

Continue '44 Unity in City Elections: Browder

Text of the address on "Post-Election Problems" delivered by Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Political Association, at the Brooklyn IWO Center last Sunday:

By EARL BROWDER

Now that we have won the elections, what comes next? This question has been put to me from all parts of the country, and in various forms. I propose to discuss some of our primary post-election problems tonight in the hope of being of some assistance to the many who are trying to think these questions through for themselves.

It was supremely important to win the elections because only thus could we go on to win the war. Now the elections are past, but the war is still going on. Winning the war remains the chief post-election problem, just as it was the chief election problem and the chief pre-election problem. Every problem of the day is a war problem, and can be successfully solved only when dealt with as a part of the war. This is true even of post-war problems, insofar as we deal with them now, for we take them up only as we can strengthen the war effort by throwing light now upon what comes after.

We turn back to study the election struggle, by the same token, only because and to the degree that this will further help us to go on to victory in the war.

There are persons who say, Yes, that is true, and therefore we should not even discuss the late election campaign, but forget about everything that was said in it, in order to unite everyone for winning the war. We cannot accept such advice, however, even if it is made with good intentions, for we cannot agree that the election campaign was something disconnected with the war; we cannot believe that America was simply taking "time out" of the war, and now we go back to that task as though nothing happened. No, the elections were part of the war, and if some candidates conducted it in a way to harm the war effort, then we must assume that they planned it that way, that they damaged the war effort because they intended to do so. And that is a very serious fact which it would be stupid to forget in the further conduct of the war. We have in our midst powerful persons and organizations who have shown they are willing to damage the war effort whenever they think that thereby they can advance their own power and fortunes. It will be necessary for America to keep this fact constantly in mind, for those who have done it once may do it again—unless the vigilance of the American people shows them in advance that it will surely prove very unprofitable to them to try it.

It is quite true, however, that we need a broader unity among the American people after the elections than even that unity which re-elected Roosevelt and improved the composition of Congress so admirably. We need to consolidate the unity of all forces that stand united behind Roosevelt, and to broaden it to include as many as possible who were misled during the elections into opposing the President.

For this purpose it is necessary to be very clear about who won the elections. I have heard some persons say that "Labor won the elections" or that "The big capitalists and the farmers lost the elections." I consider such opinions false and dangerous. It is my judgment that all Americans of all classes, to the degree that they stand for victory in the war above all else, won in the elections, and that the only ones who lost in the elections were those who placed their own selfish individual, group, or class interests higher than our nation's victory. It is divisive and weakening of our national unity for the war, to think or talk

or act as though in America we have been and are conducting battles of class against class, when the truth is that the best of all classes are subordinating themselves to the nation's war needs, and even have found sufficient unity to re-elect President Roosevelt against a most powerful and dangerous effort to take our country on other paths.

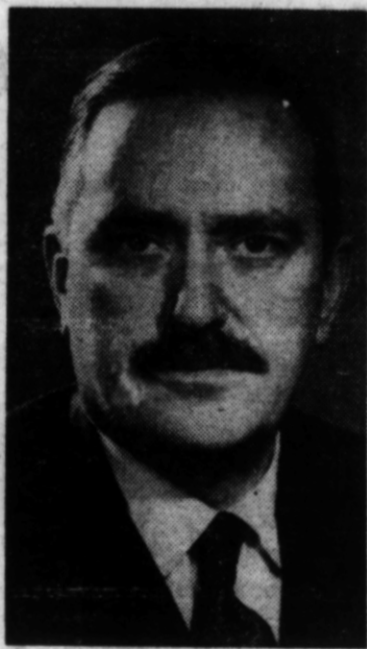
It is true that labor's Political Action Committees played a powerful and indispensable part in winning the nation's victory in the elections; but it is false to state that labor won a class victory against any other part of the nation. It is true that the working class gave a heavier support to Roosevelt than any other major sector of the population, but even that unity was possible because the working class was not following a narrow class line, but was consciously working in alliance with the best of all classes, and in the interest of all classes. And it is an obvious fact that for the victory, every class grouping that joined the national unity was necessary. It is necessary to emphasize this fact in regard to the elections, because after the elections we must learn how to build this all-class unity more broadly and solidly than ever before.

