

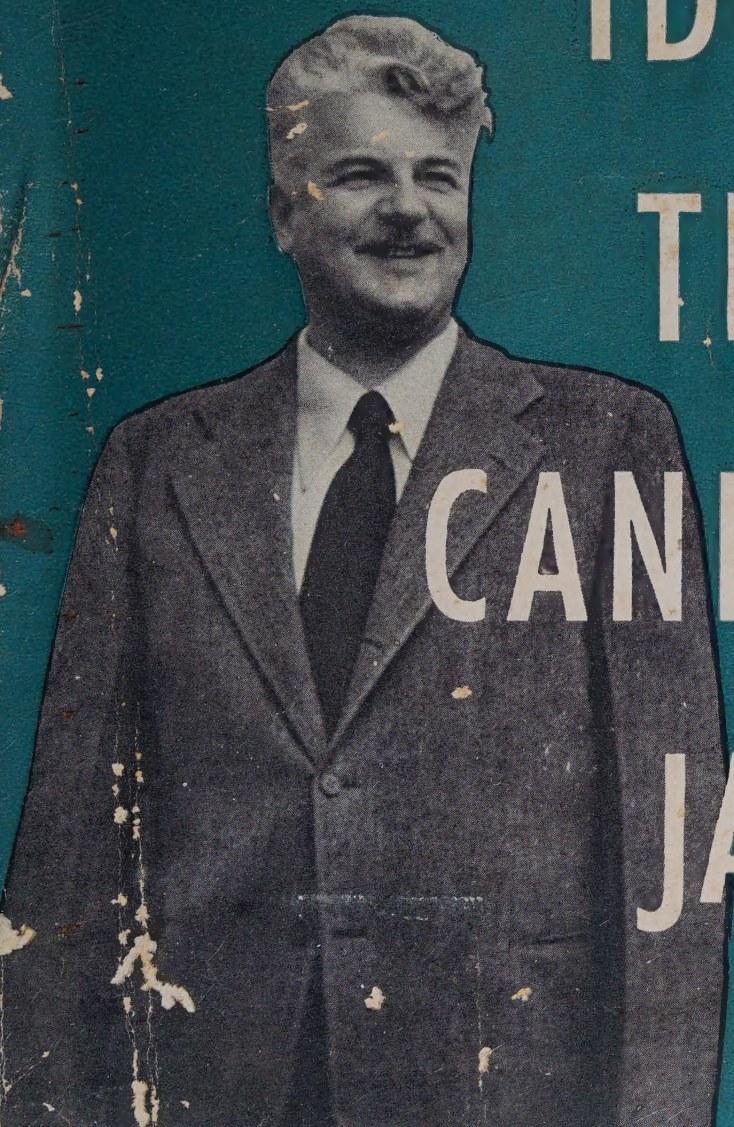
**EUGENE DENNIS**

**IDEAS**

**THEY**

**CANNOT**

**JAIL**







IDEAS THEY CANNOT JAIL





IDEAS

THEY CANNOT JAIL

*by Eugene Dennis*

GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

INTRODUCTION BY WILLIAM Z. FOSTER



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# INTRODUCTION

By William Z. Foster

The present is a most vital time in the history of our country and the world. It is a period of great wars and revolutions; the era of the transition from obsolete world capitalism to ascending world socialism. The Soviet Union, in November, 1917, was the first great nation to take this revolutionary path; it is now being accompanied by the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe and the great Chinese People's Republic. Over one-third of the human race is definitely on the road to socialism, and the rest of the world's peoples will not tarry long before they go the same way.

The wealthy and rotten financial oligarchy of Wall Street—American imperialism—is striving to reverse this whole fundamental course of world evolution and revolution. Mobilizing as its allies various bankrupt capitalist governments, the Vatican, and Social-Democracy, it is seeking to destroy socialism, to save doomed capitalism, and to reduce the whole of mankind to subservience to its autocratic rule. To accomplish this end Wall Street is aiming to plunge humanity into another great war and to fasten the yoke of fascism upon the toilers of the world.

But all this is a vain and impossible imperialist dream. It will be completely shattered by the peace and liberty-loving determination of the masses; by their irresistible drive towards socialism. Nevertheless, the striving of American imperialism for conquest constitutes a major





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But all this is a vain and impossible imperialist dream. It will be completely shattered by the peace and liberty-loving determination of the masses; by their irresistible drive towards socialism. Nevertheless, the striving of American imperialism for conquest constitutes a major

threat to the welfare of the world. Unless it is promptly checked and defeated, it will lead to untold human slaughter and mass pauperization.

The Communist Party of the United States, located in the greatest stronghold of world capitalism, has the heavy responsibility of mobilizing the workers and other democratic strata of this country to resist the attacks of Wall Street on the peace and democracy of the United States and the world. It is standing up well to this responsibility, despite sharp attacks from the capitalist class and its government.

This present book, consisting of articles and speeches by the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Eugene Dennis, vividly reflects the Communists' valiant fight against war and fascism and for the general economic and political interests of the workers, the Negro masses, and the American people as a whole.

At the center of its drive against peace and freedom the reactionary Truman government is trying to outlaw and destroy the Communist Party. The notorious Foley Square trial of eleven of the Party's leaders—with its biased judge, unscrupulous prosecution, perjured witnesses, and intimidated jury—is only one of many such attempts. But they, too, will fail. The Communist Party is fighting on the side of history and cannot be destroyed.

Gene Dennis, a man who all his life has devoted himself loyally and unselfishly to the cause of labor and socialism, is the most outstanding victim of the severe persecution now being directed against the Communists. He has been sent to Federal prison for boldly expressing his contempt for the House Committee on Un-American Activities headed by the notorious J. Parnell Thomas, who has since been proven guilty of stealing government funds. The liberty and peace of our country are indeed in danger when genuine patriots like Dennis are railroaded to jail for defending the people's rights, while notorious reactionaries and common crooks like Thomas are placed at the head of infamous thought-control committees and allowed to



intimidate the workers and other progressive, peace-loving forces with their fascist ravings.

The Communist Party stands in the front line of the defense of democracy and peace. It is the great champion of the only solution of the terrible situation into which decadent capitalism has plunged the world, that is, Socialism. Every attack upon the Communist Party and its leaders is an assault upon the trade union movement, upon the Negro people, upon American democratic rights and civil liberties, upon the peace of the world. To safeguard the most profound interests of the working class and of the whole American people, the civil rights of Communists must be defended, and Eugene Dennis and and many others persecuted and jailed for their political views and activities must be set free.



# *Part One*

## THIS COMMITTEE IS IN CONTEMPT . . .

*It has arrogated to itself repressive powers specifically forbidden by the Bill of Rights. . . .*

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### STATEMENT BEFORE JUDGE PINE

*My liberty as an individual is, of course, dear to me. But more dear to me is the liberty of the whole American people.*

[Federal Court, July 8, 1947]

Your Honor, before the court passes sentence I would like to make a very brief statement.

As an American and as a Communist, I cherish and will always defend the democratic institutions of our country and the genuine interests of our people.

I desire to make clear why I believe that my failure to respond to the subpoena unlawfully issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities is wholly consistent with my respect for and devotion to the instruments and traditions of American democracy.

Those who conceived this nation in liberty could not foresee that



a vast empire of monopoly capital would one day come into being. Nor could they foretell that the economic royalists would attempt to enslave America's working men and women with a Taft-Hartley law and other repressive measures.

But the Founding Fathers wisely sought to provide all future generations of freedom-loving Americans with the means to defend themselves against whatever new forms of tyranny the uncharted future might hold. Those who dedicated this nation to the proposition that all men are created equal could not envision the race hatred and terror rule of fascism, be it of foreign or native origin. Those who brought forth a new nation on this continent could not conceive of a Truman-G.O.P. doctrine proclaiming America the enemy of the newer democracies and the ally of decaying monarchs and fascist quislings.

But the Founding Fathers did foresee that their posterity would have need to struggle against new enemies and new instruments of oppression. Those who endowed our people with the spirit that cherished liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere, also sought to arm us against whatever threats to liberty the future might bring.

For these wise purposes, those who shaped our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution proclaimed certain rights to be inalienable. They reserved to the people, and for all time, the right to exercise their sovereign power and democratic will and to pursue happiness and progress. Moreover, they erected an enduring barrier of law, embodied in the Bill of Rights and designed to prevent the rule of despotic men.

It is true that today there are men who hold these principles and democratic institutions in contempt, and seek to undermine and destroy them.

It is not true that I am guilty of that criminal intent.

I deeply regret that the real issues in this case were not joined in the course of the trial. Through my counsel, witnesses, and documents, I sought to submit evidence establishing it as a matter of fact that the House Committee on Un-American Activities is in contempt of the Constitution and Bill of Rights, that it is trying to establish a system of totalitarian thought control through police inquisition and the hated Gestapo card-indexes and political blacklists; that, in short, it is an

instrument of those who seek to impose a form of fascism on our America. But, unfortunately, the jury was not permitted to hear this evidence.

I also sought to establish, as a matter of law, that the House Committee on Un-American Activities is not a proper legislative committee, is without constitutional authority, and acts in violation of the First and Fourteenth Amendments. But the evidence amply supporting this contention was also excluded.

My liberty as an individual is, of course, dear to me. But more dear to me is the liberty of the whole American people. The time has come when not I alone, but millions of Americans—through due process of law and by mobilizing broad public opinion and action—can preserve our freedom only by effectively challenging the usurpation of power by the pro-fascists and their House Committee on Un-American Activities, which has become a gnawing cancer in the body politic.

I repeat, this committee has arrogated to itself inquisitorial and repressive powers specifically forbidden it by the Constitution and Bill of Rights.

Its chairman, J. Parnell Thomas, told this court—in response to cross-examination—that “We all have our standards” as to what is American and what is un-American.

I submit, Your Honor, that Chairman Thomas’ standards are those of Standard Oil of New Jersey, which has been found guilty of war and peacetime cartel practices more advantageous to our Nazi enemies than to the United States.

I submit that the standards of Representative Mundt, a member of this Committee, are those of the self-styled America First Committee, an anti-Roosevelt and pro-Axis group condemned and repudiated by all true patriots.

I submit that the standards of John Rankin, whose presence on this Committee violates the Fourteenth Amendment and the American conscience, are the standards of the convicted Columbians\* and of the lynch mob.

\* Members of a pro-fascist, anti-Negro, and anti-Jewish organization in Georgia.—*Ed.*

It is not to be wondered at that this Committee, whose standards of Americanism are alien to democracy and run counter to the standards held by the majority of Americans, recently spent no more than ten minutes on its ballyhooed "investigation" of fascist activities which daily become more menacing in the United States.

Instead, it is only natural that such a Committee, and its pro-fascist backers in the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce, should be whipping up anti-Communist hysteria, in an effort to abolish free trade unions, to lower the living standards of the common people, to curtail drastically the civil liberties of the Negro people, the Communists, and all other progressives, and to disrupt American-Soviet friendship and the unity of the United Nations, thus injuring the cause of peace.

In so doing, this Committee and its sponsors aim to drag our country down the German road to imperialist expansion, fascism, war, and catastrophe.

I am confident, Your Honor, that the lessons of this trial will not be lost on the American people.

I recall that at the turn of the nineteenth century, Matthew Lyon\* and others temporarily lost their freedom when they challenged the infamous Alien and Sedition laws which were directed against the followers of Thomas Jefferson. Their devotion to democracy contributed to the recapture and preservation of the freedom of the American people. The people removed the cancer of the Alien and Sedition laws from the body politic.

I recall that Henry David Thoreau and others also temporarily lost their freedom for challenging the Fugitive Slave Act and the unjust war against Mexico. Subsequently, the cancer of chattel slavery and all its legal instruments were also cut from the body politic.

Today the American people understand how truly Thoreau spoke when he said, "They are the lovers of law and order who uphold the law when the government breaks it."

\* Matthew Lyon (1750-1822), member of Congress from Vermont, was arrested and convicted in 1798 for his vigorous fight against censorship and Alien and Sedition laws. Re-elected by an overwhelming majority while serving sentence of four months in jail. Fine of \$1,000 later refunded to his heirs by special act of Congress.—*Ed.*



I plead guilty, Your Honor, of upholding the Constitution and the democratic traditions and basic laws of our land at a time when they are being violated by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and its reactionary sponsors.

If need be, I shall appeal my case to the Supreme Court.

At the same time, my Party and I will carry the real issues in this case to the court of public opinion for the supreme judgment of the people themselves.

Although it was not given an opportunity to hear important evidence, or to pass upon the real issues involved, the jury that found me guilty of contempt arrived at its decision only after long deliberation and with great difficulty.

I do not entertain the slightest doubt that legions of my fellow Americans share my determination to protect and extend our form of democracy and at all costs prevent fascism from coming to power in America.

I have every confidence that these millions will come to understand that the pro-fascist House Committee on Un-American Activities must be curbed and eventually abolished if democracy is to endure in our land.

I have a firm faith that the American people will not only win my freedom and full exoneration—but will also put the necessary limitations on the dangerous activities of the evil forces of aggressive monopoly reaction which the House Committee now shields and in whose interest it acts.

In this connection, I am confident that in the fateful elections of 1948 the American people will draw the necessary conclusions concerning the Administration and the G.O.P. dominated 80th Congress which gave the House Committee on Un-American Activities its new, coercive, and iniquitous status. Through unity of action the people will rebuff the un-American men of the trusts. They will find the ways and means to register the popular will for democracy, jobs, and peace.

Your Honor, I am ready to hear the sentence of this court.

*[Before imposing sentence, Judge David Pine asked: "Do you desire now to go before the House Un-American Activities Com-*

*mittee and purge yourself of contempt? If you do, I might take action which would be just and proper under the circumstances."*

*[Dennis replied: "I do not consider myself guilty of contempt of Congress. Therefore I could not in good conscience purge myself of a contempt of which I am not guilty."*

*[The judge then imposed sentence of one year in jail and \$1,000 fine.*

*[Following an unsuccessful appeal to the Supreme Court, Eugene Dennis began to serve this sentence on May 12, 1950.]*

## SUPPRESSED TESTIMONY

*We American Communists are here to stay.*

[Testimony (abridged) prepared for presentation before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on March 26, 1947, during hearings on the Rankin and Sheppard bills. The Committee refused to hear testimony and served the witness with a subpoena.]

I am Eugene Dennis, the General Secretary of the American Communist Party. I appear in opposition to the Rankin Bill, H.R. 1884, and the Sheppard Bill, H.R. 2122.

I am here to defend the inalienable right of Americans to be Communists. I am here to defend the constitutional right of the Communist Party to function as a legal political party that openly presents its views, its program, and its candidates to the American people.

In so doing, I in fact defend the Constitution and the Bill of Rights—which H.R. 2122 and H.R. 1884 propose to nullify. I defend the right of the American people to promote the welfare and advance the social progress of the nation by democratic means and in the spirit of America's progressive traditions. H.R. 2122 and H.R. 1884 place this basic right in jeopardy. They propose to usurp for a party in power the right to pass upon the political programs of other parties—although the Constitution reserves this right to the people and to the people alone.

In addition, I am concerned for my country's good name abroad and defend here the national security of the United States and the cause of world peace. I do not believe that other nations can fail to see an ominous connection between these legislative proposals to by-pass the Bill of Rights and recent moves by the U.S. government that are generally interpreted as by-passing the United Nations.

The definition of democracy, offered to the Council of Foreign Ministers by Secretary of State Marshall in behalf of the American delegation, has a direct bearing on H.R. 2122 and H.R. 1884. I ask leave to introduce into the record both Secretary Marshall's statement on March 14 and my cable to Mr. Marshall on March 16.

I submit that the United States will forfeit the respect of all democratic peoples if it leads a double life. Others cannot but judge the sincerity of American sermons on democracy abroad by American practice of democracy at home.

I shall in due course deal with the deliberately false charges against my Party, which H.R. 1884 and H.R. 2122 lodge as a pretext for their unconstitutional proposals. But I wish first to deal with these proposals, and in some detail.

The Rankin Bill, H.R. 1884, would prohibit Communists from running for public office, whether on the Communist ticket or that of any other party. This proposal is on its face unconstitutional. Even Secretary of Labor Schwollenbach, who endorses the objectives of H.R. 1884, does not attempt to defend its constitutionality or that of any similar legislation.

H.R. 1884 is in conflict with Secretary Marshall's declaration that "Freely constituted political parties should be insured the right to participate in a free and competitive election system in which each is accorded equal opportunity to present its views, win adherents, and obtain just representation."

On one premise, and on only one premise, can H.R. 1884 be reconciled with the Secretary of State's enunciation of American policy. That is on the premise that the German people are to be trusted to make a wise use of democratic liberties—while the American people are not. Does this Committee care to go to the American people with that thesis?

The Rankin Bill does not stop at curtailing the rights of Communists. It states frankly that its objective is to prevent the undefined and undefinable Communist "sympathizer" from running for public office on any ticket. If this measure were adopted, any candidates in sympathy with any part of the immediate program of the Communist Party, or with any of its long-range aspirations, would be subject to challenge



and could be removed from the ballot and jailed by his political opponents.

Next year we have a crucial Presidential and national election. If this bill is passed, voters in the Democratic, the Republican, and third parties could not nominate—much less elect—any candidate who sympathizes with the Communist view that our nation's peace and economic welfare require that the people curb the power of big monopolies, the fascist-minded economic royalists, and the warmongers.

That is the core of the Communist program in the present period and the main plank for its 1948 platform. That is one reason the N.A.M. and the Chamber of Commerce urge the passage of this bill.

Passage of H.R. 1884 would also require all parties to reject any candidate in sympathy with the American trade union movement and the Communist program of defending the Wagner Act and labor's rights. Candidates opposed to the open shop and the anti-labor injunction, or advocating the strengthening of the Wage-Hour Act, could not be candidates. That is another reason the N.A.M. and the Chamber of Commerce urge the passage of this bill.

Passage of the Rankin Bill would make it illegal for any party to place on the ballot a candidate who was sympathetic to the Communist view that the Negro people are entitled to equal rights and full citizenship. Moreover, Negroes themselves, as well as their friends and democratic allies, thus could be barred from running for office. It would be illegal for any candidate to concur in the Communist view that Secretary Marshall's March 14 declaration places upon the Congress the obligation to repeal the poll-tax and abolish the white primary. . . .

Can any one question what would happen to a candidate who had once been associated with some aspect of the New Deal's domestic program—and now also advocated that this nation return to the Roosevelt policy of lasting peace based on Big Three unity and American-Soviet friendship? He would be ruled out from the start—as H.R. 1884 intends he should be.

We have only to see what has been happening in regard to a few executive appointments to understand what a wide variety of persons would be barred from *elective* office if this legislation were adopted. The classic case is, of course, that of Mr. David Lilienthal. But even

Francis Biddle is no longer above suspicion, although as Attorney-General he tried without success to get the Supreme Court to rule that the Communist Party is an advocate of force and violence. Mr. Biddle is now running like a hare, pursued by the hounds he helped unleash.

Secretary of Labor Schwollenbach was among the first to be caught in the back-fire of his own call to outlaw the Communist Party. Today the Republicans are after one of his underlings, who has turned up on this Committee's voluminous blacklist. Tomorrow it may be Mr. Schwollenbach himself. He was once a New Dealer. The neo-Inquisition in America does not intend that those who recant shall be saved.

