

# Browder Tells How 'Worker' Will Spur Greater Unity

Following is the text of the speech of Earl Browder at the Worker conference yesterday:

Friends: It is very good to see such a well organized response to the call for this conference; it is a sign that you represent a body of men and women and a movement which fully appreciate the high importance of the task which has been set here—the consolidation and expansion of our press.

We have just gone through a great battle, one of the key points in the whole world struggle. We met the attack of all the concentrated forces of reaction in this country, of the enemies of our nation's war effort, of the forces of dissatisfaction of all the combined grievances which could be channeled into the attack of this reactionary camp. We met the supreme challenge to the whole future of our country and of the world and we threw it back; we defeated it.

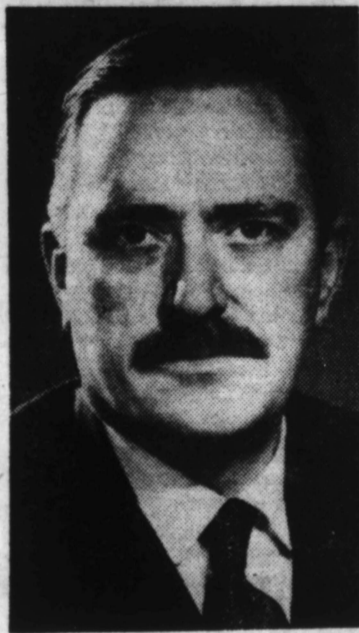
That is a turning point. But it is not yet victory. Now the fight must be continued in a new way, so that we shall establish the guarantees that the camp of reaction cannot bid for power again in our country. We must consolidate and extend this national unity that was built up in this election struggle and make it an ever growing power to secure the carrying through in life of all those policies that are necessary to win the war as quickly as possible, to establish a durable peace and to return the world and our country to peace on a higher level, by securing the full utilization of our national economy, full employment and full production.

The nation in its majority is united on these objectives; even the reactionaries have to pay lip service to these objectives in their very attack upon the practical carrying through of the policies required to reach these objectives.

So, we have the conditions in which it is possible to consolidate the growing unity in this country. It is necessary to emphasize this because many people, in one form or another, look upon the post-election period as one of demobilization of our forces or the breaking up of the unity that was achieved in the elections.

Our perspective is the opposite of that — no demobilization, no breaking up of the unity achieved; rather, further mobilization, further organization and further extension and consolidation of that unity. It is possible. It is possible if all of us do those things which our circumstances and the development of our work place before us as our next task. It is not going to be easy; it is a struggle, it is a war and has to be won. But it is possible. And we are setting ourselves difficult but possible tasks.

Some people think that because 80 percent of the press supported Dewey and Dewey lost, that that means the press is not important; the press is not influential any more; the press goes one way, the country goes another; we can disregard the press. That is a grave mistake. In order to understand how grave a mistake it is, just imagine how far Dewey would have gotten if he had not had 80 percent of the nation's press. It is clear that without this overwhelming majority of the daily newspapers of America, there would have been no threat of the reactionary camp to our country at all. That threat was created basically by the power of the press, and that press was so powerful that against the will of the nation



EARL BROWDER

it could mobilize 20 million votes. That is a terrific power—to mobilize 47 percent of the nation's voters against the future of the nation, against the road of progress. That is a terrific power.

But that portion of the press which was on the side of progress was even more influential than the other press. That is another thing to remember. And the importance of the press that is on the side of progress and democracy becomes greater and greater as the struggle develops and as we get to the more difficult and crucial moments of the whole fight.

