

# Cooperation Between the USA and the USSR

By EARL BROWDER

Nov. 7, 1944, is the 27th anniversary of the birth of the Soviet Union, which rose from the ruins of the old Russian Czarist Empire. On this same day the United States is holding a national election, in which the dominant issue is whether or not the United States shall set itself a long term policy of cooperation with the Soviet Union, the USSR.

This article is being written in the day before the voting.

If Roosevelt is reelected then the policy of cooperation will have

been decisively adopted, it will be a firmly established course upon which our country will move for some generations to come.

If the impossible happens, and Dewey is named the next President of the U. S., then the very basis of cooperation between the two countries has been called into question, and the world is plunged into new storms even before the war is over.

Such is the fateful choice being made by the voters of America as they go to the polls on Nov. 7, just 27 years after the Soviet Power was brought into existence under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin.

Let no one console himself that this is an exaggerated statement of the question.

Dewey repudiated America's alliance with the Soviet Union when he protested against Gen. Malinovsky's signature to the armistice with Rumania on behalf of the United States as well as of Britain and the Soviet Union. In the event of Dewey's election, therefore, the Soviet Union has been put on notice that its relations with the United States are on a day-to-day basis and subject to change without notice, with the U. S. under the direction of men who have not even wished to disguise their deep-seated hostility to the Soviet Union.

My own deep conviction is that this will not happen. I feel sure that it is Dewey who will be repudiated, and not the Soviet-American alliance. But in order to really understand what America is going through on this day, what kind of choice we are really making, one must

imagine the worst, and assume that Dewey might be elected, with all the consequences that would follow.

What are these consequences?

First of all, the United States will be isolated politically. It is a fool's dream to think that a Dewey can compensate for estranging the Soviet Union by coming closer to Britain. Any effort to separate Britain from the Soviet Union will only drive both of them away from the U. S. and closer to each other. The only way the U. S. can develop closer relations with Britain is by simultaneously coming closer to the Soviet Union. The breaking of the Soviet-American alliance is at the same time the breaking of the Anglo-American alliance. There is either a three-power alliance or there is no alliance at all. This is an elementary fact of international politics today which every school boy should know.

Secondly, it is not possible to "renegotiate" the three power alliance, once it has been broken, on the basis of some hypothetical "better terms" for the United States. That Bullitt-Eastman fairy tale was always good for nothing more than bed-time consolation for disappointed Soviet-haters. Dewey cannot get better terms with Britain and the Soviet Union than the terms Roosevelt has negotiated, no matter what one's view of what constitutes "better terms." On the contrary, for Dewey to renegotiate the alliance would require that he pay for it with new concessions to both Britain and the Soviet Union, for the simple reason that neither country would feel safe with him in the absence of such additional concessions.

Thirdly, a new President in the person of Dewey will, because of the irresponsible nature of his campaign, find it much more difficult to solve the remaining problems of the war. In Europe, for example, the election of Dewey would doubtless bring a completely intransigent hardening of the position of the Polish government-in-exile, a break between them and Britain, and their moving into Washington as a permanent non-paying guest of the U. S., to bedevil our foreign relations for a long time to come. In the Pacific the prospects of Soviet participation with the U. S. in the permanent

reorganization of that part of the World would be indefinitely postponed.

Finally, all the fine beginnings of international postwar organization of the world, at Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods, would have their foundations swept from under them by these developments, no matter how many millions of fervent words of support were lavished upon them. International relations are determined by deeds, not by words.

Not a very pretty picture, is it? But it is a rather accurate outline of what the United States voters are rejecting when they cast their votes for FDR on Nov. 7.

I hope that no reader of these lines will, when the news comes through during the night of Nov. 7-8 that Roosevelt has been reelected, write me a letter telling me that I wasted my time with these lugubrious forebodings as to the consequences of a Dewey victory. This is no waste of time. This is a most necessary line of thought, which should be followed rigorously to the bitter end, in order that we shall feel in our blood and bones the horrible dangers our country is escaping when it rejects the irresponsible demagoguery of a Dewey, and in order that we shall properly estimate the high beneficence of the next Roosevelt administration for our country and the world.

It is necessary that America shall ponder deeply these lessons, that it shall never happen again that any man or group of men shall ever bid for power in our country with the technique of a Hitler and a Goebbels.

It is necessary that Soviet-American friendship and mutual confidence shall be so firmly grounded that no man or group or party will ever again dare to put it in question, without knowing that thereby those who so dare are consigning themselves to oblivion.

Such are the thoughts I would contribute to Nov. 7, the 27th anniversary of the great Soviet revolution, and the day when America goes to the polls to confirm the great Anglo-Soviet-American alliance which, under the combined leadership of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin, is winning the war and will build a lasting world of peace and prosperity when the war is won.