The Rankin Bill proposes to outlaw the Communist Party "whether or not any change is hereafter made" in its name. Thus, once the Communist Party was outlawed, any democratic political coalition and party accepting the support of an organization of independent voters, or any steps toward the organization of a new progressive, people's party, would in turn be outlawed on the pretext that here was the Communist Party resurrected under a new name.

Furthermore, some Republicans, some members of this Committee, and the Hearst-McCormick press have more than once in the past charged that the Democratic Party was itself under Communist influence. If the Democratic Party were to return to the progressive policies of Franklin Roosevelt, this charge, revived and vigorously pressed, could conceivably lead to the eventual outlawing of the Democratic Party.

In any case, the Rankin Bill is a perfect set-up for facilitating a Republican victory in the 1948 elections. How then does it happen that such a measure is introduced by one who bears the designation, Democrat? I carefully refrain from charging collusion or conspiracy. But I suggest that the G.O.P.-southern Bourbon bi-partisanship can be carried to the extreme of totalitarianism.

The Rankin Bill expands from the field of politics to the realm of thought. It would abridge and destroy all freedom of the press, and authorize a police surveillance of the private correspondence of every American citizen. It would put an end to academic freedom in all American schools and colleges.

In the language of H.R. 1884, "It shall be unlawful . . . to convey

the impression of sympathy with communism or Communist ideology." If this proposal were to be adopted, teachers and writers—even the writers of private letters—could be fined \$10,000 and jailed for ten years for conveying the impression of sympathy with a fundamental Communist tenet—that all men are created equal. That this happens also to be a fundamental tenet of American democracy—as set forth in the Declaration of Independence would not exonerate them.

Why is it that H.R. 1884, and all similar so-called anti-Communist legislation, spread so very wide a net? Secretary Schwollenbach, among others, argues that this is unavoidable because only by policing the mind and probing the heart of every American will it be possible to uncover the "hidden" Communists. The fact, of course, is that the overwhelming majority of the members of the Communist Party declare themselves openly and with pride. But it is also unfortunately true that some few of them, for reasons of economic security, find it necessary to avoid public announcement of their Communist affiliation.

At an appropriate time I should like to propose to the Congress an effective and practical means of helping to terminate this situation, which is not of the Communist Party's making nor to its liking. I shall propose a joint resolution by the two Houses of Congress, which will state that it is the sense of the Congress that the Constitution and the Bill of Rights afford to members of the Communist Party the same protection afforded to all other American citizens. The joint resolution should further state that the Congress interprets Secretary Marshall's declaration that all patriotic citizens shall be permitted to live without "fear of being denied the right to work or deprived of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" because of discrimination as to race, creed, national origin, or political belief, and to make no exception of Communist Party members. Finally, the joint resolution shall state that Congress holds there shall be no discrimination against Communists or other anti-fascists—Negro or white—in either private or public employment or in the right to run for and hold public office or office in a trade union or other democratic organization.

I pledge that on the day Congress adopts such a resolution every single member of the Party will be more than happy and willing to publicly declare his Communist affiliation, of which he is so proud!

I would remind the Committee that both the methods of the Rankin and Sheppard Bills and the methods proposed by me have been tried and tested in situations similar to that faced by the Communist Party in the United States today.

Many early Christians concealed their religious beliefs to escape persecution by the emperors of Rome. The Emperor Diocletian tried to ferret them out by decrees closely resembling the anti-Communist measures now before Congress. He failed. But when Constantine the Great proclaimed Christianity as the state religion, the Christians publicly avowed themselves.

Different and more moderate remedies have proved much more successful. I cite two examples from American history. Some of the followers of Thomas Jefferson were obliged to conceal their views while the Alien and Sedition laws were in effect. They avowed themselves openly when those laws were repealed. Thousands of American trade unionists were obliged to conceal their trade union affiliation in the days of the labor spy and the open shop. They too avowed themselves openly when the Wagner Act gave them the guarantee that they could wear a union button without getting fired from their jobs.

My proposal would eliminate from American public life the so-called problem of the "hidden" Communist. The Rankin and Sheppard Bills, on the contrary, would endeavor to drive all Communists and other progressives into hiding.

I now turn briefly to H.R. 2122. The Sheppard Bill would also nullify the right of Americans to join the Communist Party. It would further deny them the right to join any organization directly or indirectly affiliated to virtually any international body.

I am sure H.R. 2122 would not have Chairman Thomas' support if there were the slightest danger it might be used to create difficulties for his influential constituent, Standard Oil of New Jersey, which as late as March, 1944, was turning over vital American military secrets to the Nazis by way of its partners in the I. G. Farben cartel.

It would be interesting to know if members of the Committee concur in my opinion that H.R. 2122 could and might be used to require the C.I.O. to terminate its present affiliation to the World Federation of Trade Unions. And also to know how they think it would affect organi-



zations associated with United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (U.N.E.S.C.O.), and other agencies of the United Nations.

I come now to the allegations that the American Communist Party is the "agent of a foreign power"; that it "advocates the overthrow of the United States government by force and violence"; and that it is not a political party in the accepted sense, but "a conspiracy."

As to the first of these slanders—it is a lie that the American Communists are agents of a foreign power. That was what Hitler said of the German Communists, Quisling of the Norwegian Communists, Laval and Doriot (the French Louis Budenz) of the French Communists. When V-E day came just two years ago, the peoples of the world rejoiced that "the lie was dead and damned and the truth stood up instead." But now, on the eve of the second anniversary of V-E day, Hitler's big lie rises again here in our America to shame the living and desecrate the war dead.

Loyalty and patriotism must be judged by the test to which they were put in the most bitter and costly war of our nation's history. We American Communists pass that acid test with flying colors, and no group or individual can escape its judgment.

In World War II, fifteen thousand American Communists took up arms. Major General Clayton Bissel, wartime head of the U.S. Army Intelligence Corps, defended the loyalty of Communist officers before a sub-committee of the House Military Affairs Committee on March 13, 1945. He said, ". . . they have shown by their deeds that they are *upholding* the United States by force and violence."

American Communists sealed in blood our Party's loyalty to the only power to which our members give allegiance—the sovereign power that resides in the American people.

Before the hearings on these bills are over, I shall submit to the Committee as relevant testimony an extensive though incomplete list of the Communist war dead, of our Communist leaders who are war veterans and of our comrades who have been decorated by their government for distinguished service in the nation's cause.

But at this point I wish to cite the example of Captain Herman Bottcher. The GI's in his outfit called him "The one man army." As-

sistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy said of Bottcher, "He went to the South Pacific. There he was promoted to sergeant, then made a captain in the field. He was wounded, decorated, and killed in action at Leyte. This man proved his loyalty, regardless of what the War Department might have found." Like 4,000 other veterans of the Spanish Republican war, Captain Herman Bottcher, decorated with the Distinguished Service Cross with Cluster, learned, in the ranks of the American Communist Party, to hate and to fight fascism.

Likewise I give you Pvt. Hank Forbes, who was killed in action at Anzio. His commanding officer said this Communist was an outstanding morale builder who inspired his whole outfit with his own deep feeling for what the anti-Axis war was all about.

I also give you Robert Thompson, veteran of the Spanish Republican war, bearer of the Distinguished Service Cross and now chairman of the New York State Communist Party. On January 19, 1943, Lt. Gen. R. L. Eichelberger, recommending the promotion of Staff Sergeant Thompson to the rank of First Lieutenant, wrote, "It is believed that the appointment of Staff Sergeant Thompson to the grade recommended, for demonstrated battlefield leadership ability, will have a very favorable effect throughout the 32nd Division and encourage emulation of his fine example."

Only enemies of the American people, fascists and perjurers, would dare impugn the patriotism of these men, or question the loyalty of some 70,000 Communists, veterans and non-veterans, who have deepened their devotion to their country as a result of their membership in the American Communist Party.

In peace as in war, we Communists have ever served the true interests of our country, its workers and common people. We never could and never can do otherwise, for we were born of the American working class, endowed with its aspirations and revolutionary traditions, educated and strengthened in its struggles.

To charge that we are Soviet agents is to deny the fact that there were Marxists in America long before there was a Soviet Union. These early Socialists, the forebears of the modern American Communist Party, stood with Lincoln against the slaveholders' rebellion. Lincoln

did not doubt their loyalty. He made the Communist Joseph Weydemeyer a colonel in the Union army.

While the tsars still ruled Russia, the modern American Communist movement was developing in the Socialist Party of Eugene Debs, in the I.W.W. of Big Bill Haywood, in the American Federation of Labor where William Z. Foster and Jack Johnstone led the great struggles to organize the unorganized in the mass production industries.

Our movement is as young as American capitalism and the working class it brought into being. But the charge of "foreign agent" is older—as old as Toryism in America. It was hurled against Thomas Jefferson when he championed democratic rights at home and the right of self-determination for the young French Republic.

There is no conflict between the American patriotism and the working class internationalism of American Communists—as the proposed legislation implies. Modern capitalism and modern science have combined to make this "one world." Within that one world of which all men and all nations are a part, we American Communists feel special bonds that link us with the workers and Communists of other lands.

We share with other workers the common bond of our working-class origin. In the often quoted phrase of Abraham Lincoln, we American Communists hold that "The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations and tongues and kindreds."

Our universal Marxist science is the fraternal bond between us and the Communists of all lands. Scientists in every field know this kinship with other scientists. American physicists who study and put to use the laws of matter and motion, including nuclear energy, incorporate into their work the experience and knowledge of physicists of other countries. So it is with Marxists. Ours is the science of the laws that govern the development of human society, of the progress man has made from tribal times, through feudalism and capitalism to socialism and the transition to Communism. We believe that man himself, and particularly the workingman, can help to shape that progress and that he will do so more effectively when he acts not on blind instinct but on the basis of scientific socialist theory and practice.

It is now seven years since the American Communist Party severed its connections with the Communist International. At that time we acted on our own initiative, to meet the special conditions arising in our country out of the Voorhis Foreign Agents Registration Act—which we then condemned. It is now four years since the Communist International was voluntarily dissolved by the vote of its affiliated parties.

During the years of our organizational affiliation to the Communist International we published in our press communications we received from that body. We made no secret of the fact that we sent delegates to its international congresses. They came home and reported publicly to as many Americans as would listen to them. They reported publicly to our Party members, without whose approval Communist International decisions had no validity for us.

We were at particular pains to publicize as widely as possible the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935. The heroic Bulgarian, Georgi Dimitrov, presided over that historic Congress. Even the members of this Committee must admit that Dimitrov was well qualified by first-hand experience to lead a discussion on the subject of how to fight fascism.\*

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International, to which we American Communists made important contributions, prepared the way for the dissolution of the Communist International. It registered the fact that the Communist parties of the world were independent organizations, each of native origin and making its own decisions. It corrected some mistakes made by young Marxists who were just beginning to learn that Marxism is a scientific guide to action, and not a dogma. It called on the Communist parties of the world to check and defeat the fascists in every land by studying the concrete conditions and the special methods of fascism in each country. It called on them to rally and mobilize the workers and people of every nation for united action against fascism and war.

Our American Communist Party brought to the American people,

\* The reference is to the Reichstag Fire Trial at which Dimitrov gloriously exposed the Hitler frame-up and showed the world the nature of fascism at the very beginning of the scourge in Germany.—*Ed.*



openly and publicly, the lessons we learned through that fraternal exchange of experience with other anti-fascist fighters. If this was treason to the United States—why didn't Mr. J. Edgar Hoover make the most of it at the time?

What does Mr. J. Edgar Hoover know now about the Communist International that he didn't know when it was in existence? Why does the F.B.I. consider the American Communist Party a more dangerous "foreign agent" seven years after it left the Communist International than it was while it maintained that affiliation? Mr. J. Edgar Hoover and the F.B.I. are currently engaged in the most extensive antiquarian research, combing their dead files for ancient documents, resolutions, and outdated pledges and other published and public relics of the Communist Party's past.

We Communists are the first to admit that some of us made more than a few mistakes and did many infantile things in the period of our immaturity. But Mr. Hoover will find no evidence of Communist "crime" in his files. Even Hoover himself is witness that we Communists never in any way or at any time injured or subverted the government of the United States.

It was after J. Edgar Hoover, as the officer in charge of the infamous Palmer raids, had directed the arrest of thousands of real and suspected Communists in 1920 that he himself officially admitted that the Communists had not been guilty of "any violation of the federal laws." This admission was made in an inner-office memorandum to Assistant Attorney-General Donovan on October 16, 1924, several months after Hoover was made Acting Director of the F.B.I. Attorney-General Harlan Stone, later a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, secured this reluctant admission from Mr. Edgar Hoover.

On May 15, 1924 Attorney-General Stone declared: "The bureau of investigation is not concerned with political or other opinions of individuals. It is concerned only with such conduct as is forbidden by the laws of the United States. When a police system passes beyond these limits, it is dangerous to the proper administration of justice and to human liberty, which it should be our first concern to cherish."

I let Mr. Stone's remarks stand as my own comment on the President's March 22 Executive Order establishing a secret police system

over the political opinions of government employees.

As a further comment on the alleged responsibility of the Communist Party for any curios Edgar Hoover may unearth, I draw the Committee's attention to the fact that Article XIV of the Constitution of the Communist Party rightfully and explicitly guards against just such an attempted perversion of justice and common sense. Article XIV states, "The Communist Party is not responsible for any political document, policy, book, article or any other expression of political opinion except such as are issued by authority of this and subsequent national conventions and its regularly constituted leadership."

In this connection I would also like to point out that we Communists adopted Article XIV of the Constitution of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. because we have changed our policies and views on many questions of theory, program, and tactics in accord with changing conditions and new economic and social developments. This is only natural because Marxism is a science, and as a science must take into account new phenomena and thereby constantly be enriched and developed. Therefore, we state clearly that we do not necessarily approve or agree with our position or documents of former years, nor do we condone the mistakes and errors of our past which we are the first to admit. Hence, we can be held accountable and responsible only for those acts, documents, or publications of the past of which we may now affirm the correctness and which we accept officially today or on the morrow.

So far as I know, neither the Democratic nor the Republican Party has taken similar action. We Communists would not however hold Congressman Thomas nor Herbert Hoover's G.O.P. responsible for Lincoln's democratic assertion that "Any people anywhere being inclined and having the power have a right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better." Nor do we hold Congressman Rankin, or even President Truman, to be responsible for Thomas Jefferson's prayer, "God forbid we should ever be twenty years without a rebellion."

J. Edgar Hoover, Attorney-General Clark, Legion Commander Griffith, Congressmen Rankin and Thomas, and now the Federal Commission on Employee Loyalty—all profess to be mind readers. Proponents

of this legislation assert that it is necessary because Communists "think this" and "believe that." We reply that by our deeds you shall know us—and not by what the persecutors of "dangerous thoughts" think we think.

All our deeds have been the deeds of patriots, of anti-fascists, and of champions of the American people's welfare. It was in America's interest that we fought fascism in Spain, opposed Japanese aggression in China, demanded sanctions against Italy in Ethiopia, upheld Roosevelt's 1938 call to quarantine the aggressors, and condemned Chamberlain and Daladier for selling out Czechoslovakia and world peace at Munich.

This Committee called us "un-American" and "pro-Russian" before the war, and after Pearl Harbor it dubbed us the "premature anti-fascists." But millions of Americans know now that the policies we Communists fought for before the war were American policies. They know now that if all the anti-fascists of the world had refused to be stampeded by those who condemned as unpatriotic any policy that coincided with a policy advanced by the Soviet Union, World War II might have been prevented or, at least, very quickly ended.

During the war some phrase-maker—it might have been William Randolph Hearst or maybe it was Col. Robert McCormick—said the Communists must be "Soviet agents" because they were "over-zealous patriots." We do not admit that there could be an excess of zeal on the part of any American worthy to be thought a patriot when the fate of our nation hung in the balance. Do the proponents of this legislation contend that we should have worked for the defeat of the United States in order to "clear" ourselves of the charge that we were zealous for a Soviet victory, for a United Nations victory?

Now, and with unprecedented furor, the billion dollar "patriots" and their spokesmen return to the attack. But we Communists will not now be stampeded into taking an un-American stand merely to please those who have resurrected Hitler's red bogey to advance their own quest for empire and for Anglo-Saxon supremacy. And now there are millions of Americans who have learned from the war and the tragic decade that preceded it. They aren't going to be stampeded either.

We Communists are by no means alone in our demand that the Yalta and Potsdam agreements be carried out to uproot the last vestiges

of fascism everywhere. Millions of non-Communists also know that the duPonts, Standard Oil, General Electric, Westinghouse, and the other cartelists rearmed Germany after the first World War. These millions are as determined as we are that the cartelists shall not succeed in their current effort to rearm Germany again.

The American people know that the men of the trusts sold America short to their Axis partners during the war. They know that these men without a country come into court with unclean hands. They know that they drive for strategic posts in Greece and the Mediterranean, not because they love democracy, but because their supreme loyalty is to their oil wells in Saudi Arabia, and to their cartel investments in Germany, Japan, Franco Spain, and Chiang Kai-shek China.

Others besides the American Communists will not be stampeded into abandoning their faith in the United Nations. They will condemn unilateral action that usurps the power or undermines the authority of the United Nations, whether that action is taken by the United States or by any other nation.

Millions of Americans will crack down hard on any administration or party that seeks to betray the aims for which the war was fought and the peace whose outlines Roosevelt made clear. Not only the American Communists, but millions of other Americans, advocate universal disarmament, a drastic reduction in our gigantic armaments program, the immediate destruction of our atom bomb stockpile, and the outlawing of atomic weapons.

Neither the Communists nor these millions who work for peace oppose national defense or wish to weaken our country in order to strengthen some other power. We and they know that America's national security does not rest on "secret weapons" but on policies which will promote a prosperous and anti-fascist America in a democratic and peaceful world.

The truths which Abraham Lincoln spoke in another hour of grave national crisis ring true for the America of today:

"What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence? It is not our frowning battlements, our bristling sea coasts, our army and our navy. These are not our reliance against tyranny. All of those



may be turned against us without making us weaker for the struggle. Our reliance is in the Love of Liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere. Destroy this spirit and you have planted the seeds of despotism at your doors. Familiarize yourselves with the chains of bondage, and you prepare your own limbs to wear them. Accustomed to trample on the rights of others, you have lost the genius of your own independence and become the fit subjects of the first cunning tyrant who rises among you."

Gentlemen of the Committee, I believe that Abraham Lincoln's words help nail the lie that we Communists are "foreign agents"—and at the same time make a very relevant comment on H.R. 2122 and H.R. 1884.

It is of course also untrue that the Communist Party has ever in the past advocated, or advocates today, the use of force and violence either as a means for achieving governmental change or as a method of struggle for immediate economic or social gains by labor and the people's forces generally.

Congressman Sheppard's Bill repeats this moth-eaten charge of force and violence. But H.R. 2122 offers no proof, and there is no proof that can be offered. Many attempts have been made in the press and the courts of this land to establish such proof, but every one of them has failed. In the twenty-eight years of our Party's existence, not a single member of the Party has ever been convicted of acting or conspiring to employ force and violence to overthrow the government of the United States. It is therefore obvious that such a charge cannot possibly be upheld against our Party as a whole.

I submit now for the record the text of the Constitution of the Communist Party. I read from Article IV, Section 10: "Every member is obligated to fight with all his strength against any and every effort, whether it comes from abroad or from within our country, to destroy the rights of labor and the people, or any section thereof, or to impose upon the United States the arbitrary will of any group or party or clique or conspiracy, thereby violating the unqualified right of the majority of the people to direct the destinies of our country."

