of assuring the largest registration, enrollment, and vote ever recorded in the State of New York. The elections can easily be won if the mass of the people, especially the workers, come out to register and vote. If the win-the-war candidates are defeated in the State of New York, it will not be by the strength of their opponents, but because of the tens of thousands of their friends who will have stayed at home. The elections may be lost by default.

One of the big lessons to be learned from the Councilmanic victories in New York City last November is the importance of guaranteeing a large registration. There is no use convincing people to vote for the right candidates on November 7, if they fail to register in New York City by October 14, and in the rest of the state by October 21.

The seriousness of the registration job this year cannot be overstressed. Four years ago, in 1940, there were 8,300,000 citizens of voting age in the state, 6,300,000 of them voted that year. In other words, 2,000,000 citizens did not take the trouble to register and vote, or ten times as many as Roosevelt's majority in the state that year. But 1940 was a good year. In 1942 and '43 the vote in New York State was much smaller.

The failure to register and enroll is in the first place a defect of the

working class housewife and in the second of the industrial worker. This situation has been aggravated since the war because of the long hours of work. This gives a decided advantage to the upstate Republicans through the system of life registration in the rural counties, a system under which even the dead can vote.

How this operates can be seen by the fact that although the population in New York City in 1940 was nearly a million and a half larger than that in the rest of the State, the registration outside of New York City was 187,000 larger than in the city.

How the wartime shift of population, the departure of men to the armed forces, and the long hours of work in industry even further aggravate this problem is expressed in the registration figures for the year 1942. By that year, upstate showed the startling figure of 880,000 more registered voters than the City of New York, and this certainly had something to do with Dewey's victory that year. When it is borne in mind that New York City must give President Roosevelt a cool majority of at least 600,000 if he is to win the state, one can appreciate how dangerous is this registration lag in New York City.

In a sense, the problem is even more complicated this year, because since 1940 1,340,000 men of this state have entered the armed forces, 800,000 from the City of New York. These men must be given the right to vote! Dewey and the Republicans must not succeed in disfranchising them!

The C.I.O., A.L.P. and some of the A. F. of L. unions have been conducting a campaign to send application cards for State War Ballots to the men in the armed forces. This must continue until every soldier is reached. We are informed that the C.I.O. Council has already disposed of 800,000 such cards; but according to the *Daily Worker* only some 15,000 New York City boys have thus far applied for war ballots. This means that we dare not let up on this campaign and that a few million such application cards will have to be circulated if every serviceman is to be reached.

A problem having an important bearing on the elections and deserving close study is the wartime shift of population. From 1940 to 1943, the industrial workers in the State of New York increased by close to a million, with slightly more than 50 per cent of these in the upstate communities. When, in addition, we consider the large numbers of draftees from industry who have been replaced by raw and new workers, one can safely assume that there are at least a million and a half new industrial workers in this state.

This has been brought about by a shift of population from the rural communities to the industrial ones, while new industrial centers have sprung into existence over night.

The Nassau-Suffolk Long Island Community has had the most rapid relative industrial expansion. In 1940 there were but 2,376 industrial workers in these two counties; in 1943 there were 67,224! We can imagine the change that has taken place in the outlook of scores of

thousands of people as a result of this development; a change, not alone in the mentality of those who work in the new industrial plants, but also of the small businessmen and the professionals who depend upon labor's purchasing power for their well-being. We can also imagine the immensity of the problem that this community will face in the period of reconversion. Grappling with this problem now, as something of common not only to labor but to the whole community, can influence the votes of thousands of traditional Republican voters.

At this point we are concerned only with emphasis on both the opportunity and the danger inherent in this shift of population and social composition.

The opportunity lies in the fact that more than a million people, coming from many different walks of life and communities, are learning the discipline of labor, many coming for the first time in contact with labor unions and forming a vital connection between the worker in the factory and the toiler on the land. In places like Schenectady, hundreds of new industrial workers continue to maintain their status as farmers, actually driving from farm to plant every day.

On the other hand, the danger lies in the fact that too large a percentage of these workers are not yet in unions or even in contact with them; many of them still operating as Pegler germ carriers. Also, the educational and political activities of the unions, particularly those upstate, are exceptionally weak, and it is hard to judge what percentage

of even these new union members have been ideologically absorbed into the labor movement.

What is done, therefore, to organize and to educate these workers, what is done to register and enroll them, may prove to be decisive for the state as a whole. Where a real job is done, there are possibilities for changing the political complexion of many out-of-town counties, just as the education and registration of the new industrial workers in Martin Dies' district did the trick there. Our upstate organization must open its eyes to these new perspectives.

The radio, the newspapers, the trade union press, the pamphlet, leaflet, and sticker; and, above all, shop committees and house-to-house canvassing, are the guarantees of a maximum registration and enrollment. Central registration offices, open now in all parts of the state, as also in New York City, should be taken advantage of by all sorts of organized groups, particularly shop and trade union organizations. Let us remember: The elections can be lost during registration time!

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Fellow delegates: Our new Communist organization has been formed in the most fateful hour in the history of our country and of mankind. We are witnessing the death of the old world and the birth of the new. The great climactic battles raging with such ferocity are but the midwife of the freer and better world.

But at this moment the keynote is struggle. The issue is not yet

decided. This is no time for anything but concentration on the job ahead. What is needed today in greater measure than ever—is understanding, resoluteness, and vigilance, coupled with an all-consuming love for country and humanity and a burning hatred for their enemies.

The Communist Political Association will be judged by its fellowmen and by history on how it meets the gruelling test of the coming months. We Marxists have a great responsibility. We must bring the issues to the people with a simplicity and clarity that will dispel the fog of reactionary confusion. We must be an example to our neighbors and fellow-workers, always maintaining that self-discipline, intelligence, modesty, and courage which have been the distinguishing mark of a Communist in every part of the world.

President Roosevelt was asked the other day when he had first learned the invasion time. "At Teheran," was his reply. Yes, Teheran represents the turning point of our epoch. The opening of the Second Front has fully confirmed our estimate of the Teheran Conference—so profoundly analyzed by Earl Browder—and fulfilled its most important decision on the scope and timing of combined military operations. The great invasion is, therefore, the guarantee, not alone of victory in the war, but of the successful realization of the entire Teheran perspective—of a durable and lasting peace and a world of greater freedom and prosperity for all.