Especially I want to emphasize the tremendous importance of The Worker. The Worker has a circulation that, in comparison with that of the great press of reaction in America, is insignificant. It is hardly to be seen in comparison with the tens and millions of great, bulky papers spread out every day all over this land. The Worker is small in bulk, and, in the number of copies that circulate in terms of absolute figures, it is insignificant. But to get an idea of how key, how indispensable a role The Worker played, just look back over the past year that led up to this and ask yourselves, was there a single newspaper in America in that whole period of a year that conducted anything like a systematic, enlightening clarification and exposition of the policies that were proved to be necessary to win this election for the people, except The Worker and the Daily Worker? I challenge anyone to show me another paper which understood this fight from the beginning and pointed the way clearly, undeviatingly, unhesitatingly, from beginning to end. There is no other among all the papers that supported the President.

The most important and the influential in the final analysis, in terms of the weight of heavy guns, was the New York Times. The New York Times was neutral in this fight until three weeks before Election Day. You cannot say the New York Times showed the way to victory. No, it merely joined the victory after the foundations for victory had already been won. You cannot say you can rely upon such a paper as the leader of the struggle. It blazed no paths, and while it is very important that it joined before the end, and we are happy about it, we welcome it, we don't fool ourselves. It is not an institution that the people can rely upon for leadership. This is clear.

Where else was that press

which supported the President? There were a few. There was the Chicago Sun, and there, I must say, we are speaking of a paper that did the most consistent job of all of the bourgeois papers, most consistent, most solid, most sober, most responsible. But even there it is very easy to point out great weaknesses as far as leadership is concerned; in foreseeing issues and arming the people to meet them as they arise and not after they arise.

In New York we have the New York Post, which supported the President, but it would take a very wise man indeed to figure out whether the kind of support the President did not result in greater strength for Dewey, because the Post, after having conducted right up until May or June of this year, a campaign to prevent the labor movement from endorsing Roosevelt on the theory that even if you are going to support Roosevelt you have to resist him first in order to make a bargain with him and get certain promises from him about your particular interests—we know what particular interests the Post was speaking for—during the campaign itself, this paper repeated consistently the basic propaganda line of the Dewey camp, anti-communism, red-baiting. And if it did not turn more votes for Dewey than to Roosevelt, that is only because its own readers have been immunized to the influence of their propaganda.

We have such papers as PM—I should not say "such papers as PM"; PM is unique; there is nothing else like it in the world. I am sorry I cannot say that in praise, because PM is becoming a very grave point of danger to the democratic front, because it has developed the fine art of supporting every hesitation and deviation within the camp of progress and at the same time doing it in such a charming and innocent and interesting fashion that even the members of our own Association, I am sorry to say, often prefer to read PM rather than The Worker.

That is a very serious problem for us because it demonstrates to us that strong as we are ideologically as a trend and an organization within the labor-democratic movement of America, we still have our own points of weakness and we still often fall into the classical role of a Samson who allows Delilah to come along, and clip off the locks which are the source of his strength. We allow ourselves to be cajoled and petted and led away from our objective.

I will be the first one to admit that the Daily Worker does not have the command of such an array of artists in pleasing people as the PM has. As a matter of fact, we don't build the staff of The Worker from the point of view of gathering together people who know how to please you, and if you want to be pleased in that superficial way of being tickled and placated and soothed, you are going to the wrong place when you go to The Worker, because The Worker is going to stir you up; The Worker is going to make you feel uncomfortable; The Worker is going to place heavy tasks before you; The Worker is not going to give you any soft and easy and plausible answers which are fundamentally false. The Worker is going to continue to be

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a barb, a burr which prevents you from going to sleep feeling complacent, from taking the easy and false answers.

And precisely because it is that kind of a paper, we want to make you and this whole movement and the people around it, understand that we must be on guard against the influence, the infiltration of the ideology of PM-ism into our movement.

You know PM is a liberal paper, that is, it is liberal in the p. m. but p. m. is only half the day; in the a. m. it is reactionary, damaging. And in the p. m., when it is liberal, it is dealing with the surface; in the a. m., when it is reactionary, it is dealing with the decisive questions. And one of our tasks is to make sure that that kind of cheap, surface liberalism doesn't pass for the genuine currency and doesn't become the basis of the exchange of thought in the democratic progressive movement.

