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# DEWEY AND TEHERAN

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**T**HE United States is now far and away the most powerful capitalist country in the world. Mr. Dewey, if elected President, would try to transform this situation into American imperialist domination over the entire world. A Dewey Administration would not, of course, suddenly discard the Teheran agreement and embark upon a policy of individual action, as W. W. Aldrich, head of the Chase National Bank, is advocating. Rather its course would be to try to make Great Britain into a sort of junior partner, and then, by a system of economic and political pressures, controls, and maneuvers, gradually to concentrate decisive world hegemony in Washington.

The central issue in this vital election, therefore, is whether, under a Roosevelt Administration and in the spirit of the Teheran agreement, the United States shall cooperate loyally with Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., China and the rest of the United Nations to win the war, to smash fascism, to set up an effective post-war world organization for maintaining peace, and to

begin a systematic economic reconstruction of the world, or whether, under a Dewey Administration, our country shall begin a will-o'-the-wisp imperialist adventure for American world supremacy that could lead only to national and international disaster. Earl Browder long ago correctly stated that the main issue of the election is for or against Teheran.

Behind Roosevelt stands the body of American democracy, the heart of such national unity as we have, including almost the entire labor movement, major masses of the city middle classes, large sections of the farmers, the bulk of the Negro people, and also the more far-sighted elements among the capitalists. Around Dewey are assembled the reactionary forces of America, made up, among others, of a strong percentage of the farmers, and a very heavy section of the capitalists, dominated by the most fascist-minded elements: the Hearsts, McCormicks, Pews, Duponts, Girdlers, etc. Supporting Dewey, too, is about 80 per cent of the nation's press. The Dewey forces are also in Con-

gressional working agreement with the reactionary Southern Democratic poll-taxers.

Obviously there is a split in the ranks of the capitalists regarding Teheran. Mr. Roosevelt has behind him many important capitalist forces, who see the wisdom of a policy of world collaboration with other nations on a give-and-take basis, fearing that otherwise not only the nation's interests, but also their own class interests, will be sacrificed; but the bulk of the big capitalists are lined up in the camp of Mr. Dewey and are going along with his policy of militant American imperialism. Last May, *Fortune* magazine, in a "management poll," gave Dewey 56.9 per cent, Willkie 29.0 per cent, Roosevelt 8.2 per cent, and MacArthur 5.9 per cent of capitalist support. With the elimination of Willkie and MacArthur as candidates, however, undoubtedly the bulk of their capitalist support passed over to Dewey. Almost all the great employers' organizations are dominated by pro-Dewey sentiment.

It is their urge for a policy of active imperialist expansion that explains why the reactionary backers of Dewey are so fiercely determined to prevent the reelection of Roosevelt, despite the fact that he, supported by the more liberal and intelligent sections of the employers, has done more than any other man in the United States to make the mortally sick capitalist system work. It was Roosevelt who, during the great economic crisis of the 'thirties,

revived prostrate capitalism through a series of laws which today even his most rabid opponents at least formally endorse. Under Roosevelt, too, the capitalists have reaped big profits and the monopolies have expanded. Roosevelt also is leading our country to victory against enemies who menaced our national existence and the whole position of American capitalism. And it was Roosevelt who at Teheran helped work out a policy of victory, peace and reconstruction that offers a practical perspective to the capitalist system both here and abroad.

Yet the bulk of big American capitalists and their press hate Roosevelt as the devil hates holy water. This is partly because of Roosevelt's long-demonstrated concern for the welfare of the masses, and especially because his policies have helped the trade unions grow from two million to thirteen million members; but the main reason is their deep conviction that Roosevelt, with his liberal policies at home and democratic collaboration on a world scale, is a stumbling block to their program of unrestricted monopoly control in this country and predatory imperialist expansion abroad.

Of course, not all of Dewey's followers are active imperialists; certainly not the great mass of his farmer supporters, nor, by far, all of the employers that are backing him. But the decisive leaders and backers of the Republican Party are for militant imperialism, and beyond question a Dewey Administration would pursue such a policy. And

these people know quite well how to hook the isolationist and semi-isolationist sentiment in this country behind their car of imperialism.

