
The
RED-BAITERS
MENACE
AMERICA

By EUGENE DENNIS

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General Secretary, Communist Party

Following is the text of the address of Eugene Dennis to the 27th anniversary meeting of the Communist Party at Madison Square Garden, Sept. 19, in New York:

TWENTY-SEVEN years have passed since the birth of our Communist Party. Deeply concerned for our country's present and future, we recall tonight an unforgettable chapter from that historic period which has great bearing on our current history.

It was at that time—at the end of the first World War—that the American monopolies launched their first post-war offensive against the working people. It was then that the men of the trusts proceeded more brazenly to unfurl the flag of Dollar Diplomacy. It was then, too, that the lords of “private enterprise” began to sow the seeds which hastened the harvest of the economic crash of 1929.

It was also in 1919 that the first great steel strike took place, led by William Z. Foster. It was then, too, that our Communist Party was born out of the flesh and blood and the struggles of the American working class.

Our Party was created by the most advanced American workers—from the Left wing of the old Socialist Party,

the best elements of the IWW and the militants from the A. F. of L. It was molded by red-blooded Americans of great courage and social vision—native and foreign-born, Negro and white—who understood that the universal social science of the working class, Marxism, could best equip and guide our Party to carry through its historic role of vanguard of the American working class.

Our Party was formed by class-conscious men and women of labor, who loved the real America, who were and are determined to defend and advance the needs and interests of the common people. It was established by American workers who were and are dedicated to lead the working masses forward out of the capitalist system that breeds reaction, recurrent crises and wars to establish a new and higher form of society—socialism, wherein the exploitation of man by man will be abolished, wherein “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness” will be fully realized in a world of peace and freedom.

Our Party Baptized in Fury of Red-Baiting

Naturally, our Party was baptized in a fury of Red-baiting. Together with the heroic strike movements in the steel and packing industries and in the railroad shops, our Party was branded by the agents and dupes of Carnegie and Rockefeller as a Red plot engineered by Lenin and the Bolsheviki.

The Palmer raids and terror launched against us were aimed basically at crippling the labor and anti-imperialist movements. Unfortunately, the Red-baiters of that day did not meet with a decisive rebuff on the part of the labor movement and other anti-monopoly forces. Consequently, the first postwar offensive of Big Business met with a great measure of success for which the American people later reaped the whirlwind.

Today it is only one year after the people's victory over

the Berlin-Tokyo Axis. Once again American monopoly reaction launches a postwar offensive against the living standards and democratic rights of the American citizens, against American labor, American Negroes, American security and peace.

But this postwar offensive of imperialist reaction differs from the last as atomic energy differs from the power of steam. It will not tarry ten years on the way to economic disaster, nor stop at Hooverism. *The American monopolies are now hell-bent for world domination. And their most reactionary and adventurous circles are aggressively driving toward fascism and war.*

In this critical situation, the attacks now being levelled against our Party are becoming more vicious than those of a quarter of a century ago. It is necessary to grasp this fact because there is *little time left* in which to learn that the *chief target* of these attacks is not just the Communist Party, *but the C.I.O. and the whole labor movement, American democracy and world peace.*

In the war against fascism and the Axis, we American Communists served with honor and distinction. Among our country's allies were the great Soviet Union and the heroic Communists of every land. They and we spared no sacrifices in the common cause.

The Aims of the Present Red-Baiting Offensive

All this happened only yesterday. But today the Attorney General of the United States—just like Martin Dies, John Rankin and Herr Goebbels—claims that he sees “no difference” between Communists and fascists. Thus the moral justification of the anti-fascist war is challenged. Thus the Communists and our country's part in that just war is besmirched.

We say to the American people: Tom Clark's attacks and slanders—just like those of the officialdom of the

A. F. of L., the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Catholic hierarchy—are more than run-of-the-mill Red-baiting. They constitute psychological warfare and an offensive against our nation's peace and liberties.

The present Red-baiting offensive of the reactionaries is a bid to transfer the hate of the American people from the war profiteering trusts to the trade unions and the Communists; from Nazi Germany and fascist-militarist Japan to the Socialist Soviet Union which bore the brunt of the struggle in saving world civilization from fascist enslavement.

The game is as clear as day. The Red-baiting of Tom Clark, William Randolph Hearst and Tom Dewey—abetted by illiberal liberals and reactionary Social Democrats and the Trotzkyites—is calculated to divide the labor and peace movements. It is planned to ensure the triumph of reaction in the November elections, to mobilize for World War III and to open the gates to American fascism.