I read also from Section 2 of Article IX: "Adherence to or participation in the activities of any clique, group, circle, faction or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy, whereby the American people can maintain their right to determine their destiny in any degree, shall be punished by immediate expulsion."

I wish to emphasize that it is precisely those who advocate the use of force and violence to overthrow the new democracies of Europe and to put down the national liberation movements of Asia—and who now seek to bring fascism to power in the United States—who accuse us Communists of wanting to overthrow the government of the United States by force and violence.

Force and violence are the weapons which have always been advocated and employed by those who resist basic social change. In American history, the classic examples of this are the British Tories and their American agents who resisted the national liberation movement of the thirteen colonies; and the counter-revolution of the slavocracy which forced the nation into Civil War.

Pro-fascist monopoly cannot have its reactionary way in these United States without resorting to force and violence. And history has shown that once fascism is entrenched in state power the people have no other recourse but to overthrow it by force and violence.

The right to take such revolutionary measures when and if they become necessary is proclaimed as an American right in the Declaration of Independence. It was through the American people's exercise of this inalienable right that our nation was founded.

But fascism has not yet come to power in the United States. We Communists and millions of our fellow Americans are determined that it shall never come to power. That is why we Communists and other anti-fascist progressives urge that the American people unite in a broad labor and democratic coalition whose concerted, public, mass action can check and curb the imperialists, the reactionary monopolists, and save our country from the hell of fascist terror.

Fascist terror is force and violence in their most brutal form. Where it reigns there can be no democratic and orderly progress.

Today, the way to democratic and orderly progress is to keep force

and violence away from the factories by defeating the anti-labor legislation of the G.O.P. and the southern Bourbons.

Today, the way to democratic and orderly progress is to prevent a return of the force and violence which marked the Harding-Hoover period, by defeating the predatory post-war foreign and domestic policies of the trusts, which jeopardize the peace and hasten the coming of another economic crisis.

Today, the way to democratic and orderly progress is to stop the force and violence of American Action, Inc., of the K.K.K. and the lynch mobs—by helping win equal rights for the Negroes, and civil liberties for all.

Today, the way to democratic and orderly progress is to oppose the force and violence of imperialist expansion and atomic war which could bring nothing but ruin and tragedy to the American and other peoples.

These are the ways of democratic and orderly progress that we American Communists advocate and take.

Now as to the third allegation, namely, that the American Communist Party is not a political party in the accepted sense, but a conspiracy. Rep. Mundt told the press on February 26th that this Committee is endeavoring to prove the truth of this allegation.

This third allegation is as false as the other two which are lodged by the proponents of H.R. 2122 and H.R. 1884. I ask leave to submit to this Committee while these hearings are still in progress a list of the many Communists who have run for federal and state office, including the Presidential Communist candidates in 1928, 1932, 1936, and 1940, and the number of votes received by each.

As is well known, there was no Communist Presidential candidate in 1944. Communists in that crucial war year subordinated partisan interest to national unity and worked actively for the electoral victory of our great wartime president, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In the 1946 elections we ran several dozen federal and state candidates and gave qualified or conditional support to pro-Roosevelt candidates. We campaigned actively and publicly for those candidates who had the united support of labor and all progressives, regardless of their party designation.

It is a matter of regret to us that the number of our candidates was not larger. We should like to contest many more offices, but unfortunately in some states, especially in the South, we have been unlawfully deprived of our electoral rights. Some other states, such as Illinois and California, have provisions which make it extremely difficult for the Communist Party or any minority or new party to get on the ballot.

In spite of discriminatory restriction and persecution our Communist candidates have not made a bad showing. Under the New York Proportional Representation election system, the New York City Communist Councilman and outstanding Negro leader, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., received a total of 63,498 votes, 56,129 being first choice votes. In contrast, in the First District of Mississippi—with a population of 263,377—the present incumbent (John E. Rankin), a member of this Committee, whose right to office is contested, received a total of 5,429 votes.

New York City Communist Councilman Peter V. Cacchione, a veteran of World War I, received a total of 75,000 votes, 66,496 being first choice votes. In contrast, in the Ninth District of Georgia, the incumbent (John S. Wood), also a member of this Committee, received a total of 14,815 votes out of a population of 235,420.

In comparing these figures, the Committee will, of course, take into account that whereas there are six political parties on the New York ballot, Georgia and Mississippi are in effect states with a one-party system.

We Communists have never made any secret of the fact that our ultimate objective is socialism. But there is nothing in this fact to substantiate the charges that we are a "conspiracy," that we are "foreign agents," or that we advocate the "overthrow of the United States government by force and violence."

As American workers we strive publicly and by democratic means to convince the American people that socialism is the only way to end the scourge of economic crisis, unemployment, and violent class conflict. We strive to convince them that only socialism can once and for all put an end to reaction, fascism, and war which are engendered by monopoly capitalism.



We Communists are confident that the day will come when the majority of Americans will decide by their own free choice, on the basis of their own experience, and in harmony with their fundamental interests, to march forward along the road of social progress toward socialism—that is, to establish the common ownership of the national economy under a government of the people, led by the working class.

As Marxists, we know the road cannot be mapped out in advance. It will be prospected and cleared by the millions of democratic Americans who will seek it. It will be an American road, opening new frontiers for the traditions of American democracy and both according to American specifications by the common people of America who develop further the democratic know-how which is ours.

Our path will not necessarily follow the twists and turns taken by the peoples of other countries who also, because of the inexorable logic of economic and social development, move toward a similar goal.

We Communists are not utopians, and, come what may, we are not and never will be adventurers. Marxism and patriotism alike teach that we must differentiate between what is possible today and what can be realized tomorrow. The better and more progressive America toward which we strive can be built only by the American people, led by labor, and on the foundation of a stronger American democracy.

What kind of America do the proponents of this legislation want? They begin by demanding that the Communist Party be outlawed. That was how Hitler began. Shall we not conclude that they seek the end that Hitler sought?

And who are the proponents of this legislation? They include the N.A.M. and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Thus, they are the spokesmen for the big trusts who raked in 251 billion dollars in war profits, and now want to destroy the labor movement so that their profiteering can go on without check. They are the duPonts, General Electric, Standard Oil, the Aluminum Corporation—and the rest of the cartellists for whom the war was just another big bankruptcy squeeze. Now that their Nazi and Japanese partner-competitors have been put through the wringer, the American monopolists dream of an important "American Century," and seek to dominate the globe. The agents of



the former Axis enemies in this country also support H.R. 2122, H.R. 1884, and similar proposed legislation.

During the war, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover and the Justice Department brought sixteen Red-baiting, labor-hating, anti-Semitic, and anti-Negro seditionists to trial. Some of them had at one time or another appeared before this Committee as friendly witnesses. I am sure they would be glad now to repeat their support for legislation to outlaw the Communist Party. The case against them was dropped like a hot potato. Now they are at liberty to appear and back up Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Mr. Rankin, Mr. Sheppard, and Mr. J. Parnell Thomas.

Thanks to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Donald Day and Axis Sally are also at liberty. I think it vital that this Committee ascertain and make public *their* views on outlawing the Communist Party. Their opinion should be of special interest to all rank-and-file members of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. For it was the GI's in the foxholes who had to take Donald Day and Axis Sally\* along with Hitler's bombs and gunfire.

On July 5, 1945, the British Broadcasting Company reported the discovery of stacks of articles clipped from the *Chicago Tribune* and Hearst's *Journal-American* in the Nazi broadcasting station at Koenigswesterhausen. A typical item: "Mr. Roosevelt consistently stresses the interests and wishes of other nations without regard to his own." And another, beamed to German troops on February 18, 1945: "Col. Robert McCormick is a lonely patriot who takes his responsibilities toward his country seriously. . . . He is prepared to go to Hell for his opinions—which are anti-Roosevelt, anti-British, anti-Bolshevik, and anti-Semitic." The "lonely patriots" Hearst and McCormick are ardent backers of this legislation.

It is only four years since Franklin Roosevelt warned the Congress:

"The philosophy of the Axis powers is based on profound contempt for the human race. If, in the formation of our future policy, we were guided by the same cynical contempt, then we should be surrendering

\* Served the German fascists during the war, broadcasting to American soldiers from Berlin.—*Ed.*

to the philosophy of our enemies, and our victory would turn to defeat."

Today there exists in our country a dangerous conspiracy whose aim is to turn the anti-Axis victory into defeat, to destroy American democracy and put in its place an American form of fascism. Those who organize this conspiracy fought Roosevelt (and labor) tooth and nail while he lived. They have involved in it the man who gave his solemn pledge to the American people that he would walk in Roosevelt's footsteps and continue Roosevelt's policies. But now this man, having labeled the Hoover-Dulles-Vandenberg policy of world domination the "Truman Doctrine," is hounding the ghost of Roosevelt's New Deal from all government agencies.

H.R. 2122 and H.R. 1884 play their part in the conspiracy to make America the land in which Roosevelt shall have become the forgotten man and his progressive foreign and domestic policies the forbidden thought.

Do not these bills demand that the Communist Party be outlawed so that the pro-Roosevelt labor-democratic coalition can be outlawed? Do they not propose to ban all candidates who would preserve the Wagner Act and other New Deal legislation? Do they not imply that the Roosevelt who was the strategist of coalition warfare sold the nation to its staunchest and most heroic ally, the Soviet Union? Do they not imply that the war was won against the wrong enemy? Do they not seek to tear down the United Nations, one of whose chief architects was Roosevelt, and crumble in ruins its cornerstone of American-Soviet friendship?

It is only natural that we Communists should bear the brunt of this current Red-baiting attempt to turn victory into defeat, to wipe out all memory of the war and the aims for which it was fought and to rob the American people of Roosevelt's heritage. It is just as natural that this un-American Committee, which gave aid and comfort to the Axis enemy during the war, should play a leading part in this post-war pro-fascist conspiracy.

But the lessons of the anti-Axis war and of Franklin Roosevelt's partnership with the common man live in the hearts and minds of

the American people. The German people had no such reservoir or experience and strength to draw on when Hitler proclaimed his thousand-year rule of terror, nor had the rest of the world's peoples. And yet—Hitler's Greater Reich lasted not one thousand years, but twelve. It should long be remembered that those twelve years, so terrible for the people of Germany and of the world, were the same twelve years in which the German Communist Party was outlawed.

We American Communists are here to stay. We will endure as long as America's working people endure. Regardless of what repressive measures are taken against our Party, in violation of the Constitution and the basic democratic principles upon which our nation was founded, hundreds of thousands of American workers and progressives will learn to become American Communists. Their school is the struggle of America's common people against the American trusts and empire builders.

In the agony of his last torture, Galileo told his inquisitors, "The earth still moves." We Communists know that human society moves, and that it moves in the direction of democratic advance and social progress. Here in our America we wish to move along democratic paths and by peaceful means. We call on all Americans who share this wish, whatever may be their differences with Communists on other questions, to oppose and work for the defeat of H.R. 1884, H.R. 2122 and all similar legislation. With confidence we call on all patriotic Americans to check the pro-fascist conspiracy which now menaces the Bill of Rights and the United Nations.

## LETTER TO J. PARNELL THOMAS

*I speak as a Communist in defending the Constitution against you who are subverting it.*

[April 8, 1947]

Dear Sir:

This is to inform you that I shall not attend the meeting of your committee on April 9, 1947.

I wish to make it clear that I have no intention thereby to ignore the authority of any lawful congressional body.

For the reasons here set forth it is my opinion that the Committee on Un-American Activities is not a lawful congressional committee and therefore is not a body which may lawfully subpoena witnesses. This opinion is based upon the advice of legal counsel whom I have consulted, to whom I have stated all pertinent information in my possession, and upon whose advice I am relying. From its very inception the Committee on Un-American Activities has acted with a wanton disregard for the Constitution and laws of the country and the American traditions of fairness and decency. As a result it has drawn the condemnation of outstanding citizens and caused the late President Roosevelt to characterize its behavior as "sordid." The illegality of its acts has become a scandal so notorious as to create a public duty not only to challenge those acts individually, but to establish through due process of law and public opinion the fundamental illegality of the existence of the so-called committee.

I do now challenge the legality of that committee for the following reasons:

First, the resolution under which the Committee claims its authority



is so vague as to fail to conform to the legal principle that delegated authority must be exactly defined. The Committee has *no* authority from the House of Representatives because it has been given no *limitation* of authority. By its acts it has remained within no limits appropriate to a Committee of the House, but has arrogated to itself the arbitrary power of a Star Chamber in violation of the Constitution of the United States. The term "un-American" appears in no statute or other legislation. It appears in no executive or administrative regulation. It has been defined by no judicial decision, and is unknown to the law. But if it has no legal meaning, the term "un-American" in the everyday language of the people could mean only something opposed to the liberties of the people and the spirit of the Bill of Rights of our Constitution. Your committee forbids such an interpretation by being itself the violator of the Constitution.

The Communist Party of the United States is a purely American political party. It is the party of the American working class. It is more American than the political parties that serve the narrow interests of wealthier classes. Our American trade unions also were once denounced as of European origin and foreign to America, but they are native organizations serving the interests of sixty million American wage workers, and are the backbone of our American democracy. The American Communist Party is native to this country and necessary to its democratic life, as measured by the only real test, which is loyalty to our country and its people.

Second, having abandoned the field of legislative inquiry in which alone Congress could delegate power, this Committee has taken upon itself a police authority. And, at that, it is a police authority alien to the American concept of democracy, a lawless police authority, the prohibition of which is the very soul of the Bill of Rights of the Constitution. The so-called committee assumes the functions and prerogatives of a grand jury, at the same time disregarding all restrictions placed by law upon a grand jury. Claiming an authority not strictly defined, it acts as a grand jury would if it had no obligation of due process. It assumes much of the function of a criminal court without the obligation to be just or to grant equal protection of the law, smearing and

ruining the characters of men and women without according them even the right to confront and cross-examine witnesses or to make a statement in their own defense against defamation.

Third, this Committee does not devote itself to any purpose which Congress could delegate, but in violation of the laws of the United States arrogantly asserts and pursues purposes and objectives having nothing to do with the legislative functions of Congress.

The Committee, of which you have long been a member and are now chairman, has for many years habitually and purposefully violated the Constitution and laws of the United States. It has done so to accomplish purposes which are not and could not be legitimate purposes of Congress in forming and delegating authority to a committee. The purposes openly pursued by your Committee are:

a. To establish a blacklist of all persons of opposing political opinion, *i.e.*, of persons of democratic political outlook, or identified with any organization defending the constitutional rights and civil liberties of our country. One example is the American Labor Party of which the late Franklin D. Roosevelt was the candidate for President.

You compiled a blacklist in violation of a federal statute, and did so by illegal raids, unlawful arrests, and illegal searches and seizures. You did so by abstracting names from nominating petitions in violation of law, and from petitions to Congress in violation of the First Amendment of the Constitution, and from the subscription lists of newspapers and periodicals of political views opposed to your own, in defiance of the postal laws of the United States. Nor is this to be denied, for Congressman Mason, one of the members of your committee at the time, said on the floor of Congress on May 17, 1946, speaking of such organizations: "Their records were available, and the Dies Committee did subpoena and seize records of many of these organizations. As a result of that, they compiled a card system of un-American activities and of people engaged in un-American activities of more than 1,000,000 separate indexed cards."\*

\* See *Congressional Record*, May 17, 1946, p. 5313.

In a recent decision, the District Court of the District of Columbia, disclaiming any general criticism of your Committee, characterized some of its acts as "misrepresenting . . . its power under the subpoena and its power to act as a committee of the House," and as "representations and actions amounting to duress and coercion. . . ." On that occasion the Court pointed out that the official record of the remarks of the chairman of the time, Martin Dies, confirmed in effect the statement that the Committee made use of "the coercive influences of representations and actions indicating legal authority" which it did not possess. The Court said: "Of course, the Committee had no such power; the exercise of such power was purely arbitrary." It pointed out that a man whom the Committee sought to convict of contempt was present before the Committee "only by virtue of the coercive influences of illegal processes and the exercise of illegal, arbitrary power." (U.S. *v.* James H. Dolsen.)

b. To make use of such blacklist by placing it at the disposal of private employers, in violation of law, as shown by the demand by the then chairman that employers utilize such blacklist for the discharge of men and women from employment. All of this is outside of the legislative function of Congress.

c. To intervene in the affairs of trade unions with the same coercive power to influence the choice of one union as against another as a bargaining agent preferred by the employer, in defiance of federal law. All of this is outside the legislative function of Congress.

d. To intervene with the pretended authority of Congress, and with the usurped police power of virtual arrest and lawless seizure, in the national and state elections, in the effort to defeat candidates and political policies representing the New Deal tendencies. This was done, for example, in Minnesota to defeat a candidate for governor, and in California to defeat candidates for governor and United States Senator, respectively.

e. To employ on the government payroll one or more agents of

subversive fascist, Nazi, and anti-Semitic organizations, conducting simulated "investigations," so as to build up and utilize such Nazi, fascist, and anti-Semitic organizations against the trade unions and political movements of labor and progressive groups, especially attempting to stimulate such fascist organizations as a lawless force to be used against the Communist Party. All of this was evidenced in the so-called examination of the fascist leader of the "Silver Shirt Legion." He testified: "I thought Mr. Hitler had done an excellent job in Germany for the Germans," that he was promoting his fascist organization by preaching the "sterilization of Jews," that the Jews "are 98 per cent Communist," that he "founded the Silver Legion in 1933, contiguous to the appearance of the so-called New Deal of the Democratic administration. . . . to propagandize exactly the same principles that Mr. Dies and this Committee are engaged in prosecuting right now; in other words, antagonism to subversive influence in the United States."\* One of the booklets he attempted to circulate in 100,000 copies was a work written by J. Parnell Thomas, then a member of this Committee and now its chairman.

f. To use the pretended authority of a committee of Congress to influence the foreign policy of the United States by baiting and branding as "subversive" and "un-American" those Americans who support the policy of adherence to the United Nations. By means of fantastic slanders borrowed from the Nazi party of Germany, this Committee has sought to foment hatred of other nations, and particularly the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in the interest of the reactionary political trends toward abandonment of the policies of collective peace adopted by this country under the leadership of Roosevelt.

Fourth, the composition of this Committee is contrary to law, in that it does not consist solely of persons lawfully holding membership in the House of Representatives of the United States. At least one person who is not duly and lawfully seated as a member of the House of Rep-

\* *Record of the House Committee on Un-American Activities*, Vol. 12, pp. 7207-08.—Ed.



representatives is acting as a member of the Committee. It is an established principle of law that a taint of illegality in a body vested with public authority, even if long tolerated, becomes intolerable and of great importance when by its actions the rights and liberties of men and women are placed in jeopardy.

When a body, tainted with illegality in its origin, invokes criminal law to inflict penalties upon men and women for failure to comply with arbitrary commands, unlawful searches and seizures, bodily kidnapping, libel and property damage, solely under the cloak of authority purportedly derived from Congress, then the victims have the right and the public authority has the duty to scrutinize with cold logic the claims of authority of such a committee.

On this ground, too, I challenge this Committee's authority. I deny its claim to be a lawfully constituted committee of the House of Representatives of the United States. I challenge its right to call and question witnesses or to perform any of the functions of a lawfully constituted committee of the House of Representatives. John E. Rankin, acting as a member of your committee, is not a lawfully elected, nor duly seated member of the House of Representatives of the United States. He holds his seat in Congress in violation of the Constitution and beyond the power of the House under Article I, Section 5, of the Constitution to "be the judge of the election, returns, and qualifications of its own members." Congress has unquestioned authority to be the judge of those matters under Article I, Section 5, of the Constitution. But it has no right to qualify as representatives from a State a larger number of persons than apportioned to that State under other provisions of the Constitution.

Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution says: "But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the . . . inhabitants of such State, being 21 years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such . . .

citizens shall bear to the whole number of . . . citizens 21 years of age in such State."\*

I dispute the lawfulness of the tenure of a seat in Congress and therefore membership in this committee by John E. Rankin.

At the opening of the 80th Congress, the House of Representatives had authority to seat whatever person or persons it might itself judge to be duly elected and qualified as a representative from Mississippi. It has such authority independently of the judgment of any other authority, *provided* only that the *number* seated should not exceed the limitation fixed by Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The House of Representatives went beyond its authority in seating *seven* persons as representatives of the state of Mississippi. The total number of inhabitants of Mississippi "21 years of age, and citizens of the United States," at the time of the election of November, 1946, was in excess of the number 1,195,079 which was the number found by the Census of 1940. Allowance being made for voluntary absentions from voting, no less than 750,000 would be the normal number of citizens of Mississippi who would actually cast their votes in an election in which the right to vote was neither "denied" nor "in any way abridged." But only 46,493 votes were cast in Mississippi in that election. Thus well above 700,000 citizens of Mississippi of voting age failed to vote for reasons that cannot be assumed to be voluntary.

The Fourteenth Amendment was proposed by Congress and ratified by all northern states and twelve southern states. Its purpose was to remove from American life the disfranchisement of the Negro people by which Rankin now sits in the House and Bilbo is striving to be seated in the Senate. Its first section determined, and removed from the jurisdiction of Congress and the states, the status of citizens as "all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to its jurisdiction." Its second section equally determined as a matter of Constitutional law, and for the purpose of removing the matter from the power of Congress, that when the right to vote is denied "or in any way

\* The word "male" was eliminated by the Nineteenth Amendment (Woman Suffrage) to the U.S. Constitution, ratified in 1920.—*Ed.*

abridged," "the basis for representation therein shall be reduced" in the same proportion.

The Constitution declared that this reduction shall take place even if the abridgement of the right to vote is entirely *legal*, that is, if the right is "in any way abridged." This provision has the sole purpose of preventing the seating of persons in the House of Representatives of the United States whose "election" was accomplished by barring citizens from the polls as in the case of the disgraceful fraud (regardless of whether it be a "legal" fraud) by which Rankin was allegedly elected. It applies to "sophisticated" methods of disfranchisement, as it is put by *American Jurisprudence* (vol. 18).

The second section of this Amendment has the express purpose of protecting the right to vote of the Negro people of the South. Its method is to prohibit the seating of more than a reduced number of persons who might claim seats in Congress on otherwise "lawful" certificates of election from states in which the Negro people were denied the vote. This was recognized by the United States Supreme Court which said:

"We doubt very much whether any action of a state not directed by way of discrimination against the Negroes as a class, or on account of their race, will ever be held to come within the purview of this provision. It is so clearly a provision for that race and that emergency, that a strong case would be necessary for its application to any other." (Slaughter House Cases, April 14, 1873; decision written by Mr. Justice Miller.)

The subsequent drive against the Constitution of the United States succeeded by means of a number of crimes. These included murders of no less than 4,000 Negro citizens partly under the aegis of the Ku Klux Klan of which Theodore G. Bilbo is now an open and boastful member, and by the support of which more than 100,000 citizens were disfranchised in the First Congressional District of Mississippi in order to bring about the "election" of John E. Rankin by 5,429 votes.

There is no serious denial that the Constitution is flagrantly violated in the seating of seven alleged representatives of Mississippi in the

House of Representatives, or that the Congress itself has no power to seat more than a reduced number.

The general cynicism that has been assumed in the civic and political corruption personified by John E. Rankin is depicted in so well recognized an authority as the *Encyclopedia Americana*. It states that "such amendments as have been added to the Constitution to promote equality of electoral qualifications have not been rigorously enforced by the central government. Such amendments are almost the biggest blind spots of Congress and the national administration." It undertakes to explain the habitual and overt violations of the 14th Amendment as "inevitable," saying: "Suffrage qualifications have been laid down by the nation which are contrary to the mores of large elements of its population."

The *mores* (that is, the customs) here referred to are the customs by which men of the Bilbo and Rankin political type systematically and by organized violence and conspiracy prevent the majority of the population of several southern states from exercising the right to vote. They are the customs in accord with which five Negroes were murdered by the supporters of Talmadge in Georgia in 1946 in the regular process of suppressing the Negroes' right to vote. The *Encyclopedia* apologetically explains that "Shrewd, or politically minded, executives and congressmen long ago realized that such rules were impracticable, hence unenforceable." It fully admits that such states "are open to the definite penalty of the 14th Amendment," but it adds that "it seems tacitly understood that no serious effort will be made to enforce the amendment strictly."

This authority says that the Constitution, in so far as this provision is concerned, is "allowed to slide gently into the discard in fairly strict accord with the warnings of the sociologists."\*

The "sociologists" in this case are, for example, Bilbo, who openly declares "I am a member of the Ku Klux Klan" and speaks on the Senate floor in despicable terms of Negroes, Jews, and Italians, and advocates the disfranchisement of further millions of Americans, and

\* John W. Tait, Ph.D., Kansas Wesleyan University, in *Encyclopedia Americana*, vol. 10, pp. 72-73, 1946.—Ed.



Rankin, under whose guidance this committee conducts an "investigation" allegedly for legislative purposes of Congress by enquiring "how many Jews there are in the Communist Party."

Practically all the 550,000 Negro citizens of Mississippi of voting age remained away from the polls under threats of murder made by the leader of the Democratic Party of Mississippi and its candidate for United States Senator. He openly spoke of murder as a means he favored for keeping the Negro citizens from voting.

The interpretation of the United States Constitution upon which the election of Messrs. John E. Rankin and Theodore G. Bilbo to the House and Senate in 1946 depends is the Dred Scott Decision of ninety years ago. According to this decision Negroes were "so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect," and Negroes living in the South were not included in the words "people" and "citizens." The purpose of the Fourteenth Amendment is to make that interpretation forever impossible.

I speak as a Communist in defending the Constitution against you who are subverting it. But I think I am expressing here the point of view of all those who defend the rights guaranteed to the American people by the United States Constitution. It is the point of view of those who, in these dangerous times in which we live, wish to preserve our civil liberties as a means of solving the grave problems of our nation in accord with its great progressive traditions, its Constitution, and its democratic institutions.

Yes, we, the American Communists, together with great numbers of other patriotic Americans, will carry this fight to the people as a struggle to preserve the character of this nation as a democratic republic. We will carry on this fight in the spirit of the American Constitution.

We are confident that we will win this fight, and that the Gestapo which you seek to implant in the American system in place of our constitutional liberties will go down as an ugly memory along with the Alien and Sedition Laws which once menaced Jefferson with arrest, and threatened the party he founded with suppression as a "foreign agent."

Your un-American assaults upon the Constitution will be rejected

by the American people as were the similar deeds of A. Mitchell Palmer and his assistant, J. Edgar Hoover, who, after World War I, tried as you do to destroy the great American trade unions and the political rights of labor, the farmers, and the Negro people.

# *Part Two*

## PATRIOTS AND TRAITORS

*Let us act together—now—with all the strength of our unity. . . .*

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### JOHN SENTINEL, UN-AMERICAN

*The very un-American John Sentinel is today a peculiarly American problem.*

[Speech (abridged) delivered in Milwaukee, Wis.,  
January, 1946.]

As you know, I am here for a very special purpose. I am here to present the case of the people *vs.* one John Sentinel. I come here to charge that the accused, Mr. Sentinel, is guilty of un-American activity; that he is guilty of subversive activity injurious to the welfare, progress and peace of the United States.

It is well known that for a period of sixty days—from September 23 to November 21, 1946—an editorial writer for the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, writing under the fictitious name of John Sentinel, carried on a particularly vicious form of psychological warfare against the people of Milwaukee.

What were the motives behind this sixty-day vendetta? You will note the significance of its timing. The Allis-Chalmers strike, provoked by the N.A.M. and an arrogant management, and willfully prolonged to destroy the union, was then in its sixth month. This was also the month in which the campaign in a crucial national election reached its climax.

I charge that John Sentinel acted with malicious intent. I charge that his purpose was to break the Allis-Chalmers strike, and disrupt and destroy Local 248, United Automobile Workers (U.A.W.). I charge that his purpose was to defeat candidate Edmund Bobrowicz and the whole pro-Roosevelt slate in last November's election. I shall establish further that these immediate and contemptible objectives were also part of a nationwide conspiracy against the welfare and democratic rights of the American people.

The defendant is not present to hear the charges against him, because John Sentinel is not one man, but several men. He is a multiple fifth columnist and journalistic spokesman of reaction. Nevertheless, he can be identified—and I shall identify him.

John Sentinel works and speaks for William Randolph Hearst. It is therefore a matter of common knowledge that he has a dishonorable war record, since Hearst's fifth-column activities were highly valued by Adolf Hitler. It is well known that Franklin Roosevelt was Hearst's enemy, and that the Nazi war criminal, von Ribbentrop, was Hearst's friend.

Moreover, Hearst and Sentinel are incorrigible strikebreakers, as any American worker can testify. That is why John Sentinel is also the representative of the Allis-Chalmers corporation and its Wall Street backers. Therefore, he is the whole open shop cabal that wars against the living standards and trade union rights of all Wisconsin workers. And here it should be noted that while the Allis-Chalmers Co. has up till now stubbornly refused to meet the wage demands of Local 248, and has used the police to assault its members on the picket line, Allis-Chalmers pockets millions in 1946 tax rebates from the U.S. Treasury.

Nor is that all. John Sentinel is the local mouthpiece of the Republican Party of Hoover, Vandenberg, Taft, and Colonel McCormick. He ran interference for their candidates in last November's election. He

greased the way for their current and vicious anti-labor legislation in the 80th Congress. He tried to soften up opposition to the yellow-dog injunction, and win support for bills to rob labor of its right to strike. He tries to curb labor's political power and destroy its trade unions. Moreover, in behalf of Hearst and his like, John Sentinel helped cook up a war hysteria to back our Republican-dictated, bipartisan "get-tough" foreign policy against the United Nations.

In addition, John Sentinel is the voice of every renegade from the Wisconsin labor and progressive movements. He is the stool pigeon who sings his lies for a price. He is the miserable rat who runs to the class enemy for shelter at the first sign of storm.

Of course, John Sentinel is also a sinister element in the F.B.I. and in the Justice Department, which today betray the sacred trust the American people originally placed upon these government bodies. Sentinel's masters, J. Edgar Hoover and Attorney General Tom Clark, freed the war-time traitors, Donald Day and Axis Sally, and let the sixteen seditionists go scot free. They shield the Ku Klux Klan, the lynchers, and the anti-Semites, American Action Inc., and the Talmadge usurpers of power in Georgia. They refuse to prosecute Bilbo, either for his racist crimes or for his war contracts thefts. Yet, they demand heavy fines against the coal miners, and shut their eyes to the law-breaking of the big trusts and monopolies.

As you see, this John Sentinel is no flesh and blood person. He is a composite of all the evil forces seeking to subvert our democratic American institutions and subject the American people to the terror rule of the most fascist-minded trusts and monopolies.

You may recall that this John Sentinel had some German cousins, recently deceased. These Nazis were the most experienced, ruthless—and *successful*—red-baiters the world has ever seen. They actually did drive the Communists officially out of the German labor movement, and in the process destroyed the German trade unions and the Weimar Republic. And when they had done so, John Sentinel, alias Allis-Chalmers and associates, praised Hitler's "firm" labor policy and envied the "industrial peace" of the Nazi slave system.

John Sentinel's German cousins proclaimed a "get-tough" foreign policy, and put it into practice. John Sentinel, alias William Randolph



Hearst, lauded their statesmanship in building the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo "anti-Communist" Axis. John Sentinel, alias Herbert Hoover, alias Robert Taft, alias Col. McCormick, hailed the "peaceful" aims of the fascist alliance. John Sentinel, alias Arthur Vandenberg, vilified Roosevelt as a warmonger when he demanded that the Axis aggressors be quarantined.

All during the war, in a hundred disguises and under a thousand names, the John Sentinels sought to disrupt the Anglo-American-Soviet victory coalition. But to no avail. His German cousins, the Nazi war criminals, were in the end brought to trial before the august tribunal of the United Nations. They pleaded that they had acted only to "save" Europe from the expansionist ambitions of "Red imperialism," and the world from the "menace" of communism.

The millions of men, women, and children whom the Nazi war criminals murdered in concentration camps, gas chambers, and crematories were the human sacrifice laid on the anti-Communist altar at which John Sentinel worships today. When John Sentinel's Nazi cousins were sentenced to hang by the neck until dead, every decent American knew that a measure of justice had at long last been done. But John Sentinel, alias Robert Taft, shocked the conscience of our nation and the world, publicly and shamelessly mourning their fate, and charging not the criminals but the high court of the United Nations with barbarous cruelty.

The very un-American John Sentinel is today a peculiarly American problem. His *lebensraum* has shrunk considerably since the United Nations victory over the Axis enemies. True, American influence maintains his official standing in the Anglo-American zones in Germany, in Franco Spain, and in Kuomintang China. Under the protection of British troops and U.S.A. diplomacy, he still operates in Greece. But in most of Europe, if he escaped being shot for a collaborator, he lives the life of an outcast, discredited, and without influence.

The people of Europe learned about John Sentinel, alias Quisling, the hard way. They learned only after they had permitted their John Sentinels to divide and disorient the labor-progressive camp, paving the way for fascism to seize power. Communists were not the only ones to suffer. Social-Democrats and Catholics, Gentiles as well as Jews,

intellectuals and workers—all paid the same price. *Fascism plays no favorites among progressives.* It tramples on the honest dupes of red-baiting, and on the wise guys who know better, yet seek "safety" in silence.

There is still time for Americans to profit from these bitter lessons of history. *But the time is running out—fast.* John Sentinel's super-duper red-baiting drive in Milwaukee is typical of what is going on throughout our country. We are today experiencing something more than the chronic anti-Communist sickness which has too long afflicted the American body politic. And something even worse than the acute attack, symbolized by the infamous Palmer raids, which the country suffered after World War I, and from whose consequences the labor and progressive movement was slow to recover.

History has established that anti-communism, if it is not combated and overcome in time, can ravage and destroy the most powerful of modern nations. John Sentinel's current frenzy is a danger signal that its virulent poison is threatening the very life of democracy in America.

We Communists have a special obligation to help all progressives immunize themselves against infection from the epidemic of red-baiting which has now reached unprecedented and dangerous proportions in our country. Our antidote to the John Sentinels lies in the truth—the truth of who we are and what we stand for. It rests, further, in unity, in common action of all anti-fascists and progressives.

We Communists are Americans, workers and Marxists. We are, therefore, better Americans—for we are in league with America's bright future which will fulfill the promise of its glorious revolutionary past.

Our Marxist-Leninist science teaches us that the reactionary class of John Sentinel has all but lived out its time, and that capitalism can no longer contribute to America's progress, that it has become monopoly capitalism which engenders crises, wars, and fascism. We know that our class, the American working class, is the class of the future, of progress. Our interests, the interests of the Communists, are inseparable from those of the American workers and all the common people.

We have faith that our people, the American people, will march ahead along the road of social progress, and eventually establish

socialism, a society in which there will be no exploitation of man by man. This faith, based on the fundamental aims and interests of the American working class and firmly rooted in the science of Marx and Lenin, has already been justified by history.

But we Communists live very much in the present. We share with the workers and people of America today's aspirations and fears, today's struggles for jobs and homes, wages and security, equality and civil rights, democracy, and peace. That is why we whole-heartedly support the wage and strike movements of the trade unions, why we advocate united labor and people's action to resist the "bi-partisan" anti-labor offensive of the trusts and to defeat their undemocratic anti-labor legislation. That is why we advocate the common action of labor and all progressives to defend the rights of the Negro people against the lynch mob. And that is also why we demand a return to Roosevelt's policy of lasting peace based on Big Three Unity.

John Sentinel, like those for whom he operates, is the enemy of the American working class. He comes into court with the unclean hands of the trusts and monopolies. But he pretends to be labor's friend. It is as a "friend" that he counsels the labor and progressive movements to drive Communists from their ranks. His purpose is to divide labor and to paralyze its ability to meet the sharpening offensive of monopoly reaction in and outside of the 80th Congress. His purpose is to decapitate the progressive camp in the face of the coming economic crisis which the foreign and domestic policies of the trusts hasten.

Milwaukee has given us a valuable case study of how the John Sentinels use Hitler's Big Lie technique. This should be studied and mastered by all who wish successfully to resist the aims of the most predatory economic royalists now seeking to drag the nation into an American form of fascism and imperialist adventure abroad.

John Sentinel does not deny that we Communists helped to build the great modern American labor movement. Delving into my own "dark past," Sentinel came up with the revelation that in 1936 I stated that the Communist Party was "aiding in strengthening the Wisconsin C.I.O. movement and actively assisting in the drives to organize Allis-Chalmers, the packing house workers, and the Case auto workers."

To John Sentinel (alias Hearst and Allis-Chalmers) this in itself is enough to damn our Communist Party. But Sentinel sort of suspected that Milwaukee workers might not hold it against us. So he covered his traces with the base lie that Communists join the trade unions of their industry or craft for purposes apart from, and contrary to, the purposes of non-Communist trade unionists.

John Sentinel's *Mein Kampf* "argument" is a little difficult to follow, but I assure you I am quoting him almost verbatim. He says the Communists "incite" American workers to strike for higher wages, but don't really want them to get higher wages. Because if the workers get higher wages they will be satisfied with the American economic system and won't help the Communists "overthrow" it.

If you believe this, you will have to believe that the Allis-Chalmers corporation is run by Communists, or at the very least by fellow travelers. Isn't it the Allis-Chalmers corporation which is denying wage demands and union rights of the auto workers and undermining their belief in the system of "free-enterprise"?

But John Sentinel himself gives the show away. Do you know how to tell a Communist from a non-Communist trade unionist? The Communist, says John Sentinel, only "pretends" to fight for the immediate demands of the workers, while trying to make sure that they are not granted, so that the worker will support the "ultimate demand" that he "overthrow" the American system. To the "genuine American trade union leader"—this is a direct quote—"the immediate demands of labor are legitimate and *final* objectives."

In other words, though he be as hungry as a church mouse, the "good" worker who wants to make sure he is not being duped by the Communists, must never, never come back to ask for more.

The most vicious and dangerous device now being used to break up the growing American labor-progressive coalition and undermine the militant trade unions is that of red-baiting, especially the device of attempting to present the American Communists as "agents of a foreign power," as elements "alien" to the camp of labor and progress "who seek to dominate it for un-American purposes."

John Sentinel worked this device overtime during his sixty-day red-baiting binge. It is the stock in trade of all red-baiters, and, unfortu-

nately, through endless repetition, it has gained some credence even among certain honest workers and progressives.

We Communists repeat what we have said many times before: We 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 tomorrow, in war or in peace, we will loyally defend the genuine interests of our people, our country, as we have done in the past.