The aggressively imperialist section of the reactionaries behind Dewey, whom Henry Wallace correctly called "international freebooters," are convinced that now is the appointed time to begin to realize Henry Luce's so-called "American Century." These people, blandly ignoring insuperable obstacles in the path of their imperialist program (these we shall deal with later), see that the rival capitalist states of Germany, Japan, France and Italy have been practically ruined by the war, that Great Britain has been seriously weakened, and that the socialist U.S.S.R., heavily war-devastated, will be concentrating mainly upon its gigantic internal reconstruction program in the post-war period; whereas, in sharp contrast, the United States has not been damaged by the war, but actually strengthened. They know, too, that the United States has much the largest navy and airforce in the world, as well as one of the most powerful armies, and that, consequently, it can talk very big if it so desires. They realize also that this country, with incomparably the largest and most efficient industrial system and biggest merchant fleet in existence, can out-compete any nation in the post-war world markets. And, finally, they are quite aware that stored away in Fort Knox are 23 billion dollars in gold, about seven-eighths of the world's re-

serves, which could constitute a potentially extremely powerful imperialist weapon in a world full of bankrupt nations.

All these facts, in the wishful thinking of the power-hungry imperialists, for whom the Deweys, Hoovers, Tafts, Vandenberg, McCormicks, etc., are political spokesmen, amount to a perfect set-up in which to establish American world domination, and they are determined to accomplish just that. This eager imperialism explains their cynical attitude towards Teheran and their pursuing general military, economic and political policies which would undoubtedly bring the United States into collision with the general program laid down at Teheran.

Of course, the Dewey reactionaries are very careful to cover up, as best they can, their imperialist program. They know full well that the overwhelming masses of the American people are democratically minded, want to work loyally with the U.S.S.R. and other countries, and are opposed to imperialism. They realize, therefore, that any hint on their part that they are for imperialist expansion would be fatal for Dewey's election chances. Hence, with the most brazen demagoguery in American political history, the Dewey forces are playing down their real aggressively imperialist character and are trying to make it appear that they are in essential agreement with Roosevelt's basic policies of national unity at home and collaboration abroad. Once in power, however, these people would

promptly abandon all these election-time shibboleths, designed to capture the votes of the unwary, and begin their true program of increased monopoly domination at home and vigorous imperialist expansion abroad.

There are, however, some individuals who are so fascinated by the prize of imperialist world domination that they are speaking out frankly, even if Dewey is not. Thus, Walter Lippmann, in his book, *U.S. War Aims*, comes forward with a scheme of post-war world organization containing a plan to set up a great "Atlantic Community." This community would consist of the United States, Great Britain, the countries of North and South America, Australia, and practically all of Europe, including Germany, right up "to the borders of the Soviet Union." In the proposal for this tremendous political agglomeration, three points are clear: (a) containing at least four-fifths of the world's industry, it would be the world's strongest economic, political and military force; (b) the United States, by virtue of her great strength, would be able to dominate it; and (c) its spearpoint would be directed against the U.S.S.R. In short, whatever the intentions of Mr. Lippmann, the whole proposition is a brazen bid for American world imperialist mastery in the spirit of Dewey, Hoover, Taft, Vandenberg, McCormick, et al.

The election of Dewey would provoke a national and international disaster. An attempt to apply his

aggressively imperialist policies would lead to an economic smash-up at home and abroad; it would intensify the class struggle here and would cause civil war in Europe; it would strengthen reaction and fascism in the United States and internationally, and it would sow dragon's teeth for a World War III.

The Dewey menace presents itself in a two-fold guise: First, there is the danger of Dewey actually being elected, when he would plunge our country into his contemplated, ill-omened program of imperialist expansion. Secondly, there is the additional danger that even if Dewey should lose the election, as he probably will, the reactionary forces he represents may nevertheless remain strong enough in Congress and elsewhere to hamstring a Roosevelt Administration and thereby prevent it from taking the decisive and far-reaching progressive measures that will be indispensable if our country and the world are to overcome the devastation of this war and start out vigorously upon the tasks foreseen at Teheran. Such sabotage, by paralyzing the American Government, would, if not checked, be a direct route to world chaos.