We say to American labor: the criminal falsehood that communism and fascism are Siamese twins, this pro-fascist attempt to identify opposites, is an old trick. You have heard it said, right here at home, that the organizations of labor are “just the same” or “as bad” as the organizations of Big Business. You have also heard a demand that the trade unions be obliged to incorporate, because they are “just the same” as the big corporations. But you know from your own experience that this is a lie!

Not only the Communists but also millions of non-party anti-fascists *know*: fascism is the open, ruthless dictatorship of the most reactionary monopolies, of the Sixty Families; socialism is the rule of the workers, in alliance with the working farmers and all common people. Fascism is race hatred, pogroms and lynchings; socialism is the equality and friendship of peoples and nations.

Fascism is the debasement and destruction of all cultural values, of human decency; socialism means the flourishing of culture, the achievement of the dignity of man. Fascism organizes war; socialism champions peace. *These are facts, proven by life, by history.*

Worst Reactionaries Are Most Rabid Red-Baiters

But make no mistake about it. America's pro-fascists, who demagogically allege that there is no difference between communism and fascism—they know better. These gentlemen hate, slander, attack and persecute the Communists. Yet these same gentlemen coddle the Nazis, the Japanese warlords and cartelists! They free the seditionists to betray again, protect the lynchers to lynch again, and condone the KKK to spread flames of hate with its fiery cross.

The Red-baiters, the enemies of democracy and peace, are hysterical because we Communists resolutely champion the cause of American-Soviet friendship and cooperation for peace. *They are doubly furious because the majority of the American people agree with us and support FDR's program of Big Three unity as the key to a long-term peace. In order to discredit us and disrupt the struggle for peace, the vultures of reaction and war renew their cry that we Communists are "foreign agents."*

But it is our accusers who are alien to our country and are its enemies. *It is they* who married their dollars into the Japanese Zaibatsu and the Nazi trusts. The only loyalty they know follows their investments in the international cartels.

One of their number, Robert R. McCormick, published our nation's vital war secrets on the eve of Pearl Harbor. Henry Ford and Charles Lindbergh, silent partner in the House of Morgan, bear Hitler medals. Vandenberg and Hoover played first fiddle to the Munichers.

William Bullitt opened the gates of Paris to the Nazi invaders.

These pro-fascists and jingoes love America as the cat loves the canary. They and their masters—the duPont dynasty, the Morgans, Fords, Mellons and the Rockefeller—are licking their chops in anticipation of gorging themselves still fuller on the wealth produced by the American people. And they will not spare American lives in their greed to dominate the world.

Unhappily for our country, the aggressive imperialists and jingoes have acquired great influence in the White House. They have taken over the State Department and control not only the GOP and the southern bourbons, but too much of the Congress.

In the code of these reactionaries, to disagree with them is treason. Thus, for instance, because Claude Pepper and Henry Wallace are anti-war and courageously advocate American-Soviet understanding and peaceful collaboration—the Red-baiting war-mongers impugn their patriotism and label them “pro-Russian.”

Communists Fight For True National Interests

But while the Anglo-Saxon imperialists howl with rage—and, let it be said too, with fear—labor, the progressives and all friends of United Nations unity back up Wallace and Pepper in their fight for peace.

And the people say to President Truman: Byrnes must go! Vandenberg and Dulles must go! The Anglo-American war alliance must go! The criminal and disastrous anti-American “get-tough-with-Russia” policy must go! Roosevelt’s policy of Big Three unity—the key to peace—must prevail! This is what we voted for in 1944! We insist that the government carry out this, the people’s mandate—now!

While Wallace and Pepper are currently branded as

Reds—or at least as fellow-travelers—we Communists are especially singled out for attack. Everything we do to promote national security and peace is termed “pro-Soviet” and the act of “subversive agents of a foreign power.”

Yet the fact is that when we support the Polish delegation’s demand for Security Council action against Franco, we are neither anti-Spanish, pro-Polish nor pro-Russian. We are anti-fascist and pro-American.

We don’t think a fascist Spain is healthy for American security and world peace. Nor do we think that civil war in China is good for China, or for America and international peace either. That is the reason we want American troops and economic and military aid to be withdrawn from the reactionary Kuomintang dictatorship. That is why we work to bring American troops out of China and help establish a united democratic and sovereign China.

The facts are—it is not because we are “agents of a foreign power” that we don’t want to see the United States accept Churchill’s invitation to an “Anglo-Saxon” war alliance, or go to war against the Soviet Union. *We think such a war would be treasonable and disastrous for the United States and for the world. We believe that America and Russia can and must collaborate to win the peace just as they did to win the war—and a majority of our fellow-Americans agree.*

But the warmakers think they have found the \$64 question that will “prove” we American Communists owe “allegiance” to a “foreign power.” “Will you fight for the United States, or on the side of the Soviet Union?” they ask—and add, as an afterthought, “if we go to war.”