The genuine national interests of our people and country are not served by imperialist adventure, or by economic chaos, mass unemployment, breadlines, and new Hoovervilles. John Sentinel lies when he says that we Communists "use the strike weapon as one means of preventing a stable American economic life." We Communists support the wage and strike movements of the American workers in order to protect and improve the rights and living standards of our people and their trade unions; and as one of the means of delaying the coming economic crisis.

John Sentinel lies again when he says that the Soviet Union "hopes to benefit" from the economic crisis being created in our country by the predatory greed of the men of the American trusts. The Soviet Union put an end to economic crisis in its own land by getting rid of its men of the trusts. The strength of its socialist system of production has been demonstrated, in peace and in war.

Just recently, Marshal Stalin told Elliott Roosevelt that it is not only possible, but it is wise and entirely within the bounds of realization for the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. to live side-by-side in peace. It is far easier, and more desirable, to live and trade in peace with a prosperous and stable nation than with one torn by crises and economic chaos.

The genuine national interests of our people and our country demand more bread and butter, fewer guns and no atom bombs, more houses at home, fewer military bases abroad. John Sentinel lies again when he says that we Communists are "Soviet agents" because we fight for peace based on the Roosevelt policy of Big Three unity, and against huge armaments appropriations and atom bomb diplomacy. . . .

The opening argument in the case of the people *vs.* one John Sentinel is now in. I have fully established the identity of the accused. In all



his multiple guises and personalities, Sentinel is the agent of the fascist-minded monopolies.

I have exposed his long record of crimes against the American people, including the crime of association with the fascist enemies of our country during World War II. I have shown his un-American purposes, his immediate objectives of last autumn, and long-range schemes for putting fascism in power in the United States and plunging our nation into imperialist adventures abroad. I think I have proved beyond any reasonable doubt that the accused is a menace not only to our Communist Party—as he claims—but to every decent-thinking and liberty-loving American citizen.

The prosecution does not rest its case at this time. John Sentinel has boasted that the damage he did here in Milwaukee "can be duplicated in every part of the country." I shall therefore press our case against him in every part of the country, in every trade union and progressive organization, wherever Americans gather to plan and work for their welfare, progress, and peace.

We Communists will know how to defend our own democratic rights and how to protect our own members and organization. But we must solemnly warn all other progressives that they will find no safety for themselves in cowardly silence, while we Communists bear the first onslaught of reaction's attack.

American democracy will know safety and achieve progress *only* when the American people have curbed the powers of monopoly capital, and run the John Sentinels out of public life. We urge our fellow citizens to *act* while there is yet time, and to act *unitedly*. We warn them that the time grows short and every moment wasted exacts a heavy penalty.

## CAN THE PROGRESSIVES UNITE?

*The common defense of democracy cannot be plotted in a smoke-filled room.*

[Speech (abridged) delivered in Chicago, February, 1947.]

The common people are deeply disturbed about our postwar United States.

All who uphold the Roosevelt policy of an Economic Bill of Rights, and of lasting peace based on Big Three unity, are gravely concerned at the betrayals of that policy by the Administration and Congress.

The American people know, without being told, that today they need 15 million homes and apartments. They know that they need economic security, a stronger Wagner Act, substantial wage increases, a people's tax program, and an end to lynching, Jim Crow, and anti-Semitism. They know that they need more democracy and a durable peace.

We Communists are fully aware of these needs of our people. For these are our needs too. But we should like to say to our fellow Americans that in our opinion there is one paramount need which takes precedence over all others. That is the need for unity: for unity of action by all sections of organized labor; for the common action of labor and all progressives, of all the democratic forces and elements in American life. Without unity, all of us will stand helpless before those who ignore and flaunt our other needs.

This anti-fascist and progressive unity has become the crying need of the hour. And the hour is later than most think. Such an hour of opportunity came once to pre-war Germany. But the minutes ticked away while too many German anti-fascists debated and split hairs. When the precious hour had passed, the Nazis were already entrenched in power.

Prior to Munich, opportunity knocked again for the democratic and peace-loving peoples and nations of the world, calling them to quaran-

tine the Axis aggressors. But the Western democracies let this opportunity go by. They rejected the policy of collective security which could have prevented, or quickly ended, World War II.

We Americans are peculiarly fortunate. Our land escaped invasion. Our people were spared the horrors of the concentration camp. To us has been given the rare privilege of learning from the tragic experience of others. All the more terrible, therefore, would be our fate if we were not to avail ourselves of this privilege. All the more shameful would be our collective guilt if we were to fail in wisdom and courage when life put us to the test.

Comrades! Fellow Americans! *The testing time for the American people is here, is now.*

All men of good will agree that it is desirable and necessary that America's progressives unite. But still the debate rages on two key questions: *can* the progressives unite, and *how* can they unite? This discussion has already been going on too long, without resolution. The reactionaries have closed their ranks. But still the camp of labor and progress is torn with division. . . .

In addition to the existing dangerous division in labor's ranks, partisan and tactical differences remain unresolved between many progressives seeking a common objective. For instance, in preparing for the 1948 elections, some progressives hold that the candidates and program of reaction can be defeated *only* by forming a third party, a new, people's, anti-monopoly and anti-war party. Others insist that this common aim can be realized *only* through the progressives winning control of the Democratic Party. This disagreement as to *means* still impedes the co-ordinated action of all progressive elements who share common immediate objectives and who desire to ensure the election of a pro-Roosevelt president and Congress in 1948.

Then, too, the democratic camp is torn asunder today by the diverse position of progressives toward the Communists. The question of whether Communists and non-Communists can co-operate is still being used by the Red-baiters, by reaction, to divide labor and the progressives.

On this question, we Communists state quite frankly that we subscribe to fundamental aims and work toward long-range objectives,

which are not today shared by the majority of American progressives. But we warn that this difference of opinion between Communists and non-Communists is being used by the reactionaries everywhere to foster and aggravate *all* divisions in the labor-progressive camp.

In the interest of defeating the divisive tactics of reaction and of furthering the unity of all progressives, we Communists wish to make our position crystal clear on all questions.

We Communists are Americans, workers, and Marxists. Our long-range objective is socialism—a system of society free of crises and war, of fascism and of man's exploitation by man. Historically, this is the goal toward which the American working class also strives. Because we are Marxists, we are better Americans. For we are in league with America's progressive future, which will fulfill the promise of its glorious revolutionary past.

Precisely because we are Communists, we are patriots. We are true to the democratic traditions of our country, and give *our only allegiance to the sovereign power that resides in the American people*—to whose democratic will we submit. As American Marxists, we take the American road to socialism, understanding that it need not necessarily prove to be identical with that traveled by other nations.

While our ultimate goal is the eventual socialist reorganization of society, we Communists live very much in the present. The policy and position of the Communist Party today *is based on the realities of today*, on the needs and aspirations of all progressives, and on the possibilities for progress that exist in the present period of our country's history.

That is why we state that the supreme task of this period—for Communists and non-Communists alike—is to curb the monopolies and check and defeat pro-fascist reaction.

That is our position. That is our policy. We, on our part, will subordinate everything to realize this limited, though indispensable, objective, without which there can be no social progress in these United States.

The liberal newspaper, the *Chicago Sun*, agrees with us that the real danger in America is that of reaction and that "the function of a progressive movement is to fight reaction." But, unfortunately, it also

voices the opinion of many liberals that differences on fundamental and long-range aims must prevent the co-operation of non-Communist progressives with Communists. In a recent editorial, the *Sun* said:

"There have been notable instances of progressive co-operation with Communists when the two movements had a common objective, such as winning the war. But the objectives are not common when it comes to long-range political action in the United States."

Tonight, as we honor the memory of Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass, we recall that the problem of taking joint action, despite differences over long-range objectives, is not altogether new to American progressives.

In the 1850's, the progressives of our country were an oddly assorted company, gathered, Lincoln said, "from the four winds," and divided by many differences of interest and opinion. The reactionary offensive of their time threw down its own challenge, and the progressives sought the road to joint action in order to curb the feudal slave power of the South and check and defeat its aggressive ambitions.

The vast majority of progressives, Lincoln among them, subscribed only to the limited aim of curbing the slave oligarchy and checking the spread of slavery. But there were some with more advanced, long-range objectives. Among these were the Abolitionists, who proclaimed their goal to be the abolition of slavery. In addition, there were the early Socialists, the followers of Karl Marx and the historic advance guard of our American Communist Party, who stood four square, not only for the abolition of chattel slavery, but also for the abolition of capitalist wage slavery.

A group of troubled progressive leaders, unable to decide if those opposed only to the expansion of slavery could act jointly with the Abolitionists and the Socialists, went one day to put this question to an elder statesman, Martin Van Buren. The old ex-President, no flaming radical, gave them this sage reply:

"You must be very strong if you are already picking and choosing. I had supposed we wanted *every* man who is opposed to the expansion of slavery."



We Communists cherish no illusions about the strength of the labor and progressive camp today. We are quite certain that it needs *every* man and woman who is opposed to the offensive of the trusts, to reaction and fascism. We cannot agree with the *Sun* that the end of the anti-Axis war put an end to either the possibility or the urgent necessity for co-operation between Communists and non-Communists. We cannot agree that the end of the war has narrowed the ground on which all progressives can and must take a common stand. On the contrary, we are certain that the community of interests which can and must unite progressives is daily growing wider.

Victory over the Axis has not removed the remnants of fascism abroad, either in Western Germany, Greece, Spain, or Japan. Nor has victory over Hitler and the Mikado diminished the menacing threat of fascism at home. The pro-fascist coup d'état of the K.K.K. and Talmadge in Georgia, the sinister subversive activities of Colonel McCormick and American Action Inc. in Chicago, and the reactionary anti-labor drive of the N.A.M. cabal in Congress, suffice to make this clear. Thus, the anti-fascist aims for which the war was fought are still a common bond uniting all who continue the struggle for the realization of those aims.

Now, there are some progressives who say—yes, we agree with you Communists; we are in accord with your anti-fascist objectives; however, we cannot work with you because we disagree with your "tactics."

We Communists desire to discuss with all other progressives, not only our immediate and long-range objectives, but, and with equal frankness, our strategy and tactics, the means we employ to achieve the common end. We boast no "secret weapon" to mount against the predatory trusts and their political henchmen. As Communists, we place our full reliance in the open, public, mass action of labor and all democratic forces.

We say that the common defense of democracy cannot be plotted in a smoke-filled room. It must be publicly organized in every shop and factory, every ward and precinct, every block in every neighborhood, throughout our country. Our watchword is unity—unity of purpose, of action, of struggle.

We agree with the *Chicago Sun* that unity must be based on *prin-*

*inciple*. That is why we Communists insist upon one basic principle, and why we place *only one* condition for establishing joint anti-fascist action and the broadest democratic coalition of all progressives, namely, that unity of action, that the common effort of all progressives shall be directed *against* the fascist-minded trusts. And we propose, further, that *all* who oppose reaction and fascism and are willing to struggle against the common enemy be accepted into the labor-progressive camp, regardless of political affiliation, race, or creed.

But we do not propose that others subscribe to, or help advance, our long-range objectives, much less make this a condition for entering into alliance with them. We do not even insist that they agree with us on all the burning issues of the immediate present.

For instance, we believe it so vital to block the pending vicious anti-labor legislation in Congress that we call for the joint action of all who oppose its passage—even those who do not support the American workers' just demand for substantial wage increases. We call for the joint action of all who support the workers' wage demands—even if some of these do not understand the need for defending the Wagner Act. We call for a united defense of the inalienable, democratic rights of the Negro people—welcoming to it all defenders of democracy, even if some of these do not grasp the threat to democracy inherent in monopoly's anti-labor and tax program. We fight for peace, for fulfillment of the Potsdam agreement on Germany, for universal disarmament, for outlawing the atomic bomb, for co-operation with all who uphold the Roosevelt peace policy, regardless of their partisan ties or their domestic policies.

We work, but do not wait, for agreement to be arrived at in the top echelons of the labor and progressive movement. We understand that *now, as never before, the forging of common action is the business of the common man*. We therefore call upon the common man in the factory and on the farm, in ward and precinct, to initiate that grass-roots unity of action which is and must be the life-blood of united labor action and the foundation on which an effective democratic coalition can be built.

At the same time, we seek to bring into joint labor and citizens' action every progressive force on a city, state, and national scale. We

hold that what *must* be done, *can* be done. We hold that each and every reactionary assault against the people and democracy can be resisted and defeated by the unity of all progressives and their leaders. We hold that each and every reactionary attack inside or outside of Congress must be resisted and defeated in time. Only thus can the deep desire of the American people to save our country from the hell of fascism be fulfilled.

We Communists ask no special favors for ourselves from those who gather in the camp of labor and progress. We ask to be judged only by the loyalty, devotion, and ability we display in upholding and carrying out a common program and the democratic will of the majority in any united front or coalition, or in any trade union and other mass organization.

But we will not accept second-class citizenship in the ranks of the anti-fascists. In all modesty, we think we have earned our right to live and work among all who oppose the reactionaries and fascists. The Communist Party, led by Foster and Johnstone, sparked the drive to organize the unorganized in industrial unions. From Scottsboro to Monroe, Georgia, we have been the tireless champions of the rights of the Negro people. We are proud to be known as the "premature" anti-fascists who have fought fascism, resolutely, everywhere—who called for united resistance to fascism and aggression in China, Ethiopia, Spain, and elsewhere. We are proud to be in the vanguard of those who demand that the agreements of Teheran, Moscow, and Potsdam be faithfully carried out, and that Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights be enacted and realized.

We have been and we are the champions of unity, of anti-fascist and democratic unity, at home and abroad. We have been and are both the pioneers and the Jimmy Higginses, who work for unity wherever there is even one member of the Communist Party.

Stronger winds of democratic unity must sweep our country, gathering up all that is wholesome, progressive, and anti-fascist in American life. The advocates of government of the people, by the people, and for the people must not yield ground to the proponents of government of the trusts, by the trusts, and for the trusts.

The blitz which pro-fascist reaction prepares against the American

people and their democratic institutions can and must be averted. It must be averted by united action now, while there is still time to act. Those who hope to escape the consequences of a blitz today dare not waste time debating over where they want to go tomorrow.

The good and tested American axiom that *in union there is strength* has become the categorical imperative for labor and all progressives today. A powerful labor and democratic coalition is within our grasp. We have only to reach out our hands, seize it and shape it, before the opportunity to do so is snatched from us.

The hour for common action—*of, by, and for the common man*—is here for all progressives, non-Communists and Communists alike.

Let us meet its challenge boldly, and seize its opportunities with determination.

Let us act together—now—with all the strength of our unity, to stem the rise of reaction and fascism, to protect our trade unions, our democratic heritage, our common interests.

Let us act together to ensure a progressive and peaceful future for our people, for America, our own, our native land.

## WE ACCUSE!

*The bipartisan conspirators who overthrew Roosevelt's peace policies now attempt to overthrow peace itself.*

[Speech delivered in Madison Square Garden on August 2, 1948, shortly after the arrest and indictment of the 12 Communist leaders on July 20, 1948.]

I come before you tonight not only to defend the twelve leaders of our Communist Party who have been indicted on frame-up charges of "advocating force and violence" and of "conspiring forcibly to overthrow the United States government."

I also come to prosecute the men of the trusts and their government, the advocates and practitioners of imperialist force and violence against the American people and all progressive humanity.

In the name of the American working class and its vanguard Communist Party, I charge that for some time prior to the end of the anti-Axis war, the forces of monopoly reaction were conspiring to launch a postwar offensive against the common people of America and the world.

I charge that soon after Franklin Roosevelt's death on April 12, 1945, the Truman Administration joined the G.O.P. and the N.A.M. as a full partner in this criminal conspiracy.

I charge, further, that in the period between April, 1945, and July, 1948, these bipartisan conspirators did repeatedly advocate the use of force; that they did commit many overt acts of violence to promote their reactionary aims at home and abroad.

I charge that their monstrous frame-up of our National Board is an integral part of this criminal conspiracy. It attempts to use legalized



force to smash the Communist Party, the trade unions, the growing people's peace movement, and the new Progressive Party.

I charge that this latest crime was plotted to advance the preparation of still more hideous crimes. And that chief among these is the crime of subjecting the American people to the force and violence of fascist dictatorship, and the peoples of the world to the force and violence of atomic warfare.

I charge that the sinister frame-up of our National Board is a cover for the grand larceny of the monopoly profiteers and the giant swindles of the food gamblers.

I also charge that this frame-up is a super-Pendergast election fraud, to save the Democratic Party from defeat in November, from taking the rap for its betrayals, and to bail out reaction's two-party system.

These are some of the charges on which we Communists will rest our case. We are prepared to prove them to the hilt, through a host of witnesses and authentic documents.

We will submit a Bill of Particulars. We will enumerate the overt acts of the economic royalists attempting to overthrow the trade unions through the Taft-Hartley Law. We will detail their repeated efforts to subvert the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. We will point out their criminal acts against the peace and sovereignty of other nations, committed under Wall Street's Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan.

We will prove that these separate acts are component parts of a single reactionary design. We will show that they were done with criminal intent to extract enormous profits from the labor of American workers, and to amass huge super-profits from the exploitation of foreign nations.

We will place in evidence the incendiary statements of warmongers like William Bullitt, James Byrnes, William Randolph Hearst, Herbert Hoover, and John Foster Dulles. Their incitement to drop atom bombs on the Soviet Union brands them as guilty of advocating the use of force and violence for the most hideous and criminal imperialist ends.

We will amply document our charge that both the Truman Administration and the G.O.P. are party to this criminal advocacy of a "preventive" war.

We will prove beyond a shadow of doubt that the bipartisan policy-

makers are already guilty of the crime of genocide—of mass murder—in Greece, in China, in Israel.

We will demand a full dress investigation of "Project X." We will demand visas for witnesses qualified to expose the American accomplices in the attempted assassinations of Comrades Togliatti and Tokuda, and the murder of Comrade Menendez.\*

We will prove that the Wall Street gang muscled in on, and took over, the Krupp and I. G. Farben gangs, and is hiring the criminals of World War II as its mercenaries for World War III.

There is no courtroom big enough to hold the witnesses who will testify that reaction uses the most brutal force and violence against the Negro people. They will speak for us across the land—in trade unions and churches, in giant meetings, at shop-gates and on street corners. We will call to the witness stand Mrs. Ingram and her sons, the mothers of Willie Milton and the Mosely youth, of Willie McGee and the Fergusons.

We will call spokesmen for the Jewish people to tell how the anti-Semitism of American reaction breeds crimes of force and violence.

We will call the widows of coal miners to tell how greed for profit commits murder underground. We will call the mothers and sisters of strikers slain on the picket line to identify those guilty of anti-labor force and violence.

And we will call Communists and non-Communists to testify that monopoly's red-baiting incites mob violence against private homes and public assemblies of the people, as well as government persecution and employer blacklisting.

From this platform I issue our summons. You who have felt the force and violence of capitalist oppression, you who hate the force and violence of fascism and imperialist war—the Communist Party now summons each and all of you to come forward, and bear true witness in the case of the people against the trusts.

We, the accusers, come into court with clean hands. A whole century

\* Attempts at assassination of Palmiro Togliatti and Kuichi Tokuda, leaders of the Italian and Japanese Communist Parties respectively, and the murder of Jesus Menendez, President of the Sugar Workers Union and Member of Congress in Cuba.—*Ed.*

of Marxist theory and practice refutes every moth-eaten anti-Communist slander of reaction.