#### *Dewey's Imperialism Would Provoke a New War*

The Dewey imperialists are grossly deceiving themselves in thinking that the world, despite all its present war-devastation, would submit to the American imperialist domination which they believe they can

establish, almost for the asking. These reactionaries, looking backward to the heyday of imperialism following World War I, fail to take into consideration the profound anti-imperialist spirit that the present war has loosed among the peoples of the world. To an unparalleled degree the masses have become determined to place serious curbs upon the imperialism which exists in every capitalist power in greater or larger degree, and which has cursed the world with unheard of calamities during the past generation—two world wars, a devastating crisis, and the growth of world fascism.

World War I was an imperialist war. The governments of all the great powers involved were dominated by imperialist groups of bankers, industrialists and landowners, and the war was a struggle between the German-Austrian and the British-French-American-Russian-Japanese blocs for world control. Germany was beaten in her attempt to oust the older and more powerful imperialist states from world domination. The period following the war was an armistice rather than a genuine peace; for the imperialist powers kept maneuvering for position. British and French imperialism dominated Europe and most of the Far East through the League of Nations, while American imperialism kept out and played its own game, strengthening its grip upon Latin America and in the Far East, and also becoming the chief creditor nation of the world. Meanwhile German imperialism, now turned fascist,

had largely recovered from its defeat in World War I, with the help of British, French, and American Tories, who wanted to use it in a drive to destroy the socialist Soviet Union. But German imperialism did not relish being used as such a cat's paw. Instead, it had plans of world domination of its own, which it started to realize by its "antikomintern" alliance with Japan and Italy and by a joint program of aggression against a whole row of smaller and weaker countries—Spain, Ethiopia, China, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc.

World War II also began in September, 1939, as an imperialist war. The British, French and American reactionaries had hoped that it would be an all-out capitalist war against the U.S.S.R., but their plans went askew. They envisaged the setting up of a reactionary or even a fascist world in which their respective powers would play the decisive role. But the German and Japanese imperialists thought otherwise. Their own plans contemplated the subjugation of Great Britain, France and the United States, as well as the rest of the world, to their control. Such a positional inferiority, of course, the powerful capitalist rulers in the latter countries could not accept. So, when Hitler, pursuing his path of world conquest, attacked Poland, Great Britain and France declared war upon Germany. For many months, however, the Munichites of the western powers maneuvered to direct the blow of the war against the U.S.S.R.

World War II did not long remain an imperialist war, but soon became a war of national liberation. From the outset of the war there had been in it some elements of a national war, among them the gallant fights of the Chinese, Greeks, and Yugoslavs to save themselves from fascist slavery. The national aspects of the war were further strengthened when Great Britain and France, with their armies shattered by Hitler's victorious drive across Europe, stood face to face with national extinction and were compelled to fight for their very existence. The war, however, took on its decisive character as a war of national liberation when Hitler, callously violating his non-aggression treaty, invaded the U.S.S.R. in June, 1941, in a barbarous attempt to devastate that great nation. Japan's attack upon the United States six months later, followed at once by Germany's declaration of war against us, events which put our nation's very life in jeopardy, brought our country as a leading power into the global war of national liberation.

The changed nature of the war resulted in the formation of the United Nations, the adoption of democratic war aims, the eventual working out of a coalition military strategy, and the strengthening of the democratic forces in all countries. It also released a great surge of anti-imperialist spirit throughout the world. This deeply affected the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and the occupied countries of Europe. Also among the masses of the

people in the great capitalist powers of Great Britain and the United States, including important sections of the capitalists themselves, the determination grew rapidly to put an end to, or at least to limit, aggressive capitalist imperialism, by establishing cooperative world relationships in place of the characteristic brutal struggle for markets, raw material sources, and strategic position, that has deluged the world with blood twice within one generation and will surely soon do so again if it is not checked.

