



# THE ONLY WAY TO FREE BROWDER

*Elizabeth Gurley Flynn tells of the millions who want him returned to his post in the anti-Hitler armies. "We'll deliver the goods, you deliver Browder," the seamen said. What must be done.*

THE cheering and the singing died away and the 1,458 delegates to the National Free Browder Congress took their swift departure back to all over America. Some delegates from California and Detroit returned by airplane, the rest went by the fastest trains. There was no time to lose. They had met for two days, had heard many inspiring speeches, met a lot of fine people they were glad to know, all pulling together regardless of any political differences. If any one had said to them "What's your hurry?" they would have replied: "We've got to win the war and Browder isn't out yet!" They did not consider that they had taken two days out of their busy lives of working to smash Hitler, but that these two days were devoted to exactly that job. And they are realists enough to know that the Congress, splendid as it was, did not finish the job, either. It must be followed up.

Back they went as fast as they could to their posts on board ship, in shipyards and mines, in auto and steel plants, textile and clothing mills; back to the deep South, to the far West; back to their pulpits, classrooms, law offices, or to their artists' tools; back to New England and to inland America, to report to everybody on the Congress and to expand its efforts. To say that these delegates represented 3,264,863 Americans

is an accurate tabulation of the credentials presented showing whom they represented directly. But it is not a complete picture of the Free Earl Browder campaign. Because many organizations which have gone on record were unable to send delegates; many thousands of individuals could not be present. Even before the complicated statistical check-up is finished I feel safe in stating conservatively that at least 4,000,000 persons have now endorsed our campaign and I wouldn't be at all surprised if it were nearer 5,000,000. Certainly when these delegates begin moving around all over the country, full of a burning desire to free Browder, and determined, as Paul Robeson said, "not to rest until he's out!" we expect to see a tremendous increase in our numbers.

They will report not only to the organizations that sent them but to others, not yet involved in the campaign. They'll begin by telling who was there—759 trade union delegates from fifty-six industries; 119 Negro delegates, representing the entire Negro people, more than many of their own racial gatherings; 364 women delegates, representing trade unions, auxiliaries and fraternal societies, and sixty youth delegates. They'll say in the words of Dr. Henry Pratt Fairchild, eminent sociologist and professor at New York University: "As



I looked over the program of the meeting I have found myself saying that every element in the United States is represented here at this meeting, every profession, every belief, every type of population. And then I realized I am wrong. As we have listened to these speeches—we realize that we have heard from everybody in the United States except the American fascists, appeasers, and defeatists." Only loyal Americans and their friends were present at this Free Browder Congress.

The Resolution on the War which was presented by Joseph Curran, stalwart and squarejawed president of the National Maritime Union and vice-president of the CIO, was adopted unanimously and with the greatest enthusiasm. It proclaimed our united and unconditional support to our nation in the struggle to destroy Hitler and his Axis allies, and it pledged "the individual loyalty and cooperation that the War President of the United States has a right to expect from each and every citizen." Mr. Curran spoke eloquently in the name of the brave men who keep 'em sailing—the unknown and unsung heroes of the deep—without guns, uniforms, medals, or glory—who stand in the vanguard to return Browder to his post, which is not a prison cell. The grandest message of thousands to the Congress came from the crew of the tanker *Dixiano*: "Tell America to heed our call from seven seas. We'll deliver the goods, *Americans, deliver us Earl Browder*. When you remember Pearl Harbor remember America's anti-fascist Earl Browder." *Dixiano*, pushing her way through perilous seas, awaits our response. Let's make it three dots and a dash, soon.

THE delegates will report that the War Resolution, a telegram of greetings to Anna and John Mooney, and a Resolution on the Freedom of Earl Browder were the only official documents of the Congress, endorsed also by the Trade Union, Negro, Professional-Cultural and Youth Panels and by mass meetings attended by 12,000 people. The resolution urged President Roosevelt to exercise executive clemency because the continued imprisonment of Earl Browder "serves neither the ends of justice nor in the interests of the nation."

Were there Communists at the Congress, as Poison-Pen Pegler proclaims with an air of great discovery? Of course there were, and nobody was surprised except old sourpuss who runs the "Foul Enough" syndicate. It would be a strange contradiction if the Communist Party's National Committee did not send delegates to a Congress for the release of the General Secretary of the Party. Mother Bloor and Bob Minor were there, as was William Z. Foster, Earl Browder's co-workers for years, and James W. Ford who was his running mate in two presidential elections. That the Communists are devoted to this campaign, is legitimate, and is certainly known to President Roosevelt and the press.