We will put in evidence all that we have written and said since the July, 1945, Emergency Convention reconstituted our Communist Party. Above all, we will let our deeds tell how for nearly thirty years the Communist Party has given devoted service to the American working class and people.

Yes, we helped lead the unemployed millions in the 1930's when they overthrew the Hoovervilles and laid the groundwork for social security. Does learned counsel for the Wall Street firm of Boom & Bust want to make something of that—now, when the symptoms of an impending new economic crisis drive the monopolists to try the poison-cure of fascism and war?

Yes, we played a major part in the struggle to tear down the open shop and labor spy system, and build the great American labor movement. Does learned counsel for Injunction Harry want to make something of that—now, when the trade unions fight for life against the force and violence of the N.A.M.'s Taft-Hartley Act?

We Communists have always been in the forefront of the struggle to drive Jimcrow from our land. Yes, we mean to abolish white supremacy in the South, and smash its slave institutions—the share-cropping system and the poll-tax.

Let Attorney-General Clark tell the Negro people what the F.B.I. was doing on East 12th Street in New York City on the afternoon of July 20, when most of us were arrested, while in Stone Mountain and in Birmingham those who practice lynch violence were advocating the subversion of the Bill of Rights, and conspiring to block its enforcement by mob terror. Why wasn't the F.B.I. breaking up the K.K.K. and the Dixiecrat conspiracy?

We Communists come into court with the clean hands of anti-fascists, anti-imperialists. Yes, we Communists have drawn fascist blood—in Spain and on every battlefield of World War II. But our hands are not stained with the blood of war profits. We have never shaken hands with a fascist, nor closed a deal with cartelists.

We come into court with a matchless record in the fight for national security and peace. In peace and in war, we have ever defended,

defend now, and will always defend the true interests of our people and of America.

In solidarity with the working people of all lands, we support all movements of national liberation, and defend the national independence and sovereignty of all nations—of Israel and Puerto Rico, of China and Greece. We uphold the U.N. and seek to build it on the firm foundation of American-Soviet co-operation.

The bipartisan conspirators who overthrew Roosevelt's peace policies now attempt to overthrow peace itself. We Communists advocate that the American people unite in effective mass actions to thwart their evil design.

We Communists come into court with the clean hands of anti-capitalists, refusing to give aid and comfort to the enemies of labor and the people. We place a high value on political action. That is why we support the new independent Progressive Party, and fight the poll-tax and other restrictions on the people's right to vote. We place an equally high value on the economic action of the working class. That is why we support the trade unions and advocate working-class unity.

Despite all fables and falsehoods, we Communists do not advocate force and violence. As Marxists, we are opposed in principle to adventurism, terror, assassination, conspiracies, and coups d'état.

As Marxists we know that no social system, and least of all the capitalist system, can be overthrown by a conspiracy or by a minority. As Lenin emphasized: The organization of a society can be changed only after it has outlived its social usefulness. And it can be changed *only* when the human beings who live under its system find it no longer endurable, and decide to create a new social order. This always requires that a majority of the new and rising class, in the interests of the immense majority of the people, lead the struggle for social progress and basic change.

Always and everywhere it is the old and dying class which advocates and practices force and violence to preserve its obsolete rule. Thus did the British monarchists seek to put down the revolutionary American mercantile class. Thus did the slavocracy seek to prevent the revolutionary rise of the American industrial bourgeoisie. Thus does monopoly capitalism turn to fascism and imperialist war in an equally vain

attempt to halt the advance of the American working class and its popular allies and the social progress of all peoples.

In exercising our right to defend the immediate and vital interests of the American working class and people, we Communists also exercise our inalienable right to advocate social change—socialism.

We do *not* advocate the forceful overthrow of the United States government. But we *do* uphold the cardinal principle on which it was founded—the indefeasible right of the American people to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

We uphold the Declaration of Independence which states that "whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their happiness."

I charge that monopoly capitalism and its state power are conspiring to destroy the life, liberty, and happiness of the American people. I charge that to this end they now seek to nullify and overthrow the Declaration of Independence and Bill of Rights.

This, in brief outline, is the case we Communists bring before the jury of our American working-class peers.

No matter how many Elizabeth Dillings and Elizabeth Bentleys reaction digs up from the dregs of capitalist society, no matter what "espionage" provocations and other new frame-ups the bipartisan monopolists invent to bolster their miserable defense, we intend to press our indictment against the men of the trusts—and *make it stick*.

We remind the American people that those who tried to frame the German Communists for Hitler's Reichstag fire were hanged for their crimes by the Nüremberg tribunal. But before that happened, millions of lives were consumed in the hell-fires of World War II. If the trade unions and the other mass organizations of the American people pour their united wrath upon Truman's bipartisan Reichstag Fire, they can *put it out—now*.

In the name of peace, democracy and social progress, we Communists call on labor and all progressive Americans to join with us in accomplishing this great task now—before it is too late.



# *Part Three*

## FOR DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

*The attempt to brand as treason the patriotic struggle for peace threatens the suppression of all movements in defense of the people's living standards and democratic rights.*

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### THE MENACE OF FASCISM

*Are these just straws in the usual reactionary wind that blows after every war? Clearly, the answer is no. These are moves designed to pave the way for fascism. They are the organic parts of the fascist offensive of American monopoly capital and its preparations for a new world war.*

[Report (abridged) delivered to the Fourteenth National Convention of the Communist Party, August, 1948.]

In my report I wish to concentrate on one central question of the postwar struggle of the people for peace and democracy, namely, the growing danger of fascism and how to combat it.

Three years have passed since the end of the anti-Axis war and the military defeat of Nazi Germany, fascist Italy, and militarist Japan.

Fascism has been destroyed in the newly established democracies of

Eastern Europe where the foundations are being laid for the transition to socialism.

In Eastern Germany the process of democratization and demilitarization is well advanced. In great parts of China and in Northern Korea the victorious liberation movements have smashed the old feudal-militarist regimes and are bringing new anti-imperialist peoples' governments into being.

But in Western Germany, Anglo-American imperialism is building up monopoly capitalism, and the cartelists are again doing business under the new management of Wall Street. In U.S.-occupied Japan, the monarchy, feudalism, and the trusts remain. The Wall Street cartelists are converting Western Germany and Japan into spheres for American capital investment and control, as well as into springboards for predatory military adventures against the U.S.S.R. and the anti-imperialist governments of Eastern Europe and Asia.

In France and Italy, the decisive majority of the working class and its Communist parties fight for peace, national independence, democracy, and progress. The United States is trying to enslave these countries. It promotes the rise of clerical fascism in Italy. It seeks to prepare a fascist coup d'état in France, making use of the Blum Socialists to pave the way for the fascist De Gaullists. Similarly, American imperialism aids and tries to bolster the fascists in Greece, Spain, and Latin America.

This sharpening postwar world offensive of American imperialism, which combines the most reactionary intervention in the internal affairs of other nations with gigantic and aggressive war preparations, is accompanied by the growth of fascism in our country. The development of fascism in the United States now appears as a serious and threatening menace. The process of fascization, most directly engendered by monopoly's war drive, itself in turn serves as a key internal instrument to facilitate and accelerate Wall Street's preparations for World War III.

The United States is not Spain, nor is it Japan. It is not even Germany. As the center of world monopoly capitalism, it has become in the postwar period the chief center of world reaction. Obviously, therefore, if fascism were victorious in the U.S., it would subject the

American people to a savage regime of unparalleled terror, oppression, and exploitation. It would plunge the whole world into a new global war of unprecedented violence, horror, and death.

Only those who have eyes but will not see can be blind to the increased danger of fascism in America. Yet in some quarters the danger is denied, while in others it is not understood. Naturally, the architects and engineers of fascism and war—the monopolists and their apologists—try to conceal the process of fascization taking place under their direction. To obscure their purposes, they try to portray the United States as the citadel of democracy. They proclaim that private enterprise and the two-party system are the hallmarks of liberty. They profess that they are championing human rights—by preserving corporate and states rights. They self-righteously “justify” every act of aggression abroad and of repression at home, asserting that they safeguard democracy by “combating communism.”

In essence, the reactionary Social-Democrats and the trade union reformists subscribe to this thesis. They defend Wall Street’s reactionary drive toward fascism and war—“because” they are “opposed to totalitarianism.” They explain that the reactionary measures of the bipartisans in both foreign and domestic affairs are necessary “because” there is no other way to prevent the “infiltration and spread of communism” abroad and within the nation. They extol the virtues of “the American way of life,” and consider any form of American bourgeois political reaction a “lesser evil” compared to socialism.

These Right-wing socialist and reformist labor flunkys of the economic royalists serve their masters well by denying the real source of the fascist danger and minimizing its gravity. They divert attention from the organizing center of native fascism to its lunatic fringe. They attribute the reactionary and pro-fascist acts of the government and Congress to “bad individuals,” and not to the system of monopoly capitalism that breeds war and fascism.

There is another school of thought, embracing millions of honest but confused workers and progressives who cannot see the woods for the trees. They readily admit that the men of the American trusts have launched a reactionary postwar offensive. But they cannot distin-

guish among the varied forms through which bourgeois reaction rules and manifests itself. To them this postwar offensive of monopoly appears identical with that which followed World War I.

They point to the Palmer raids, injunctions, and "race riots" of 1919-1923, as well as to the Dawes Plan, and think that today history is merely repeating itself. They cite the current elections, the formal legal existence of the Communist Party and the trade unions as evidence that things aren't really so bad here, after all. And so they prophesy that the present reactionary offensive of big capital will quickly run its course, that the "pendulum will inevitably swing back," and automatically assure the victory of the democratic camp. These well-meaning but misled people believe that the democratic sentiments and traditions of the American people are so strong that "it can't happen here." They see the fascist drive of the monopolies only as a temporary aberration, a passing "phase," and shut their eyes to the reality of its danger.

But those who are seriously determined to win the fight against war and fascism cannot put their reliance in the tactics and weapons that sufficed for earlier struggles, nor can they allow themselves to become prisoners of a Maginot-line political psychology. They must uncover the *new features* in this postwar offensive of American monopoly, and estimate correctly how and to what extent the danger is increasing.

To this end, it is necessary first to know clearly what fascism is, to understand its class nature, and to generalize the universal features of its development.

As the history of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy tragically demonstrates, fascism in power is the open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, and most imperialistic elements of finance capital. Fascism is the power of finance capital, its organized vengeance against the working class and all militant progressives. In foreign policy, fascism is jingoism in its crudest form.

The establishment of fascism does not substitute the rule of one class for the rule of another. But neither is its advent an ordinary succession of one bourgeois government by another. Fascism is bourgeois

rule by open, terrorist dictatorship, replacing the old form of capitalist domination, bourgeois democracy.

Fascism advances toward power where the working class and the popular forces generally are weak and divided. But its advance also reflects the weaknesses and instability of capitalism, which is unable to rule in the old way, or to pursue a peaceful foreign policy.

History tells us that the development of fascism and the establishment of fascist dictatorship do not follow an identical pattern in all countries. The forms and methods of fascist rule also differ from country to country, determined by differences in the relation of class forces, national traditions, and the economic position of monopoly. But despite the specific features that mark the development of fascism in this or that country, there are certain general features which it displays always and everywhere.

Thus, while the way fascism has come to power differs in this or that country, in *every* country the drive toward fascism and its victory have been accompanied by extensive preparations for imperialist war, especially for an anti-Soviet crusade. Thus, too, while the establishment of a fascist dictatorship in certain countries has been preceded by the development of fascist mass movements, in *every* country it has been preceded by the growth of capitalist reaction and by the adoption of a system of reactionary measures to cripple and smash the trade unions, to outlaw the Communist Party, and ruthlessly oppress all national minorities.

And, while the establishment of fascism has been accompanied by the abolition of bourgeois-parliamentary government only in certain countries, and in others has maintained the forms of a sham parliamentarism, yet in *all* countries fascism has savagely wiped out all democratic liberties for the masses.

No matter how fascism develops, or by what means it comes to power, fascism everywhere, as Dimitrov pointed out in 1935, has these characteristics in common:

"Fascism is a most ferocious attack by capital on the mass of the working people;

"Fascism is unbridled chauvinism and annexationist war;

"Fascism is rabid reaction and counter-revolution;



"Fascism is the most vicious enemy of the working class and of all working people."

Why does the danger of fascism increase in the United States at this particular time? What factors impel monopoly capital, spearheaded by its most extreme and bellicose sections, to move toward fascism?

The first and most decisive factor is the special position of U.S. capitalism in the postwar period, in which the general crisis of world capitalism has become deeper and more acute. The United States emerged from the war stronger militarily and, in certain respects, economically. (The productive capacity of the U.S. increased 50 per cent during the war, etc.)

At the same time, world capitalism was much weakened in the course of the war. Fascist imperialism was shattered in Germany, Japan, and Italy. Britain and France were reduced to second-rate powers. New People's Democracies arose in Eastern Europe. Despite its great human and material losses, the Soviet Union came out of the war with its socialist system strengthened and its international influence tremendously enhanced.

The U.S. monopolies, with their swollen profits and increased productive capacity, face a relatively restricted home market and a shrinking capitalist sector of the world. Their "solution" is to embark on an aggressive program of imperialist expansion and intervention. They seek to bolster and restore capitalism in Europe and Asia, under U.S. hegemony. They prepare for a new world war to attain world domination.

Such an ultra-reactionary foreign policy cannot be carried through without complementary domestic measures. Therefore, the monopolists strive to militarize the country, curb labor, illegalize the Communist Party, and smash the anti-war, anti-imperialist people's coalition and opposition. That is why monopoly reaction turns to fascism.

The second factor is connected with the first. American monopoly is haunted by the specter of the coming economic crisis, by the rapid maturing of the first postwar cyclical crisis of overproduction.

In an effort to avert or postpone the outbreak of the crisis, and to cushion its effects in the interests of Big Business, monopoly is organiz-

ing a war preparations economy, an economy of the Goering type, governed by the principle of "guns instead of butter." It resorts to a colossal twenty billion dollar armaments program. It uses the Marshall Plan to promote government export subsidies and protection for U.S. monopoly's foreign economic penetration, as well as to further the political enslavement of nations. It is introducing the Nazi system of "voluntary" cartel arrangements, whereby the large corporations controlling basic materials and production are permitted to work out priorities and the allocation of these materials to the domestic and foreign monopoly firms financially allied with the suppliers. All these measures are being integrated with the state power in the fashion of Hitler Germany. Thus, there is also taking place an accelerated growth of state monopoly capitalism.

These measures of monopoly to delay or circumvent the approaching cyclical economic crisis assure gigantic monopoly profits. But to the masses these measures already bring some of the hardships and ravaging effects which are usually connected with a severe economic crisis.

Despite the present relative high levels of employment, nearly eight million workers now work part-time. Despite currently higher nominal wages, the real wages and living standards of the working people have been reduced through runaway monetary inflation, intensified speedup and regimentation, as well as heavier taxes. While the production of weapons of destruction increases, there is a steady decline in the production of means of production for peacetime purposes, as well as a critical shortage of many consumers' goods.

This program of monopoly therefore currently leads to greater mass impoverishment, exploitation, and suffering, and will make the oncoming economic crisis more devastating and protracted in character. But it is also a program which, unless checked by the mass struggle for peace, will transform the war preparations economy into a full-blown war economy in an unjust and disastrous war.

Confronted with the growing resistance of the masses to this reactionary program and its logical consequences, the American monopolies are turning toward fascist methods of rule.

Third, and related to the above factors, the postwar drive of American capitalism toward fascism shows itself in the unprecedented con-

centration and centralization of capital which developed at an unparalleled pace during and after World War II. The intensity of capitalist exploitation of labor has been increasing. Not only labor, but the masses of toiling farmers as well as small business, have been drawn ever deeper into the clutches of monopoly domination and oppression.

Consequently, the internal contradictions of U.S. monopoly capitalism have sharpened tremendously. These have reached the point where the domination of the trusts in the economy and politics of the nation has not only become incompatible with peace, with the liberty and economic security of the American people, but has also become unacceptable to a growing section of the labor-progressive camp.

Fearful of the rising might of the new people's anti-monopoly party and coalition, the increased role of working-class leadership in it and the growing influence of the Communists, American monopoly capital is losing faith in the possibility of governing effectively by bourgeois-democratic methods. Therefore, the most reactionary monopolies are turning ever more rapidly toward the introduction of fascist methods of rule and repression.

That is the *why* of the fascist danger in our country. How does this danger manifest itself? What are its symptoms and trends?

In the classic fashion set by Hitler, the postwar offensive of the American trusts shows its fascist colors by flying the flag of anti-Communism. Like Hitlerism, Wall Street reaction prepares for war under the guise of "preserving" world peace and democracy from "Soviet imperialist aggression."

Nazi Germany, presenting itself as a "have-not" nation, professed to seek only "room to live in" as justification of its expansionist course. American imperialism, boasting that the United States neither needs nor seeks new territory, justifies its expansionism and aggressive military program as self-defense and benevolent protection of the small nations. Under this guise a vast military program for aggression to the tune of over 20 billion dollars, the largest peacetime military budget in world history, has been adopted.

Hitler proclaimed that Nazi imperialism could not live in the same world with the socialist system of the U.S.S.R. American imperialism,

playing on the anti-fascist sentiments of the American people, declares that socialism is "Red fascism," and that the Soviet Union refuses to live at peace with the capitalist states. Under this guise the U.S. and its satellites have violated the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, vitiated and bypassed the U.N., organized an anti-Soviet economic blockade and embarked on a series of anti-Soviet acts and provocations.

Wherever fascism has come to power, it has incorporated the most reactionary, warmongering, and imperialist elements of finance capital into the government, and elevated the military to positions of power over all aspects of civilian life. That process is far advanced in our country today. Wall Street's men have attained positions of decisive importance in both old parties, Republican and Democratic. They have secured control of the House of Representatives, where extreme reactionaries, like Halleck, Martin, Parnell Thomas, and Rankin, rule the roost. Extreme pro-fascists and warmongers like Forrestal and Royal, are appointed to high public office or, like Dulles, shape policy in a semi-official capacity.

From these controlling heights, the bipartisan pro-fascists and warmongers advance their military, economic, and political preparations for expansionist adventures and an anti-Soviet war. This is true not only in matters of foreign policy but also in the efforts of the U.S. monopolists to use their control of the government to subvert and nullify the Bill of Rights and to transform the peacetime economy of the country to a pro-fascist war economy.

Wall Street is subverting the Bill of Rights, as well as using the Constitution and the organs of government to promote its reactionary and fascist aims. With the "loyalty" order and the "subversive lists," the pro-fascist monopolies have begun to practice the Nazi-like rule by decree. The House Committee on Un-American Activities, never a legislative body, has passed from dangerous fascist propaganda to illegal, punitive measures against the Communists, trade unionists, and other militant progressives.

On the legislative front, the pro-fascists have succeeded in enacting the evil Taft-Hartley Law, which is undermining the trade unions and seriously crippling their effectiveness, not only for economic struggle, but for the struggle against war and fascism as well. The



introduction of the sinister Mundt-Nixon Bill, and its passage by the House, as well as the projected reintroduction of this Nazi-like legislation in the early days of the 81st Congress, signalize a further advance of the fascist drive to outlaw the Communist Party, to regulate the unions and the new Progressive Party, and to curb or destroy these and other progressive organizations. Should such a bill become law, it would signify a most advanced stage in the fascist drive.