It is in the face of this great world, anti-imperialist trend of the peoples that the Dewey imperialists are coming forward with their plans for American world domination. But to their greedy hopes, history will reply with an emphatic "No!" The world peoples are sick to death of attempts of great capitalist powers to dominate the world, whether they do it in the ultra-brutal manner of Germany and Japan, or by the systems of economic and diplomatic pressures that a Dewey would employ. They are moving in the direction of world collaboration of the nations, instead of world struggle among them. The peoples of India and China will never accept some new, Dewey-contrived form of national slavery; likewise the nations of Latin America will not submit to the renaissance of Hooveristic domination that the Dewey forces are planning, and the Soviet Union, of course, will never tolerate the new edition of the *cordon sanitaire* that Dewey is cooking up with his

Anglo-American alliance directed against the U.S.S.R. The lesser peoples of the capitalist world, and the masses in the great capitalist states also will not permit themselves to be used as the pawns and serfs of imperialist-minded American monopolists. In view of all this, therefore, for Dewey, if elected, to try to put into effect his program of American world domination would lead to world economic chaos and in the direction of war.

### *Sabotage of the World Peace Organization*

It is in full accord with Dewey's program of American world domination that he is trying to prevent the formation of a strong post-war organization of the peoples, able and willing to maintain world peace, such as the Roosevelt Administration contemplates. What Dewey wants is a free hand for American imperialism to play power politics. Inasmuch, however, as the American people, including vital sections of the capitalists, are almost solidly in support of an effective post-war peace organization, he and his isolationist supporters would not dare to propose a policy of absentism from such a body.

As this is being written, the Dumbarton Oaks Conference has just submitted its proposals for the post-war peace organization. Mr. Dewey has endorsed the report as "excellent progress." But his endorsement must be taken with great reserve as, also, for example, his new-found solicitude for the trade unions, for

the extension of social insurance, for the strengthening of our ties with the U.S.S.R., etc. Dewey is compelled to say these things if he hopes to be elected. To take any other stand would be suicidal in the elections. But, as for policy, when once in power, that would be quite another story. J. Hamilton Fish, notorious isolationist-imperialist supporter of Dewey, also endorses the Dumbarton Oaks report, and in almost identical terms with Dewey's. But Fish, more obviously than Dewey, is already seeking openly to block the report by insisting upon an indefinite period of discussion, by demagogically demanding that the adoption of the report proposals by the Senate be made contingent upon whether or not there is a just peace, etc.

The imperialist forces are aiming to have established some such ramshackle organization as the old League of Nations, one which would be too weak and reactionary to interfere effectively with the program of militant American imperialism. In this respect we can learn valuable lessons from the past.

After World War I the victorious powers set up the League of Nations, with the general program of maintaining world peace. But the League was quite incapable of accomplishing this huge task. From the outset, the great capitalist powers used or misused it as their imperialist interests dictated. Great Britain and France utilized it to dominate Europe, the United States stayed out of it altogether in order

to have a free hand, and Germany, Japan and Italy flouted it as they saw fit. The League's action could be paralyzed by the dissenting vote of even one small state; it had no power at its disposal to enforce peace, and it was without any economic program whatsoever. Hence, the League made no effective opposition, even under the insistent urging of the U.S.S.R., which joined the League in 1934, against the invasion of China, Spain, Ethiopia, etc., by the fascist powers in their developing drive to conquer the whole earth. Nor did the League take any steps to alleviate the great economic crisis of the 'thirties. Under the pressure of the great events of the war decade, therefore, it just folded up and died, a victim of its own internal weaknesses.

It is some such anemic world peace organization as the old League that the Dewey imperialists, in their brand new garb as international collaborationists, actually would like to create. But a very different type of organization indeed is coming out of this war of national liberation. The peoples of the world have built up during the course of this war against fascism a great military alliance, the United Nations. With victory, they intend to have this transformed into a powerful democratic organization of states which, by curbing the inherent imperialism of the capitalist great powers, would firmly maintain peace and bring about an economic reconstruction of the world. The main responsibility to make this world organization

work will rest upon the shoulders of the Big Four powers that are winning the war. And it has the backing to an extent never known by the old League, of the masses of the people of the world, including powerful sections of capitalists everywhere, who are convinced that another world war would be fatal to the capitalist system.