But what's eating Pegler, Dies, Hearst, and all the other anti-labor, anti-Roosevelt, anti-war forces in America is that they cannot successfully Red-bait the Free Browder Campaign. The vast majority of the delegates and the great millions they represent are not in accord with the political views of Earl Browder. But they do not consider his political views an issue, as the resolution reads—"especially since all available information leads us to believe that Mr. Browder is in complete agreement with the war policies of the nation and is unconditionally ready to fulfill all duties that the country has a right to expect of him or any other citizen." Everyone else active in the campaign accepts as a matter of course that the Communists are there too.

The Browder campaign is a rebuke to Red-baiting. It is a recognition that a man has been imprisoned in America on a flimsy technicality because he is the Secretary of the Communist Party. It is a recognition that this Party is a part of the American labor movement and that therefore this is a labor case. It is an indication of an increasing determination that Communists must have their political rights and that their loss puts in jeopardy the rights of all Americans.

The friendly relationships, the better understanding between Communists and other American groups will carry over into all other tasks to win the war and to better cement national unity. This is a bitter pill for Red-baiters to swallow. Shackled and silenced in a prison, Earl Browder is increasingly known to millions of Americans. The imprisoned leader of the Communist Party was referred to continually by trade union leaders, ministers of the gospel, professional and cultural groups, editors and writers, as a great anti-fascist leader who could contribute tremendously to smashing Hitlerism at home and abroad. That Earl Browder risked his life in China and in Spain as a fearless pioneer anti-fascist is now known to millions. This was evident at the Free Browder Congress, and the delegates will spread the word. America can use Browder now.

The ready response of the Negro people in America—who rallied to the recollection of "Scottsboro" and "Herndon" and Earl Browder's consistent championship of full equality for the Negro people with more fervor and unanimity than even the war itself evokes from them—is a revelation of what fair treatment can do. Earl Browder is loved as a friend and a brother by Negro Americans. The struggle for his release is no white man's fight to them. They suffer over his imprisonment. They long for his release. They went back to work untiringly for it. "The Abraham Lincoln of today to our people"—one Negro delegate, Ernest Scott of the International Longshoremen's Union of New Orleans, called Earl Browder, as he brought greetings and a large petition to President Roosevelt "from the Negroes of the South." Negro America is moving for their defender. They want to look upon his face again and hear his words. Earl Browder can do more to unify the Negro people for an all-out war against the Axis powers than any other white man in America. Let him speak to them, Mr. President.

THE campaign for the freedom of Earl Browder has spread out in one year's time in a fan-like manner, until today its appeal is capable of reaching all patriotic American people, as it did such varied and different cross-sections of America at the Congress. The delegates rushed back home to arouse America. "Why is Browder in jail while fascists operate freely in our country?" they are asking their townspeople. They will take the offensive here as elsewhere. "Smoke out the snipers at democracy," they will say, "seek out the instigators of the Browder imprisonment—the Dies committee, the Coughlins, the appeasers, the isolationists, the pro-Nazis. These are the only people who want to keep Browder in prison, Mr. President," they will say East, West, North, and South in the next few weeks.

Let us guard against loose rumors. Let there be no false optimism. No matter how successful the Congress was—*Browder is still in prison*. Every delegate understood this. Every delegate went home to reach more people—trade unionists, ministers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, leaders of Negro communities, youth, women, to appeal for executive clemency for Browder. More letters, more telegrams to the President, to Attorney General Biddle, to your senator, to your congressman, more letters to the press—write your local editor about the Congress, answer Poison-Pen Pegler.

Let us build a sufficiently broad, numerically strong, patriotically powerful, popular movement that will give our President ample justification to act. Let us snow under the mean, covert opposition to this act of common American justice! Let their threatened blast of criticism to embarrass the President be drowned out in the enthusiastic endorsement of millions of fairminded Americans who are ready to say, "Well done, Mr. President." For those determined delegates there will be no victory until Earl Browder is restored to his family and his post as a fighting American helping to smash Hitler.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.