In the various states, also, a series of repressive measures has been passed to pave the way for the advance of fascism; examples are the Callahan Act in Michigan and the activities of the Canwell Committee in the state of Washington.

There is no ground for any lingering illusion that the courts, particularly the Supreme Court, can be relied on to "check and balance" the drive toward fascism. The courts are major instruments of government by injunction and coercion. The lower courts have upheld, and the Supreme Court has refused to review, the infamous persecutions of the Un-American Committee. "Leaks" from the Justice Department violate Grand Jury secrecy, and, with the help of the most reactionary sections of the press, prejudice Grand Jury proceedings. They result in such monstrous fascist-like frame-ups as the current indictment of the National Board of the Communist Party, under charges of violating the infamous Smith Act. Trial juries, particularly in the District of Columbia, are directly intimidated by the "loyalty" order, so that verdicts of "guilty" have become a foregone conclusion in any case involving anti-fascists.

Militarization of the country goes hand in hand with the process of fascization. Not only has the peacetime draft been enacted in the face of broad popular opposition, but the military are increasingly intervening in the sciences, universities, industries, and other aspects of civilian life, and placing them on the "alert," on a wartime basis.

All these measures to prepare the way for fascism are meeting with growing resistance. In the labor-progressive camp they arouse increasing uneasiness and mass opposition, even though their full significance is not everywhere adequately grasped.

While this and more is going on, the open advocates of fascism



are trying to supplement government repression with a reactionary mass movement. They are instigating a campaign of terror and violence against the working class, the trade unions, and the Communist Party.

The organization of violent, extra-parliamentary actions has a special significance today. Whether undertaken by the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Catholic War Veterans, the Ku Klux Klan, or chauvinist elements among the nationality groups, this activity is designed to provide American fascism with a mass base.

At the same time, the most extreme fascist elements in the country are waging a mass political-ideological offensive to bring labor, farm, church, and nationality group organizations under fascist influence. Shouting the battle cry of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, these forces are propagating chauvinist, white-supremacist, anti-labor, anti-Semitic, and anti-Negro views.

What does all this add up to? Are these just straws in the usual reactionary wind that blows "after every war"? If we put these jig-saw pieces together, do we see nothing more than the ordinary reactionary offensive of monopoly? Clearly, the answer is no. These are moves designed to pave the way for fascism. They are the organic parts of the fascist offensive of American monopoly capital and its preparation for a new world war. Yet it would be profoundly wrong in analysis and highly dangerous in policy to assume that this drive of Wall Street toward war and fascism has already reached its goal. Nor should it be assumed that the outbreak of war is necessarily and inevitably contingent upon the establishment of fascism, or that the ushering in of fascism is necessarily and inevitably contingent upon the outbreak of war. The reactionary and warmongering policies and measures of the trusts and their bipartisan political agents are facilitating and promoting the drive toward world war and the internal process of militarization and fascization now under way. This is a fact. But fascism has not yet triumphed! Nor is World War III and the victory of fascism in the United States inevitable. These, too, are facts of great importance.

We have considered some of the main factors impelling American monopoly capitalism toward war and fascism, and the manifestations and gravity of the fascist danger. Now we must ask why, in the post-

war period, the monopolies have made such alarming advances in their drive toward fascism, and hence toward war.

After the defeat of the Axis powers, the anti-imperialist camp advanced on a world scale, and its socialist sector was strengthened. In our country, the fighting spirit of the American workers and progressives has been demonstrated in the development of the new people's party, in the unfolding of powerful economic struggles, in the reconstitution of the Communist Party on a Marxist-Leninist basis, and in an upsurge in the national liberation movement of the Negro people. Why, then, has the reactionary offensive of Big Business made headway, and why has the danger of fascism become so threatening?

For one thing, the reactionary postwar drive of American capital, which coincided with the death of Roosevelt, brought the breakup of the old Roosevelt-labor-progressive coalition. The majority of organized labor, which followed and was dependent on Roosevelt and the Democratic Party, was unprepared, in the first phase of the postwar period, to come forward as an independent class force. As a result largely of Social-Democratic influences, and partly because of the harmful consequences of our former revisionist policies, as well as because of the limited base and influence of our Party in the labor movement, labor in the early postwar period was not yet ready ideologically, or mobilized politically, to forge a new people's anti-imperialist coalition under working-class leadership. The masses of the workers, who learn the hard way in the school of experience, were, at first, reluctant to break with Truman and the Democrats. It took them quite a while to realize that Truman and the Democrats had already broken with labor, and with the progressive features of Roosevelt's policies.

It is true that after we repudiated Browderism and reconstituted our Party as a Marxist vanguard party, we reoriented with relative promptness to the realities of the postwar situation. We steered a course of uncompromising struggle against American imperialism and its political spokesmen, even though we did not in the first postwar months draw all the practical political conclusions from our correct estimate of the new situation and the need to forge a new people's coalition of which the working class would be the backbone and eventual leader.

Because of this we were able to influence only a minority in the C.I.O.—albeit a sizable and influential minority—and only very negligible forces in the A. F. of L. However, we did succeed in reaching and influencing a more substantial section of the Negro people and key sections of the intellectuals and professionals. Nonetheless, this delay in the regrouping of the labor, democratic, and anti-imperialist forces enabled monopoly reaction to gain considerable ground in its turn toward war and fascism.

Second, the forces of fascism advanced on many fronts because they were able to break through on the ideological front. Wall Street's gargantuan anti-Communist and anti-Soviet propaganda war made some inroads among certain sections of labor and the middle classes. Masses of people who want peace have been deluded into believing that the cold war will avert a shooting war, and that the atom bomb, plus a huge armaments program, are defensive weapons which will assure peace by discouraging "potential aggressors."

Millions who fear mass unemployment and the impending crisis have been sold on the Marshall Plan, as a measure to ensure American prosperity and European recovery. Large sections of the population have been duped by the foul lie that communism is "totalitarianism" of the Left, and so they have fallen victim to all kinds of anti-Communist poison. The temporary successes of its psychological warfare have also enabled pro-fascist reaction to advance.

Most important, this postwar drive of monopoly reaction toward fascism and war has been aided and abetted by the reformist and Social-Democratic lieutenants of monopoly. These agents of the class enemy have succeeded up to now in maintaining and deepening the split in the ranks of the working class, and especially in the trade union movement. Consequently, the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. remain divided. The C.I.O. national leadership is engaged in bitter warfare against the C.I.O. left wing. And political divisions in the ranks of labor, fomented largely by the social-reformists and Social-Democrats, manifest themselves in a particularly dangerous manner in this year's national elections.

Clearly, the danger of fascism has been heightened by the class collaboration policies pursued by the official national leadership of the

trade union movement, by the national leadership of most farm organizations and of most of the mass youth, women's, and fraternal organizations. This class collaboration policy expresses itself in support of the Marshall Plan and the armaments program, adherence to the two-party system of Big Business, in Red-baiting and anti-Soviet activity. It shows itself in the Murray-Tobin counsel to adopt a no-strike policy. It leads to the spectacle of trade union leaders who are against wage increases if the corporations are against them. It results in capitulation to the Taft-Hartley Act and passive acceptance of injunctions. It means holding the trade unions back from active opposition to the various reactionary measures through which big capital, its government, and Congress pave the way to fascism. It leads to the betrayal of international working-class solidarity in the struggle for peace and democracy.

Thus, even where leaders like Murray and Green formally oppose such pro-fascist steps as the Taft-Hartley Law and the Mundt Bill, their opposition is purely formal and perfunctory. They discourage and head off militant mass actions by the workers and their allies. They prohibit united front mass actions locally and nationally. They compete with the pro-fascists in Red-baiting the Communists and other anti-monopoly progressives.

While, of course, the reactionary leaders in the labor movement bear the responsibility for facilitating the war drive and fascization policy of the monopolies, the working class, to the extent that it tolerates such leaders and their policies, participates in the responsibility for this betrayal of the cause of labor and the nation.

Finally, the left wing of the labor movement, including certain Communist leaders, also bears a share of responsibility for the fact that the fascist offensive has not yet met with the necessary rebuff. Some of the advanced workers have, at times, underestimated the fighting spirit of the working people. They have consequently failed to give adequately bold and militant leadership and to develop a broad united front from below on such issues as the fight for peace, against Taft-Hartleyism, for the rights of the Negro people and of the Communists, etc.

Other sections of the left wing, while developing a militant wage

and strike policy, have manifested strong tendencies toward economism. In particular, they have failed to exercise the necessary leadership in promoting and guiding the building of the new people's party, and in developing a fighting alliance between labor and its popular allies, the Negro people, and the mass of the working farmers and city middle classes.

Division, confusion, and backwardness still exist in the labor and progressive movements. We cannot gloss over these factors which enable the most aggressive and reactionary monopolies to press forward and advance the drive to fascism and war.

But neither can we underestimate the favorable aspects of the international situation, especially the great and growing power of the world anti-imperialist camp. Nor can we fail to appreciate fully the new trends in, and the great strength and potential fighting capacity of, the American working class and the entire anti-fascist and anti-imperialist camp. We must not fail to take into account the growing alertness of our own Party to its vanguard role and tasks. This new understanding of the indispensable vanguard role of our Party to assure the establishment of working-class leadership in the people's coalition and struggles is bound to bring untold strength to the camp of peace and democracy.

Is it possible to beat back the offensive of Big Business, to check and defeat Wall Street's drive toward war and fascism? Yes, this is possible—if labor adopts an independent class position and comes forward as the staunchest defender of the nation, as the most stalwart champion of peace, democracy, and social progress.

In this connection it is important to note certain marked and basic differences between the prewar and the postwar aspects of the struggle against fascism.

Prior to World War II, the chief instigators of world fascism and imperialist war were Nazi Germany and militarist Japan and their supporters among the pro-fascist monopolies in the U.S. Today the principal center of world reaction, and thus the main instigator of fascism and war, is American imperialism, is Wall Street.

Prior to World War II and especially during the anti-Axis war, sections of the American bourgeoisie, those which supported and worked through the Roosevelt Administration, sought to curb or eliminate



their imperialist rivals—fascist Germany and Japan. At that time the main fire of the anti-fascist and democratic coalition within the U.S. was directed primarily against the anti-Comintern Axis abroad, and, on the home front, against the most reactionary economic royalists, the appeasers of fascism, who opposed Roosevelt, the New Deal, and its labor supporters.

Today the anti-fascist and anti-war coalition is directed not only against the Munichite, pro-Axis opponents of Roosevelt—the Hearsts and duPonts; it is directed equally against *all* monopolists. For, today, after the military defeat of Germany and Japan, all sections of monopoly capital—despite their partisan, vested interests and tactical differences—have common imperialist objectives, and toward that end pursue a bipartisan war program for world domination.

A paramount tactical conclusion to be drawn from this reality, in the struggle to defeat the postwar dangers of war and fascism, is the need, as the Communist Party has emphasized since 1945, to forge both the widest militant united front of struggle of the working class and the broadest democratic, anti-monopoly people's coalition under labor's leadership.

In place of the old Roosevelt-labor-progressive coalition, led by the anti-Axis section of the bourgeoisie, it is essential to develop further and reinforce a new type of progressive, people's coalition such as is now arising. This coalition must be not merely anti-fascist, but anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly. Within it, the working class, instead of trailing as in the New Deal period, must assume the position of the leading social force. Therefore, the leadership cannot be of the type that headed the previous loose, democratic coalition which was led by Roosevelt and the New Deal Democrats. To halt the drive toward fascism and war, the new people's coalition must be led by the working class and its most class-conscious sector.

And here it should be noted, that while certain sections of the bourgeoisie consider that American capitalism may still advance its imperialist policies by methods of bourgeois democracy within the country, and therefore may express doubts about, or even vote against, a Mundt Bill, they cannot be relied upon to lead or wage effective opposition to the pro-fascist drive of the most reactionary forces. These bourgeois ele-

ments favor and support the Truman-Marshall-Dulles bipartisan foreign policy. Hence, they vacillate, temporize, and in the end go along with the domestic program of extreme reaction.

At times the differences and conflicts between these bourgeois elements and the most aggressive circles of monopoly may assume considerable importance and may be used by the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist camp. But this can be done only if labor pursues an independent working-class policy and relies on its own strength and that of its natural allies.

Is it possible for the American working class to measure up to its historic postwar responsibilities and to lead the great majority of America's working people in united mass struggle to avert the growing menace of war and fascism? Is it possible to do this when labor's ranks are so sharply divided and confused and when sections of the labor movement are infected with the virus of class collaboration and chauvinism?

Yes, this is possible—if the Communists and other progressive workers imbue the working class and its popular allies with confidence in their own strength, leadership, and fighting capacity. This is possible if labor's experience with the Taft-Hartley injunctions, with the bipartisan armament and tax program, and with the Truman-Marshall doctrines is used to cultivate the class consciousness of the working class and systematically forge militant united labor action and a more powerful people's anti-monopoly coalition led by the progressive labor movement. This is possible if the advanced workers defend and help build their Marxist, vanguard party, the Communist Party.

There is good ground for such confidence. The workers and common people of America do not want fascism or war. Their strong democratic and revolutionary traditions have implanted in them both the desire for peace and progress and the will to struggle for the attainment of their aims.

The organized trade unions have immense potential strength. They have a great capacity for militant class struggles, as shown in the three postwar rounds of wage fights.

The progressive workers and the entire anti-imperialist camp will gain in self-confidence to the extent that they recognize and rely on

that which is new and rising in the labor movement and the political life of the country.

Powerful allies are moving in a new way toward the working class and its Communist vanguard. Among these allies are the Negro people, carried toward united action by the upsurge of their liberation movement and by the increased activity of the labor-progressive camp in behalf of Negro rights. Among these allies are millions of working farmers, moved by their anger against the trusts and their desire for peace. Among these allies are the many intellectuals and professionals who see fascism as the deadly enemy of science and culture. Among these allies, too, are the anti-imperialist masses of youth, women, and of the national groups, especially of the American Slav and Jewish peoples.

These popular forces constitute the labor-progressive camp. United under labor's leadership, pursuing a fighting policy, and aligned with the anti-imperialist forces of all nations, they can block the establishment of a fascist dictatorship and help prevent a third world war.

Favorable conditions do not, however, in themselves guarantee a favorable outcome. It is the human beings, and in the first place the class-conscious workers, who must guarantee that what can be done, is done. Therefore, the American working class, and especially its Communist vanguard, must show itself in action as the champion of the nation's interests and of peace, as the best fighter for the social welfare and progress of the immense majority of the American people. It must unite its own ranks in militant struggle and gather around itself all patriotic and democratic elements. It must reinforce the democratic anti-monopoly and anti-war coalition now emerging, and give it fighting working-class leadership.

This is the path of unity of action, of *class struggle*. The path of class collaboration does not lead to united front action against fascism. It leads only to traitorous complicity in Wall Street's drive to war and the establishment of a fascist dictatorship.

Clearly, we cannot speak seriously of defeating fascism without determining how the disastrous policy of class collaboration can be routed. Unfortunately, this evil cannot be eradicated at one fell swoop by adopting a resolution reading it out of the labor movement. On the

contrary, labor and its allies—and especially its Communist vanguard—must come to grips with the policy of class collaboration whenever and wherever it shows itself. The key to its exposure and defeat lies not only in a sustained and effective political-ideological struggle, essential as this is, but above all in the adoption of a policy of class struggle and the organization of mass resistance to each and every reactionary measure advanced by monopoly and its government.

A united class struggle policy means combating every pro-fascist and warmongering assault, means not letting the monopolists get away with anything. It means a fight against every piece of reactionary legislation that bobs up in Congress, or in the states and municipalities. It means a fight against every threatened wage cut; against every attack on, and discrimination against the Negro people and the Jewish people; against every penny rise in the price of milk, or nickel rise in fare.

It means a fight against every move to militarize the country or undermine civil liberties. It means a resolute struggle against the pro-fascist Mundt-Ferguson Bill to register and outlaw the Communist Party and all so-called "Communist front" organizations. It requires a determined struggle against the monstrous frame-up of the Communist Party under the anti-labor Smith Act. It means a fight against every betrayal of peace by the advocates of the jingoist, imperialist, bipartisan foreign policy.

And it means that the labor movement as a whole must engage in united action whenever one of its component parts is under attack. A most dangerous and hidden form of class collaboration consists in permitting the monopolies to concentrate their forces against the Communist Party, or against this or that trade union or mass organization and decimate them one at a time, while their labor and progressive allies do nothing, or confine themselves to cheering from the sidelines.

To defeat the policy of class collaboration means to rally the whole labor movement and its allies in defense of the packinghouse workers, the miners, the typographical workers, the maritime workers, when they are menaced by Taft-Hartley decrees, injunctions, or elections. It means to reject and cast aside the program of company unionism in labor's politics as well as in its wage struggles. It means to combat and eradicate from the labor movement all anti-Communist policies and

practices—the Typhoid Marys\* planted in labor's ranks by its enemies, by the reactionaries and pro-fascists. It requires that every section of the labor-progressive camp get into the fight against *all* the victims of Clark's subversive lists, the loyalty purges, the House Un-American Committee, and the Smith Act or the Mundt bill.

Labor and the American people have some tried and trusty slogans that must now again be carried into battle. Now more than ever "An injury to one is an injury to all!" Now, as always, "In union there is strength!"

It is no easy matter to break through the barriers of trade union bureaucracy and reformism, and the political and craft differences which stand between the masses of the workers and a correct, fighting policy. But it can be done. What it takes is a bold and systematic application of the tactic of the united front of struggle from below, combined with a resolute effort to enlist in common action every leader, group, and mass organization opposed to war and fascism, regardless of all other differences.

In other words, the Communists and other progressives must rely on the rank and file, go to them with issues, explain what is what, and organize them. This requires organization and leadership and plenty of leg work. It especially requires initiative and steadfastness in fighting for the most urgent economic and political demands of the workers and common people.

In this connection, and precisely to reinforce and extend the struggle for peace and democracy, the left wing in the labor-progressive movement must devote far more attention to developing mass actions for the economic needs of the masses, especially for the demands of the most exploited sections of the working people: the Negro, Mexican-American, youth, and women workers, and white-collar workers in industry, the professions, and government.

Here we can profitably compare two tactics, two policies—that employed in the struggle against the N.A.M.'s Taft-Hartley Bill, and that which won the first round in the struggle against the pro-fascist Mundt Bill.

\* Typhoid Mary (Mary Mallon, 1867[?]-1938), first known typhoid bacilli carrier in America.—*Ed.*



In the Taft-Hartley fight, the C.I.O., A. F. of L., and Railway Brotherhoods voiced their official opposition, while the Communists were active in trying to launch an effective mass movement. Labor's top leadership organized a legislative lobby and launched a public relations campaign. But the officialdom of labor rejected every proposal for militant, united front, mass action. Both major trade union centers relied on the Democrats in Congress to vote against the Taft-Hartley Bill and on Truman to veto it. Both preferred parallel activity to joint action and co-operation with labor's allies.

In the fight against the Mundt Bill, the Communist Party displayed a maximum of political and organizing initiative. So did a number of other progressive groups, particularly the Wallace forces. This initiative and leadership succeeded in developing a broad united front campaign embracing a wide variety of labor and non-labor groups which differed from one another on many other questions. This campaign involved the Communist Party, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, many A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unions, the Progressive Party, the American Youth for Democracy, the American Veterans Committee, many nationality and fraternal organizations, as well as many conservative public officials, church groups, and even the Americans for Democratic Action. Unquestionably, these united actions stimulated much more widespread parallel action than would otherwise have developed against the Mundt Bill.