This new world coalition of democratic, anti-fascist forces, the United Nations, has gradually developed its program, as well as its organization, during the war—in the Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms, and the decisions of the various military, economic and political conferences of Casablanca, Quebec, Cairo, Moscow, and, above all, Teheran. Its basic program of victory in the war, the establishment of a post-war peace organization, the extermination of fascism and the strengthening of democracy, and the development of an orderly post-war economic cooperation among the peoples of the world, is steadily going into effect through successful coalition warfare, through the movement to improve the world's food supply and distribution (Hot Springs Conference), through the organization of relief for devastated peoples (U.N.R.R.A.), through the improvement of world monetary conditions (Bretton Woods financial conference), and through the Dumbarton Oaks conference, which has made real progress toward solving the great problem of the world peace organization. Never in its ill-fated history did the League of Nations,



child of the imperialist World War I, display such unity of action, have so concrete a program, or exhibit a comparable democratic spirit.

The Dewey - Hoover - Vandenberg aggressively imperialist forces have watched with wry faces this whole development. As pointed out earlier, their attitude towards every phase of world collaboration of the United Nations—military, economic, and political—has been one of ill-disguised opposition. They have continuously sniped at it, when they did not dare to oppose it openly. Especially now they are interested in preventing the establishment of a strong and responsible post-war world cooperation between the United States, Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., China and eventually France, as the real force behind the whole United Nations. Above all, they are enemies of real cooperation between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. They want the Soviet Union's vast trade, but they do not want to treat that country as a political equal. Close international collaboration would cramp the maneuverability of American imperialism. According to them the ideal world organization would be one along the lines of the old League of Nations in which even one state could bring the whole thing to a standstill. This explains Dewey's demagogic warning against four-power domination of the United Nations and his hypocritical championship of the rights of the small nations, on the eve of the vital Dumbarton Oaks Conference. Dewey's statement was an

attack upon the very heart of effective post-war collaboration and it threw a bright light upon his whole imperialist program.

The sabotage of world cooperation by the Dewey imperialists all through the war, their attacks upon the coalition military strategy, their sniping at Lend-Lease, etc., is a clear indication of what their post-war policy would be, were they to get control of the American Government in the November elections. They would try to cripple international collaboration in every direction, in the ultra-selfish interests of an American imperialism striving for economic and political domination over all other nations.

#### *The Dewey Imperialist Economic Program*

The economic program of the Dewey forces, international and domestic, is fully in harmony with their general political objective of American imperialist world domination. In the hands of a Dewey Administration, this policy would tend definitely to defeat the perspective of orderly economic and democratic political development laid down at the Teheran Conference, and which Earl Browder has dealt with so extensively in his book, *Teheran, Our Path in War and Peace*.

In the international field, if the catastrophic effects of this war are to be overcome and if future and still more ruinous economic crises are to be prevented or alleviated, many new and far-reaching measures will have to be adopted. Among

these are joint action of the various powers for the systematic building up of foreign trade, including the planful industrialization of backward and devastated countries through long-term, low-interest loans, the lowering of tariff barriers among the various countries, the curtailing of the monopolistic practices of international cartels, and the progressive raising of the living standards and purchasing power of the toiling masses throughout the world. It is in this general direction that the Roosevelt Administration and the United Nations are gradually heading.

In the domestic field in the various countries, no less drastic economic measures will have to be applied. There must be economic planning by the governments, including ours, on an unprecedented scale; the working and living conditions of the masses have to be radically improved, and the monopolistic power of the trusts must be curbed. On the latter point, many of the European nations are now proposing extensive nationalization of their basic, trustified industries. For these peoples are coming to understand the elementary fact that it is the powerful, fascist-minded sections of monopoly capital that are the main obstacle to social progress. These elements were primarily responsible for the two world wars; their restrictive practices greatly worsened the recent world economic depression; it was in their reactionary ranks that fascism originated and still flourishes; and if their forces are not definitely

curbed by the peoples, they will cause humanity fresh disasters, even more catastrophic than those they have already brought upon the world.