These un-Americans are dissatisfied and infuriated when we answer directly and plainly: *We American Communists give allegiance to only one power: to the sovereign power that resides in the American people. We are American workers, Marxists and patriots. Today and on*

the morrow, as in the past, in war or in peace, we will loyally defend the genuine national interests of our people, of our country.

Warmongers Are Real Enemies of Our Country

Of course the warmongers are not satisfied with this forthright and patriotic position. They have gone mad with delusions of grandeur, with the power of the atomic bomb, and they are in a hurry for World War III to begin.

These enemies of our country are doubly angry and provocative when we add: *We Communists love our country so dearly and will defend it so staunchly that we will bend every effort to preserve the peace, to wipe out all remnants of fascism, to fulfill Roosevelt's Big Three commitments, to isolate and defeat the pro-fascists, the anti-Sovieteers and warmongers.*

We are confident that our friends and fellow anti-fascists of the labor-progressive camp will agree with us that the true patriot not only serves his country by fighting in a just war, but also by opposing those who would lead her into an unjust war of imperialist conquest and aggression.

But today as the giant economic royalists once again strive to impose an imperialist peace on the nations—on victors and vanquished alike, and as the warmongers incite and prepare for World War III to enslave our own and other peoples—certain voices are now being raised in the labor and progressive movements counseling a false brand of patriotism.

These are the people who would surrender the destiny of our country to the Byrnes and Vandenberg, under the specious slogan: "My country, right or wrong." Obviously these people confuse country with government. They confuse country with state power, and with what

class is in power. And they overlook the basic fact that it is the monopolies and not the people who dictate the "get-tough-with-Russia" policy which is leading to World War III.

In this connection, it is well for labor to remember that when Americans speak of the war guilt of the whole German people, they mean quite simply that in Germany there are *too few patriots, too few anti-Hitlerites*. Nor should it be forgotten that the guilt of the German people was not compounded in a single day. It began when they first let the Nazis divide the German working class by exploiting the prejudices of the non-Communist against the Communist—and so helped to pave Hitler's way to power.

Those who kept silent when the first Jew was tortured—just as those who are now silent in the face of the Georgia lynchings—began the brutalization that ended in the concentration camps and human soap factories. The war guilt of the German people began when they first permitted Hitler to steal their loyalty *from democracy and peace*, and buy with promise of loot their allegiance to the Greater Reich.

The criminal war waged for the glory and power of the Greater Reich was high treason to the *real* German nation—and for that crime, not only the Nazis and German trusts, but the German people are paying and must pay. A war waged for the glory and rule of the "American Century" would be a catastrophe and high treason to the people of the United States. *But to that crime the American people will not consent.*

Comrades, the myth of the invincibility of fascism died at the gates of Stalingrad. If fascism, established in state power, is not invincible, shall we admit that it cannot be checked and smashed here in the USA before it may be strong enough to come to power?

This is the year 1946. The American people have

witnessed the rise and military defeat of fascism in Europe. The lessons of the anti-Axis war cannot be erased from their minds overnight. Even Americans, who are often the slowest to learn, cannot forget the lesson that anti-Communism—like anti-Semitism and Negro-baiting—is the inseparable companion of fascism and war.

Smash the Hitlerite Weapon of Red-Baiting

Comrades, if we urge the American people to resist the poison of anti-Communism, it is not because we fear for ourselves. *It is because we fear even more for our labor movement, our country and the peace of the world.* It is because we want to equip the people to unite and effectively struggle against war, against reaction and fascism.

Germany, Italy, France, Spain—proved before all who have eyes to see that wherever the Red-baiting assault on the Communists was permitted to be carried through, a destructive, fascist assault upon the labor movement and on the entire people was the inescapable outcome. Therefore the fight against Red-baiting is not and cannot be the concern of the Communists alone. It is and must be the active concern of the whole labor movement and of all democratic and anti-fascist Americans.

On this, our 27th anniversary, we Communists boldly accept the challenge of the Red-baiters, of the reactionaries and warmongers. In unison with the progressive labor and people's movements, and in cooperation with all democratic forces, we will give the enemies of our people and nation resolute battle on every front—in the congressional elections, in the struggle for wages, security and equality, in the fight for peace and social progress.

We Communists are not summer soldiers, or sunshine patriots. We brave the gathering storm with supreme confidence in our party, in our class, in our people, and in our common victory.

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