Now, we have got to have a stronger Worker. There are several reasons for that. We don't expect over night to make a great revolution and take the place of the other press, but we do expect to constantly grow, solidly, slowly, but grow. And we can't solve our problems without it. Because, first of all, this Worker must reach that enlarging number of people who bear the responsibility for working out the problems of the great mass movements. Everyone of you knows The Worker has made it possible for you and your fellows much more effectively and efficiently to do the job you had to do. Therefore it must be clear that we must give this service to larger numbers of people. If we don't expand this cadre that fundamentally works on the same basis of understanding, we are going to have serious difficulties in the future. To solve our problems, we must have this enlarging circle of readers.

Second, this is not only for the present existing leadership of the people's movement, and we must admit that our press is primarily for the actives, that is true—but we must remember always that there must be prepared a constant renewal and extension and rejuvenation of this leadership, which means that we must be constantly reaching people who are not yet in the category of active leadership but who are the potentials of replacements and extensions of the active cadre.

And finally, we must recognize that this election marks a deep-going change in the nature of our work, that is, in the form of the work that we carry on. We have had a tremendous turning outward of our energies. Everyone in this campaign has had most tremendous experience of breaking new ground, working among new people, working in new organizations and in new fashions, among masses 10 to 100 times more than we ever directly reached and touched before. That has been splendid. It has been a most invaluable experience, and it has opened channels and doors that we must never allow to be closed again.

That brings with it also quite some problems for our association, because it has meant the draining away into these new fields of activity of much energy which used to be expended in solving the problems of our organization as such. We don't want to reverse that trend; we know that it's got to continue along that line of development. But we must find the way in which to prevent that from weakening our association, because our association is our basic, our most indispensable political weapon and base of operations

without which everything else would fall to pieces.

How are we going to secure that further expansion and activity among the masses and at the same time ensure that this will not mean a loosening of the ties of our basic political association? There is one way, which is probably the most important, in which we can meet and begin to solve this problem. There will have to be many approaches, but unquestionably, one of the most important, perhaps the most important, is to secure a more thorough distribution and use of The Worker as the channel for the exchange of thought, discussion and information, and the establishment of our common political line.

The Worker has always served that function. Now it must be utilized much more systematically, much more thoroughly, much more intensively, for that purpose of giving the political unity and consolidation of all of our forces to make up for the loss of that intensity of our inner association life which we have sacrificed to some degree for the purpose of throwing our people's energies out among the mass organizations, out among the people.

The Worker and the Daily Worker, but first of all the weekly edition, is one of the chief instruments to solve this, one of the main problems that lie before us.

Well, I have really talked too long. All I wanted was to place some of these main questions and problems before you and to assure you that it is my opinion that, collectively, you here today hold the answers to all of these questions; that collectively, you are going to start that process, give that answer, give that understanding and that determination to act upon the understanding that will in the next months give us a stronger Worker circulation, a more selective and consolidated circulation, and thereby a stronger position to guide and shape the great mass movement that is going to carry our country and the world to victory, to lasting peace, and to a new era of prosperity.

## Gallacher's Second Son Killed in Action

Both sons of William Gallacher, British Communist member of Parliament, have died in action, the Canadian Tribune revealed yesterday. The second boy, Flight Lt. John Gallacher, was just killed in the South Pacific.

In a message of sympathy, Tim Buck, secretary of the Canadian Labor Progressive Party, said:

"You, who have devoted your life to the cause of humanity, have now given both your sons in this war for world freedom. We bow our heads in sincere sympathy and tribute to your and Mrs. Gallacher."

## REPORT GERMAN WOMEN DEMONSTRATE

Travellers entering Switzerland from Germany yesterday said German women staged tumultuous peace demonstrations in Mannheim over the past weekend but were suppressed "bloodily" by Gestapo agents and Nazi Elite guards.

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