The Dewey imperialistic economic program goes directly counter to all these needful measures, both internationally and nationally. In the international sphere Dewey's trade policy would be a dog-eat-dog grab for world markets, in the expectation of the United States triumphing on the basis of its superior industrial equipment and resources. The Dewey imperialists sneer at all proposals to industrialize backward countries and to raise international mass living standards, as a "world W.P.A.," "globaloney" and as Uncle Sam acting as milk dispenser to deserving Hottentots. They are defenders of the monopolistic international cartels; they cling to their traditional high tariff policies, and they oppose efforts (as at Bretton Woods) to limit by governmental control the dictatorial actions of imperialistic world bankers.

In the American domestic sphere, the Deweyites' economic program would run no less in opposition to the urgent needs of the situation. Their demagogic outcry about "free enterprise," their attacks upon every semblance of government planning, their belittlement of full production and full employment as both undesirable and impossible, their resistance to raising the workers' real wages, their fight against even the moderate social insurance proposals of the Kilgore Bill, their sabotage of

all wartime economic controls, their constant attacks upon the labor movement, and their obvious reliance upon the illusion of an old-style, essentially spontaneous post-war industrial boom to take care of every economic problem—all constitute proposals to return, under far more dangerous conditions, to the unbridled, monopoly-dominated economic anarchy of the Hoover period, which led to the great economic crisis of 1929. The present Presidential election fight by the Deweyites is an attempt to break down the curbs that the American people have erected against voracious monopolists. Especially they want to remove the democratic Roosevelt Administration and to weaken the trade union movement, as necessary domestic conditions for their projected struggle for world imperialist domination.

### *The Spearhead of Post-War World Reaction*

The forces behind Dewey constitute not only the cohorts of aggressive American imperialism; but also, in a larger sense, they represent an attempt to organize world reaction for an offensive, especially in the post-war period, against everything democratic and progressive. After World War I, the big capitalists, bankers and landowners of the world, fearful of the great democratic upsurge of the people then taking place, which knocked three emperors from their thrones and established Socialism in Russia, or-

ganized a reactionary movement to beat down the awakening democratic peoples. This reactionary big-capitalist offensive, with the aid of Social-Democracy, not only checked the spread of Socialism beyond the U.S.S.R., but it eventually resulted in the birth of fascism, the drive of German and Japanese imperialism for world control, and the development of the perspective of a fascist, or ultra-reactionary world in the minds of the big capitalists far and wide in all countries. This great post-World War I reactionary offensive was finally climaxed in the outbreak of World War II.

The inevitable trend of the Dewey militant imperialists is in this same general direction. Should Dewey be elected President, it would be not only a major defeat for democracy in this country, but everywhere else as well. The peoples of Latin America and the Far East would be appalled by it; so would the great Soviet nation, and likewise the struggling democratic forces throughout Europe and the rest of the world. It would be a staggering blow to international democracy.

Conversely, a Dewey success would be hailed throughout the world by the reactionary and fascist elements as their victory, and rightly so. If Dewey should capture the Presidency, it would not only greatly strengthen the Red-baiters, anti-Semites, union-busters, native fascists and world-dominators in our country; it would also give new hope and strength to hard-pressed fascism all

over the world. For a Dewey administration, in its bid for world supremacy, would cultivate and use these sinister elements for its own purposes. They would be its natural allies against the resurgent democratic world forces which are now manifesting themselves in the prosecution of the war, and which will play a decisive role in the shaping up of the peace. British Tories of the Cliveden stripe, who have had to "play dead" during the war, would be stirred to renewed activity; German industrialists, bankers and landowners, the main pillars of Nazism, would appeal, and not in vain, for a "soft peace," one that would leave them in control of Germany; quivering capitalists and war criminals all over liberated Europe would get help from a Dewey government in their efforts to stem the tide of democracy and peoples' justice that is now threatening to engulf them; the new democratic governments developing in the freed countries would have to face hostile pressures from a Dewey administration; our great Soviet ally would find in Dewey, not an honest collaborator, but a conniving opponent, and who knows what kind of a deal Dewey would eventually cook up with the Japanese war lords? In short, a Dewey victory would tend to set in motion a wave of reaction all over the capitalist world. The bitter experiences after World War I should be sufficient warning to us of how dangerous such a reactionary offensive would be.