# WHY DIES "DISCOVERED" NUDISM

***Some curious aspects of the demagogue's attack on the Economic Warfare Board. The little-publicized work of the Board and how it ran afoul of two gentlemen from Texas.***

*Washington.*

THE timing of Martin Dies' recent onslaught against the Economic Warfare Board (EWB) is worth considerable attention. He chose to blast an important war agency at the moment when the appeasement-minded faction in the State Department seemed about to lose out in its bitter struggle to delimit the Board's effectiveness. He chose the moment when Jesse Jones, Secretary of Commerce, was frantically engaged in a last-minute stand to prevent the Board from freeing itself from his stifling control. Just then Mr. Dies rushed in, hoping to turn the tide of battle. But the significance of the Dies attack only becomes clear with some understanding of the role played by the EWB within the total war effort. Up to the present, the work of the Board has been hidden away in the press: people generally are not quite sure what the Board does or how it functions. Mr. Dies, as usual, took advantage of this lack of information.

The EWB is headed by Vice-President Wallace. Serving with him are the Secretaries of State, Treasury, War, Navy, Agriculture, Commerce, and the Attorney General. But the administration of the Board actually devolves to the energetic executive director, Milo Perkins, appointed by President Roosevelt. It is said in Washington that the EWB (an outgrowth of the Economic Defense Board created by executive order last July) is of all the war agencies the least contaminated with the disease of appeasement. Its active personnel is con-

vinced that fascism must be smashed by simultaneous attack from all possible fronts, of which the economic front must be considered of major importance.

Through its control of exports (though decisions are subject to State Department approval) the Board seeks to plug leakage of materials to the Axis by way of the so-called European "neutrals." It advocates drastic curtailment of all such exports—not to be confused with lend-lease shipments. It endeavors to press its program of "preclusive buying"; that is, it plans to buy abroad materials for use by this country and the United Nations, and thereby keep these materials from falling into enemy hands. Along with the State Department, the Board participates in drawing up master agreements with lend-lease nations, as well as adjusting the many details arising from lend-lease administration. In view of losses of raw material sources, the Board surveys possibilities of developing new sources, expecting to translate these projects into action as quickly as possible.

These many functions obviously involve a great deal of economic research. The Board employs large staffs of economic analysts and specialists with intimate knowledge of resources throughout the world. For the Board must be prepared to provide the military authorities with detailed information on strategic bases—whether in Europe, Africa, or the Far East. It must keep fully informed on the war potential of the enemy. It must be ready with specific material on the enemy's strategic economic centers vulnerable to aerial bombardment.

It is common knowledge that the EWB desires to inflict the greatest economic damage to the Axis, and to offer ever new means of aiding the United Nations. Yet since its creation, the appeasers and the diehards have tried to block the Board's moves. Certain groups in the State Department adopted from the first an attitude of scornful superiority. And since the Board has the power to recommend curtailment of exports to European "neutrals," but lacks the power to force the State Department to accept these recommendations, the going has been slow and arduous. For the State Department appeasers find ever new "reasons" to ignore any suggested curtailment. Nor did Pearl Harbor put a stop to shipments of strategic materials to Spain and Portugal, North French Africa and Vichy. Almost invariably these shipments have been condemned by the Board—and the State Department has brushed objections aside. The excuse is some mumbo-jumbo about "political" considerations outweighing economic benefits.

The conflict between the Board and the State Department has sharpened with each passing week. Yet slowly the Board is gaining authority. Controls are stricter. And the Board's resistance has brought the appeasement elements still extant in the State Department increasingly into the open.

MOREOVER, the effectiveness of the Economic Warfare Board suffers from lack of funds with which to enforce its decisions for itself. In some cases, it has managed to purchase mercury, cork, and olive oil from Spain, tungsten and cork from Portugal, cork and olive oil from North Africa. But far too often the Board is confronted by Jesse Jones, who as head of the Metals Reserve Corp., the Rubber Reserve Corp., and other similar agencies, controls most foreign purchasing. And Mr. Jones does not take kindly to recommendations. Right now he is busily trying to wriggle out of responsibility for failing to obtain synthetic rubber production. He has elaborate and bombastic excuses for not obtaining sufficient supplies of tin, tung oil, and scores of other products formerly available in the Far East. Only recently the EWB urged Mr. Jones to buy Tur-