Labor's newly-gained political strength and consciousness has been achieved in the service of the nation at war, and it will be carried further on condition that the working class continues and deepens this basic policy, through the war to victory and after the war to consolidate a long-time and prosperous peace.

Now, in the midst of the heaviest fighting of the war, we must take further steps to crystallize the world order of nations that will defeat the Axis and insure such a durable peace. We must complete the plans begun at Dumbarton Oaks and at Bretton Woods. We must bring into closer unity the three leading powers, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States, upon whose cooperation in leadership all hopes of a secure world order rest. We must find a practical solution, and quickly, to those vexing problems between Britain and America which are accumulating so dangerously today and hindering the prosecution of the war.

Labor must now begin on an international scale those unifying efforts which played such a decisive part in our national election victory. That is why the International Labor Conference, called by the British Trades Union General Council to meet in London in January, has such tremendous importance. It is good that the Congress of Industrial Organizations has unanimously resolved to attend that conference, and to press there for immediate formation of a permanent World Labor Organization. It is unfortunate that the shortsighted leadership of the American Federation of Labor has turned its back upon this major effort of the world labor movement (just as it failed to give leadership in the national elections) and even pulled Dan Tobin along with them on this reactionary path. But this can no more be allowed to stop the wheels of progress, than the action of the same clique was permitted nine years ago to stop the great upsurge of labor organization in America that produced the CIO and forced the AFL to grow, despite itself, to double its former size.

Similar to the significance of the London Conference for world unity, is the Conference of the Confederation of Latin American Workers meeting in Colombia in December for the unity of the Western Hemisphere. For this body which already united most of the living trade union movement of Latin America will, in this next meeting, be attended also by most authoritative delegations



EARL BROWDER

from Canada, both AFL and CIO, and from the United States by an impressive delegation of the CIO.

In the recent national elections we have learned, as never before, that the foundation for solving great international and national problems must be laid in the political organization of the people in the neighborhoods, precincts and wards. Now, after the elections, we must not permit such organizations to fall apart because of a mistaken impression that now the problems are all solved. On the contrary, now more than ever we must make stronger and more active the political organizations of the people in the neighborhoods, and make them more united on a city, state and national scale. We cannot take long political vacations. If we relax, the reactionaries will soon come back into power stronger than ever.

Speaking very specifically, we face in New York City in a few months elections for Mayor and City Council. Our task is to ensure that the same coalition which carried this city for Roosevelt shall unite stronger than ever to put into city office a Roosevelt coalition administration. Only this will guarantee that in 1946 we can perform the task of rescuing the State of New York from the Dewey machine, and thus remove the Dewey threat to the whole nation. Dewey must be retired to private life so decisively as to discourage all those who might be tempted to imitate his 1944 adventures. We must start on that job right now in preparation for the city elections. Incidentally, since I am speaking in Brooklyn, perhaps I should say a good word about the most efficient and alert Councilman your borough has ever had, Peter V. Cacchione. It must be understood without debate that this pioneer of the new peoples' movement will be sent back to the Council in the 1945 elections.

There are many other post-election problems, all of them detailed parts of the general problem of winning the war and getting our boys back home to secure jobs, which might profitably be discussed now. I wish, however, to mention only one more tonight, a problem which I feel especially keenly as my personal responsibility. That is the problem of making more effective use of our newspaper, *The Worker*. During the past year I accepted the responsibility of becoming the Editor-in-Chief of this paper, because I considered there was no more important practical task to which I could devote my energies. I wish to appeal to all of you to join me in making *The Worker* an effective weapon in the peoples' struggles.

Those of us who are directly responsible for producing *The Worker* know quite well the handicaps under which we work. Our paper is a small one, compared with the giants of the newspaper field, most of whom work for the

reactionary enemy. Our circulation is quite limited, and even if we multiply it many times it will still be but a small fraction of the circulation of the capitalist press. But our paper has something no other paper can claim, which is most important for you and for millions of other Americans. It has the ability to inform you in advance of what will be the most important issues and problems to be decided, to give you in time full information and detailed discussion, and to point out the necessary policies for dealing with these issues and problems in the interest of the whole nation, without hesitations and shifting constantly in confusion from one position to another. *The Worker* is thus unique in the services of leadership which it is giving.