The Dewey-Hoover-Taft-Vandenberg-Hearst-McCormick aggressively imperialist forces are trying to achieve their policy of world domination in three general phases. First, they plotted to seize control of the Republican Party as their base of operations, and they have succeeded in accomplishing this. Second, they are trying to capture the American Government in the election, and with no small chance of success. Third, once with the vast resources of the powerful United States under their command, they would set out, along the general lines indicated in this article, to achieve economic, political and, if need be, military, world domination.

In view of the badly weakened state of the capitalist system, the great strength of the world democratic forces organized by this war, the deep-seated hatred of the world peoples against Hitler-like attempts of great powers to seize world control, and the imperative need of the world for policies of economic and political, as well as military, collaboration among the great states, it is idiotic for sections of American finance capital to cultivate dreams of world imperialist conquest. For these could only lead to economic chaos, the rebirth of fascism, the launching of the world towards a World War III, and the shattering of the world capitalist system. But that these people are nursing such imperialist illusions it would be most dangerous to ignore. Nor should we be surprised that re-

actionary circles are developing their boundless schemes of American conquest, in the face of every contrary reality. For it was precisely such big capitalist cliques as these that, in the various lands, by placing their class greed above the true interests of their nations and the world, were responsible for two terrible world wars, the recent devastating economic crisis, and the growth of the fascist nightmare, all within one generation. There would be no imperialist folly too great for the Dewey forces to commit, could they but grab control of the powerful United States Government.

The United States, in view of the critical situation of the world and the great strength of this country, will inevitably be called upon to exercise a high degree of world economic and political leadership. But if this leadership is to redound to the benefit of our country and the world, it must not be exercised in the reckless imperialist sense that the Dewey forces have in mind, but along the lines of world collaboration being followed now by the Roosevelt Administration. Will the vast power of the United States be used constructively in the world or shortsightedly (and disastrously) in an attempt to further the interests of a few powerful sections of American capitalists? This is the main question the American voters have to decide in the November elections.

The American Presidential elections, therefore, have not only na-

tional, but international significance. It is of the greatest importance to our country and the world that there should stand at the head of our nation an administration which would work responsibly with the rest of the world for the solution of the tremendous problems now confronting it, instead of an administration which would exploit all the difficulties for the imperialist advantage of the reactionary monopolists of the United States. The Teheran program of Roosevelt would open the way to a new era of world progress; the Dewey program of American imperialist domination could only lead to disaster, for us as well as for the world generally.

The American people confront an especially heavy responsibility in this election to defeat Dewey and to return Roosevelt to power for another four years. To do this is the task of the workers, the farmers, the city middle classes, and also those sections of the capitalists who are not blinded by the lurid light of imperialist expansion. But this victory can be made certain only on the basis of a thorough-going exposure of the imperialist ambitions of the Dewey forces, making it clear that, as the Communist Political Association puts it, the central issue is for or against Teheran. Dewey's pretended agreement with the basic national and international policies of Roosevelt must be unmasked and the real issue between the two camps brought to light. The great masses of the American people are

anti-fascist, anti-imperialist and peace-loving; and they will vote Roosevelt back into office with large majorities, provided they are educated to the vital importance of the questions at stake. It is a weakness, however, that this mass educational work is not generally being done. For the most part, the Democratic leaders are taking Dewey's hypocritical stand pretty much at its face value and are allowing the election debate to turn chiefly around secondary issues and personal questions.

Victory for Roosevelt must be decisive. Roosevelt requires a solid Congressional majority to back him up. Otherwise, we shall run the grave danger of having the deplorable situation where the combined Republican-Southern Tory Democrat forces will be able to sabotage and prevent the carrying through of the progressive economic and political measures imperatively necessary to meet the world's gigantic problems. The Dewey-Hoover-Taft-McCormick-Hearst-Smith imperialists must be overwhelmed and routed.