



FDR AT SAN FRANCISCO

By **EARL BROWDER**

Roosevelt had planned personally to open the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations. This was an expression of his intense interest in the long-term problems of the organization of a lasting peace. Perhaps he knew that his personal plans might be interrupted as they were, for he had taken pains to insure that the direction was established in advance for the solution of all vital problems. In a very real and practical sense, therefore, we can say that the spirit and wisdom of FDR will preside over the San Francisco gathering.

It was central to all Roosevelt's thinking and planning that victory and the peace to follow depended upon the firm consolidation of the leading Anglo-Soviet-American alliance, that without this keystone the whole structure of world organization would crumble. His supreme contribution to the world was the carving of this keystone for victory and a stable peace.

How ironical it is, then, that on the very day Roosevelt's body was being laid to rest a spokesman for "liberalism" should, in the course of eulogizing the departed Commander-in-Chief, point to his emphasis upon the key role of the alliance as a "weakness" which must now be corrected. But the deep wisdom of Roosevelt so completely overshadows the puny celebrations of Max Lerner and *PM* that even when they join hands with Vandenberg and Hoover to "correct" the great master on this vital point, they gain nothing in stature or puissance. Every word or act which weakens the Grand Coalition is a blow against the very foundation of the San Francisco Conference and a blow against Roosevelt's policy for America and the world. The spirit of FDR will be in San Francisco rallying the delegates, and behind them the peoples of the world, to his original plan without such specious "corrections."

At San Francisco the delegates of those small nations who have been taken in by the Vandenberg demagoguery

about strengthening their position in the projected world organization, by weakening the role of the Security Council, will finally have to face the choice of dealing with the great powers in such a framework as the Dumbarton Oaks plan, or dealing with them under the conditions of the absence of any such stable framework. Is there any small nation that really wants to return to the past in which small nations sought safety by playing off one great power against another? Let the ghosts of Belgium, Norway, Poland, step forth and testify as to what disaster lies inevitably at the end of such a path! May the small nations finally understand that the threat of "great power domination" today comes first of all and most menacingly from disunity of the great powers and not from their unity, from the disintegration of the Grand Coalition and not from its firmer consolidation at the head of the United Nations' organization.

Roosevelt had thought this problem through to the end, not merely from the viewpoint of the USA as a great power, but from the viewpoint of all peoples, great and small, from the viewpoint of gaining a stable peace without which all peoples will suffer greater catastrophes than those now approaching their end. That is why Roosevelt, after guiding the Dumbarton Oaks conferences to their ninety percent agreement on the world organization plans, was able to propose at Yalta the formula which completed agreement on the remaining ten percent, the voting powers and procedures in the Security Council. This basic structure will doubtless stand up under all the discussions of San Francisco, because it was formulated by the wisest statesmen of our time with a full knowledge of all the terms of the problem, because it is the only answer that gives fundamental stability to the projected world organization and provides the channel within which the will to peace and cooperation among nations can flow and gather all its powers. It provides the maximum of unity that is possible to achieve in this war-decimated world of today. And it is as true for the San Francisco gathering as it is for any meeting on a national or city scale that "policy is built upon the science of the possible" and not upon ideal abstract desires.

Such, obviously, were the considerations in Roose-

velt's mind when in the last weeks of his life he warned America and the world against the "perfectionists" who would try to pick his plan to pieces with "small amendments" which would have the practical effect of destroying the plan as a workable whole.

THE San Francisco meeting of the United Nations dare not fail. The alternative to full agreement in San Francisco is to release the powers of darkness and confusion once more over the world. With the basis of agreement already laid under the leadership of Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt, an agreement in which America's great departed leader played the initiating role, this country must unite all its tremendous influence in the world for its final realization.

It is unfortunate but unavoidable that the American delegation to San Francisco is not by any means fully united. It is unfortunate because, thereby, the majority will of the American people is clouded before the eyes of the world and does not stand forth sharply and clearly. It is unavoidable because Vandenberg represents the minority in the Senate which holds a potential veto power over the majority, due to the peculiar constitutional structure of our governmental power. It was

necessary to appoint Vandenberg to the delegation because only thus could the full meaning of his reservations and amendments be brought to the consciousness of America and the world in all their damaging ramifications, the pressure of an aroused people be brought against his wrecking project, and his potential following in the Senate be whittled down below the dangerous one-third-plus-one level which holds the veto threat over the nation and the world.

The spirit of FDR will be in the San Francisco halls and committee rooms, uniting the delegates against all the agents and agencies of disunity and disruption. It will also be among the people everywhere, awakening and arousing them against the schemes of all enemies of unity. And in the White House, holding the presidential powers laid down by Roosevelt, will be the man chosen by him as his successor, who is solemnly pledged to carry through his policies, who has always been his firm supporter: President Truman.

Yes, in San Francisco also, we may confidently look forward to victory in the only way victory can ever be realized, through the unity and vigilance of the people in support of correct policy—the policy laid down for San Francisco by the great Roosevelt.

President Truman

STANDING before the Congress for the first time, Harry S. Truman, the modest man with a staggering burden, spoke as the nation hoped he would and felt he would. His initial acts as President had already reassured the country when he gave it tokens of his faith in the policies of his beloved predecessor. He moved with decision to see to it that the San Francisco Conference would go on as scheduled. He conferred with military leaders. He asked Premier Stalin to send Mr. Molotov to the security meeting. In the first moments of shock and grief, Mr. Truman gave everyone confidence and the certain knowledge that he had assumed the presidential mantle with the same dignity and forthrightness which distinguished Mr. Roosevelt.

And in his speech to both chambers of Congress there was the additional reassurance for which not only the country but the world at large waited. He pledged himself to the Roosevelt program. "Our departed leader never looked backward," he said. "He looked forward and moved forward. That is what he would want us to do. That is what America will do." He would defend the Roosevelt ideals "with all my strength and all my heart." There would be nothing but unconditional surrender for our enemies. The war criminals would be punished. The coalition must remain to work out the peace and beyond. The over-all strategy of conducting the war would not be altered nor would the military leadership be changed or hampered. "Let me assure," he said in that Missouri twang of his, "the forward-looking people of America that

there will be no relaxation in our efforts to improve the lot of the common people." That was the way the new President and Commander-in-Chief dedicated himself.

And with his additional pledge that the Bretton Woods plan would receive his fullest support, with his endorsement of the Roosevelt trade policies, Mr. Truman rebuffed all the rumors, the fantastic speculation, the wishful thinking of the unreconstructed to the effect that the main currents of American foreign policy would be reversed. And by appointing the forward-looking St. Louis banker, John W. Snyder, as Federal Loan Administrator, and by shifting to the Commerce Department under Henry Wallace the disposal of surplus war property in the consumers' goods category he demonstrated his determination to carry on with the Roosevelt program of 60,000,000 postwar jobs and an expanding economy.

The rumors will persist, however, along with all the fantasies contrived by Mr. Roosevelt's old enemies. Without being asked, the clever little boys with the poison pens have already dismissed this or that cabinet official or pulled new appointees out of their back pockets. Mr. Truman will do what he must do and he will select whom he must. He has every right to choose the personnel through whom in his opinion he can best advance the policies to which he is pledged. As President, he will be judged not by a cabinet change or a change in the leadership of an administrative agency but by how well these changes speed attainment of the goals set by his great predecessor.