Allow me to remind you, in support of this broad claim, that during the last year not a single newspaper except *The Worker* explained consistently through the whole period the epoch-making significance of the Teheran Conference of a year ago; not another newspaper consistently developed throughout the year those policies which finally were adopted by the whole camp of national unity, policies which were absolutely indispensable for the election victory of Nov. 7. There is no other newspaper which gave already in January, 1944, a preview of our national elections which was borne out by events practically 100 percent on all important questions. There is no other paper which every day and every week was the unifying and directing organ of the fight to put these policies into effect in the labor movement and among the masses of the people.

What was true of the past year will be equally true in the year to come. Those who regularly read and study the columns of *The Worker* will be twice armed for solving the problems of the day, because they will be informed in advance, they will be sure when others are hesitating; they will know, when others are guessing. That is the reason why, although *The Worker* circulation is relatively so small, its influence is relatively greater than that of any other paper in America. That is the reason why those who read *The Worker* regularly are more influential and effective in their work than those who do not. That is the reason why you, also, should become active supporters and participants in our campaign to extend the circulation of *The Worker*, to build up a constantly growing circle of regular readers. The readers of *The Worker* will be the strongest and foremost among all the peoples' fighting forces, in solving the post-election problems through which we will win victory and a stable peace.

During the coming year, the Allies will crush the Nazi enemy, opening up the period of reconstruction of Europe and the beginning of reconversion of American economy to peacetime production. Vast and complicated problems will arise out of these events. In the columns of *The Worker* these problems and their solution are being clarified before the events. In the Far East great history-shaping realignments are in the making; readers of *The Worker* could understand the recent symptoms of these changes, where those who read only the other papers were shocked and surprised, for *The Worker* has for years been explaining the situation in China and the rest of Asia. The present great movement for Chinese unity is the climax of many years of work and struggle, under the leadership of the Chinese Communists, which only *The Worker* consistently and truly reported and explained in America.

These are some of the reasons

why, in speaking to you tonight on the problems that follow our national elections, I feel justified in also appealing to you for systematic and active support to the paper of which I am the chief editor. What I have to say on the problems of our country and the world gains whatever importance it may have from the fact that my opinions are hammered out in the course of making *The Worker* that reliable channel of vital information and leadership which it has become in the course of its nearly 21 years of existence.

Your community center here, and the organizations which are grouped around it, give one of the best examples of the great people's movement that won the victory of Nov. 7 against the reactionary and defeatist camp in America. May I close by congratulating you on your work, upon the high quality of leadership which you have developed in your community, and with the hope that I will have the privilege at some future time of again visiting you under conditions of even greater achievement and greater victories.

Midwest FDR Groups Continue

CHICAGO, Nov. 28. — Political committees of labor in midwest cities, which effectively worked for the reelection of President Roosevelt, are moving to establish themselves on a permanent basis.

William A. Lee, chairman of the Illinois Federation of Labor Committee for Roosevelt, composed of 350 to AFL officials in the state, announced a few days ago that the committee would continue to function in support of the President's program.

In Cleveland, Labor's Joint Committee for Political Action, composed of AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods also decided to continue its organization and to open a campaign for membership in ward clubs.

The action of the Illinois AFL organization was taken at a meeting of the executive committee attended by 25 leaders.

"We propose to keep a strict watch on these officials (elected with AFL backing) and continually remind them of their pledges not only to us but to the citizens of Illinois and to the country in general," said Lee, who is president of the Bakery Drivers Union.

The committee will maintain its offices and hold luncheon meetings every three months to check on the activities of officials elected with its aid. William McPetridge, general president of the Building Service Employees International, with head a special committee to watch the records of successful candidates who received committee endorsement.

Ask Tanner Quit Finn Party Post

By JOHN GIBBONS

Wireless to the Daily Worker

MOSCOW, Nov. 28. — Demands within the Finnish Social Democratic Party for the removal of Vaino A. Tanner, Vaino V. Salovaara and others from leading party positions as reported by Tass from Helsinki were featured in yesterday's Soviet press.

M. Keto, a left wing Social Democrat, is quoted as saying that Tanner did "untold harm to Finland, harm he can never make good."

"If the Social Democratic Party wishes to retain the confidence of the people in the forthcoming elections," Keto concludes, "Tanner must go."

Shop early! Send early! Uncle Sam says: Last date to send Christmas gifts Dec. 11