Not only was there extensive legislative and lobbying activity, but there was also broad demonstrative mass action. This was organized in many states. Nationally, it reached its high points in the Negro people's Non-Partisan March on Washington on June 2, and in the subsequent mass veterans' lobby on housing.

Two tactics and policies: two results. In the first, a policy of reliance upon a capitalist party and business-as-usual tactics, with the usual Red-baiting, jurisdictional back-biting, and timidity. Result: the Taft-Hartley Bill became law.

But in the second instance, the pursuance of a militant, all-inclusive united front tactic and policy. Result: the temporary defeat of the Mundt Bill.

It is plain which policy, which tactic, the working class and its

allies must pursue and develop, especially as the pro-fascists will again seek to enact the Mundt-Ferguson Bill. It is clear, too, that the organization and leadership of the united front of struggle from below, which is of decisive importance, is not an end in itself. It must be pursued with the aim of drawing the widest masses, their organizations and sections of their leaders into joint struggle against the attacks of capital, against the drive toward fascism and war. It must be directed to influence the policies of the trade unions and other mass organizations, no less than to influence the foreign and domestic policy of the government and Congress.

But militant self-defense is not all that is required for the working class to mobilize and unite its ranks and to achieve decisive leadership in the people's coalition of struggle against fascism and war. It is equally necessary that the Communists and other advanced workers search out the ways and means to counter-attack and to go over to the counter-offensive.

Attack is still the best defense, in politics as well as in war. And the masses will more readily respond to the call to struggle when they see that it involves not only preserving what they have won, but making new gains as well.

Therefore, it is not enough to call for the defense of the Bill of Rights. The Negro people especially demand that it be enforced and extended. They demand guarantees that their right to vote in all primaries and elections will be respected now, this year. To defend the rights of the Negro people, to strengthen the unity of Negro and white workers and progressives—and hence the people's coalition—it is necessary for labor carefully to prepare and initiate mass demonstrations, political mass strikes, and other state and nationwide campaigns that will demand and secure full suffrage for the Negro people, prosecution of all lynchers, an end to Jim Crow in the army and civilian life, and the enactment of federal measures to aid and provide land to all tenant farmers and sharecroppers, especially to the Negroes in the South.

Surely, neither we Communists nor the other anti-fascist victims of the Department of Justice and the Un-American Committee can content ourselves with defensive action in the courts or Congress. What is

needed here is an all-out mass campaign that will prevent not only the adoption of a Mundt-Ferguson Bill, but will also secure the dismissal of the Grand Jury indictments against the Communist Party, repeal the "loyalty order" and the Smith Act, impeach Tom Clark, abolish the Un-American Committee, and bring about the criminal indictment and prosecution of the warmongers, the lynchers, and the anti-Semites.

Of course it is essential that the trade unions, for their self-preservation, refuse to comply with the Taft-Hartley Act and work for its repeal. But that is far from enough to save the labor movement from strangulation and slow death. Shop, industry, and national work stoppages must be organized on a mass scale and other suitable mass actions must be adopted to resist and defeat all Taft-Hartley injunctions, raids, and rigged elections.

Pro-labor Democrats say they are for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. But what is to replace it? Labor must now set in motion a grass roots movement to secure the enactment and enforcement of a more progressive Wagner Labor Relations Act, and to guarantee by united mass action that there will be no political, trade union, racial, or religious discrimination in public or private employment.

It is not enough to expose and condemn the monopolies, and resist their many-sided offensive, vital as this exposure is. The anti-monopoly people's coalition must hit the trusts where they are most vulnerable, must hit them often and hit them hard. Millions must be rallied to fight for a people's tax program and for a ceiling on corporate profits. They must be called to struggle for lower freight and passenger rates and for the abolition of all monopoly patents, grain and commodity speculation, restrictive financial controls, and restraints of trade. They must be enlisted now in a mass movement to end all cartel agreements and practices, and to curb drastically the powers of monopoly.

How does one wage a serious struggle against the "cold war," Wall Street's armament program and its Marshall Plan? Of course, it is essential resolutely to oppose every step and manifestation of the bipartisan war policy. Without this it would be impossible to wage an effective struggle against war and fascism. But more is required. Labor and the people's coalition must now militantly crusade for an affirmative program of struggle for peace.

Such a program exists, and has wide support. It includes as its cornerstone the restoration of American-Soviet co-operation through friendly negotiations based on the fulfillment of the Potsdam and Yalta agreements; the reinstatement of the meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers; and a speedy Four Power peace settlement with Germany and Japan, on the basis of guaranteeing the complete democratization and demilitarization of these countries. This positive peace program also includes putting an end to U.S. bypassing and undermining of the U.N., especially to its military intervention in China and Greece. It includes achieving agreement on universal disarmament; prohibition of the manufacture, stockpiling, and use of atomic weapons; and carrying out the U.N. decisions to curb the warmongers and defend the independence and national sovereignty of Israel.

Yes, the people have a peace program. But now it is necessary, as Comrade Foster has repeatedly stressed, for labor, especially the trade unions, to fight for this program by organizing on all levels and everywhere a powerful, united front mass movement that will voice the popular demand for peace through petitions, mass conferences, meetings, and demonstrations. It is necessary to create a broader peace front that can draw into struggle new millions of workers, youth, veterans, women, and churchmen, that can secure the active support of millions of people, regardless of whether they are Republicans or Democrats, Progressives or Communists.

Furthermore, the fight for these specific anti-war proposals will be immeasurably strengthened if the peace forces bring forward a positive program of concrete demands for benefits of which the war economy is robbing the American people. Thus, the over-all fight for peace should and can be buttressed by a mass movement determined drastically to reduce the armaments program and to secure a 15 billion dollar, three-year federal low-cost housing program.

These and other points of an immediate program of action, which are supported by the Progressive Party, many labor, Negro, and other people's organizations—as well as by the Communist Party—furnish a wide area for common agreement and action by the labor-progressive camp. The struggle for these demands will bolster the resistance



of labor and the anti-monopoly coalition and will enable it to counter-attack and go over to the counter-offensive.

Yet, side by side with this, we Communists and other-class-conscious workers should advance additional points of a positive, fighting, working-class, and people's united front program. We should bring forward a program that will give the working class and its popular allies a clear perspective and policy for drastically curbing the power of monopoly capital, and achieving governmental power for the people's coalition, and thus for effectively undermining the social and economic basis of fascism and extending the basis for democratic advance.

At the heart of such a program are the proposals to nationalize the banks and insurance companies, and the steel, railroad, and mining industries, as well as to institute basic land reforms, especially in the South. Such proposals voice a widespread popular demand. But if they are not to breed illusions and play into the hands of demagogues and social-reformists—or even assist in the process of fascization of the country—they must be advanced as an organic part of the struggle for a government based on the developing people's anti-monopoly coalition and led by the working class.

Demands for nationalization which are advanced irrespective of time, place, and struggle, and regardless of governmental power, democratic controls, and the right of labor to organize, bargain collectively, and strike, serve today to promote only the interests of the monopolies, including the accelerated growth of state monopoly capitalism, as symbolized by the present reactionary government monopoly control and development of atomic energy. On the other hand, the struggle for nationalization of the basic industries and the banks, when integrated with the struggle of the working class and its allies for a democratic people's government, can reinforce the people's mass movement to curb the monopolies, pro-fascists, and warmongers today. It can advance the struggle of labor and the people to higher levels and in the direction of socialism.

Finally, if the working class is to come forward as the most reliable leader in the struggle against fascism and war, it must initiate and sustain a great political-ideological counter-offensive against the chauvin-



ist propaganda and psychological warfare carried on by the forces of reaction, fascism, and war under the banner of anti-communism.

Unless the labor and anti-imperialist camp—from independents and progressives to Communists—really unmask and counteracts the white supremacist and Red-baiting program of the monopolies; unless it exposes the Nazi-like course and aims of Wall Street's anti-Communist crusade; unless it steadfastly promotes the unity of action of non-Communist progressives and Communists—unless this is done the pro-fascists and warmongers will continue to make headway. Unless this is done the reactionaries will continue to employ and take advantage of Hitler's secret weapon—the virus of anti-communism—to perpetuate and create prejudices, confusion, and division in labor's ranks and among the people as a whole, in order to press forward to monopoly's "American Century" of imperialist expansion, war, and fascism.

Here we Communists, clearly, have a special responsibility to help equip labor and its allies with the ideological weapons for waging this counter-offensive, a responsibility which in turn requires the strengthening and building of the Communist Party, including a radical improvement of our theoretical and ideological activity, so as to enable the people's coalition to win the battle of ideas in the struggle against the monopolies, war, and fascism.

## DEFEAT THE ATLANTIC PACT!

*The Communist Party, declaring that World War III is not inevitable, proclaims the inevitability of the people's continuing struggle for peace.*

[Statement opposing the Atlantic Pact presented to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, May, 1949.]

The Communist Party is opposed to the North Atlantic treaty and calls on the Senate to reject the proposal that it be ratified. Together with a great and growing body of Americans, we Communists hold that this is an aggressive military alliance which jeopardizes the true interests of our nation and the welfare and security of the American people.

The brutal reality of this treaty was bluntly stated in an editorial that appeared in the *Wall Street Journal* of April 5, 1949:

"Proponents of the Atlantic Pact might object to designating it jungle law. But the most cursory analysis reveals the thinness of the veneer of civilization covering it. It makes military might the determining factor in international relations.

"The fact that the West believes right underlies its might does not make the Atlantic Pact any less a substitution of brute force for the human quality of reason."

Throughout the West, and not least in the United States, men and women who retain the "human quality of reason" reject this new proclamation that might makes right. In growing numbers, the forces of labor and the people see that Wall Street's adoption of "brute force" as a means reveals the end to be world domination, conquest, and, ultimately, atomic world war.

The first "anti-Communist Pact," signed by Nazi Germany, fascist Italy, and militarist Japan in November, 1936, also announced itself as a "defensive" alliance, aimed at the maintenance of peace and the preservation of "western civilization." With a notable lack of originality, the bipartisan proponents of the Atlantic Pact repeat almost verbatim the arguments advanced by Hitler, Mussolini, and Tojo to "justify" their preparations for World War II.

Like Hitler's Axis, the Atlantic treaty is directed not only against the Soviet Union, but against all democratic nations and peoples. Like Hitler's Axis, Wall Street's Atlantic treaty climaxes a whole series of war preparations. If ratified, it will advance us further on the disastrous road to World War III.

First the Truman Doctrine and then the Marshall Plan prepared the way for the Atlantic treaty. These precursors of the treaty were also falsely labeled as "defense measures" whose adoption would assure peace.

But the Truman Doctrine, at heavy cost to the American people, keeps Greece embroiled in a disastrous war. The heroic Greek people continue their ever more effective resistance to the monarchist-fascist Athens forces armed and commanded by the American militarists.

In fact, if not in name, the Truman Doctrine was also the essence of American policy for aid to the corrupt and reactionary Chiang Kai-shek regime, and for the "containment" of Chinese democracy and progress. Now peace is coming to China as a result of the total defeat of this imperialist interventionism. Peace and freedom march with the victorious people's armies of liberation, led by the great Chinese Communist Party.

In an attempt to overcome growing popular opposition to the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan was put forward as a "humanitarian" program. It was announced as a program that would stabilize peace by contributing to the peaceful reconstruction and recovery of the Marshallized countries. We were also told that it would avert a new crisis of overproduction in the United States, and provide full employment for the American workers.

The Atlantic treaty is itself proof that the Marshall Plan has not

stabilized the peace. With its ratification, the European Recovery Program would drop all pretense of being anything but a measure for putting the economies of the Marshall Plan countries on a war footing, and making Western Europe an armed camp under Wall Street domination. And mounting unemployment at home demonstrates the Marshall Plan's failure to avert the growing economic crisis.

Other military alliances, like those binding the Latin American and Benelux countries to the United States *Wehrmacht*, also preceded and paved the way for the Atlantic treaty. Preparation for this Third World War Axis included the establishment of far-flung American bases and other military establishments, the institution of the peacetime draft, vast increases in arms appropriations, the stockpiling of atomic bombs and moves toward the creation of a satellite West German state.

Not only the forerunners of the Atlantic Pact, but also its projected successors, reveal its aggressive war aims. We are already being told that this "peace measure" is to be followed by still other military alliances in the Mediterranean and the Pacific.

Looking at the Atlantic treaty in the context of the foreign policy of which it is an instrument, who can any longer doubt that this is an imperialist war alliance? It repudiates the policy of American-Soviet cooperation on which Roosevelt based his great design for lasting peace. It commits the United States to a policy of hostility to the Soviet Union and the eastern European democracies, to aggressive war preparations which in the end can only lead to World War III.

The Atlantic Pact undoes the long work to which the late President Roosevelt devoted so much time and effort. It undermines the United Nations and violates its charter.

Article 39 of the Charter vests exclusively in the Security Council the function of maintaining peace by protecting all nations from aggression or the threat of aggression. The pact emasculates the Security Council and arrogates to one group of powers the authority to make war without consulting the Security Council.

The pretense that Articles 51, 52, and 53 of the Charter permit

regional arrangements for the collective self-defense of any group of nations, and hence sanction the Atlantic treaty, does not stand up under examination.

Article 52 permits the formation of regional arrangements to deal with those aspects of maintaining peace and security appropriate for regional action. But the Atlantic Pact is not a regional arrangement. It includes such widely separated nations as Norway and Italy. It extends to colonial possessions and bases from the Azores to the Belgian Congo.

Article 53 of the Charter, which permits the U.N. Security Council to "utilize" regional arrangements in order to maintain peace and security, also specifies that no enforcement action shall be taken by regional bodies "without the authorization of the Security Council with the exception of measures against an enemy state."

But, unlike the defensive treaties concluded among the Eastern European nations and the Soviet Union, the Atlantic treaty is not directed against a possible revival of aggression on the part of the former enemy countries, Germany and Japan. On the contrary, it envisages the admission of a Western German state in which the spirit of aggression, as well as the industrial potential of war, have been resurrected. It embraces fascist Portugal and plans the inclusion of the Axis ally, Spain.

This treaty is not directed against the World War II enemies, with whom we are still officially at war. It is directed primarily against our allies in the anti-Axis war, against the Soviet Union and against those forces in Eastern Europe which gave resistance to the Nazis and now head the governments of their countries.

Article 51 of the Charter permits individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations. But the crux of this article is its provision specifying that such self-defense is permissible "only in case of attack" and only "until the Security Council" has taken the appropriate measures. In setting aside these conditions, the Atlantic treaty nullifies the authority of the Security Council.

Hailing the Atlantic Pact on March 18, British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, in effect, told the House of Commons that the United



Nations is no more. "Frankly," Mr. Bevin said, "just as the League of Nations did not fulfill its purpose, neither has the United Nations."

It cannot be denied that if this defeatist estimate of the United Nations were before the Senate for ratification, the American people would rise in their wrath to demand that it be rejected.

The Communist Party opposes the Atlantic Pact on principle, as a menace to our own nation and to world peace. No pretense of "demilitarizing" the pact could alter its war character. It is and must remain an aggressive war alliance, regardless of whether or not it is implemented by an arms appropriation program, large or small.

Nevertheless, the cost of the pact and its effect on the economic life of our own nation and of Western Europe must be assessed. On April 21, Secretary of State Acheson assured this committee that the first year's armament bill would amount to "only" one billion, three hundred thousand dollars. This assurance was designed to allay the fears aroused by Dr. Edwin G. Nourse, who warned on April 5 that the rearmament of Western Europe would face the United States with bankruptcy.

But Secretary Acheson's figure is only a fraction of our huge arms burden, which is already having a crushing effect on the living standards of America's working people. Percentage-wise, another billion dollars for arms is no more than a seven or eight per cent increase in the current war budget. But that seven or eight per cent is not small potatoes when we consider that the present war budget is taking 50 cents out of every dollar spent by the government. It is placing an enormous tax on every worker's paycheck, and unbalancing the family budget of the working farmers, the middle class, and the professionals.

Four years after the end of World War II, the American people are paying taxes as high as those they carried at the war's peak. This war tax is drastically reducing the amount the American people can spend on food, rent, and clothing. It is depriving them of needed social services and essential government aid, of adequate housing, education, health, and medical care, of a higher minimum wage, and expanded and more adequate social security benefits.

The figure of something over a billion dollars is only a first downpayment. No limit has been set to the billions required for the arming

of the Atlantic Pact countries, already staggering under the burden of their present huge war budgets. An additional billion dollar outlay for arms means an increase of at least 20 per cent on the dollar value of the Western European armament program. No wonder the conservative British *Economist* reported on January 8, "There is no means by which the Marshall Plan countries can, even with the present scale of American aid, prevent a serious fall in their standard of living in 1952."

This deterioration of the economic situation in Western Europe must inevitably increase the suffering with which the developing economic crisis threatens the people of the United States. Moreover, the stimulation of rearmament in Western Europe presupposes the revival of Western German war industry. In anticipation of this, General Lucius Clay on April 25 already called for the integration of Western Germany into the so-called European Union, that is, for the rebuilding of its war potential as an arsenal and base for military operations against the Soviet Union and the democracies of Eastern Europe.

The American people and those of all other countries are suspicious of the Atlantic Pact and fearful of its ratification. That is the very reason it was rushed to signature, and presented to them as an accomplished fact.

The main selling point of the Big Business interests behind this treaty, and of their bipartisan hucksters, is the myth that an invented menace of Soviet aggression threatens our country and Western Europe. All the facts totally debunk this fabrication, as even some supporters of the treaty admit. Thus, the *New York Times* of February 27, said editorially that a Soviet attack on the United States is "fantastically improbable." On April 20, the *Times'* rabidly anti-Soviet columnist, Anne O'Hare McCormick, declared, "It is absurd to believe that the Soviet Union contemplates sending an army across Europe or starting a shooting war against the United States."

But it is no secret that powerful forces in the United States do contemplate starting a shooting war against the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. The bipartisan supporters of the "cold war," of which the treaty is an ominous new development, boldly

advocate "preventive" war. Congressman Cannon was the latest of many public figures to urge the atomic pulverization of Soviet cities and the mass murder of the peoples now rebuilding homelands ruined by the Nazi invaders.

Because it is a socialist state, the Soviet Union does not need profits wrung from conquest and colonial exploitation. It needs neither to dominate the economies nor to annex the territory of other lands. Consequently, the Soviet Union pursues a resolute policy for world peace. It is not, and cannot be an aggressor.

Unable to point to a single act of aggression or threatened aggression on the part of the Soviet Union, the proponents of the Atlantic treaty argue that a war alliance is needed to protect other nations against the invented danger of "indirect aggression" emanating from Moscow. Article Four of the Pact specifies consultation by the signatories for the purpose of taking armed action "whenever in the opinion of any one of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security" of any member of the alliance is threatened.

But the threat to territorial integrity, political independence, and national security comes from the dominant power within the alliance—from the United States. The Atlantic treaty itself, like the Marshall Plan, is an instrument of intervention against the peoples and nations of Western Europe and threatens their territorial integrity, political independence, and security.

American imperialist intervention is not only a threat, but a recorded fact. It can scarcely be claimed that because the intervention of the United States in China failed of its purpose, it did not take place. Or that because it is meeting stubborn resistance in Greece it is not being ruthlessly carried on. The road to the Atlantic treaty was paved by Wall Street's political and economic interventions in the internal affairs of the signatory countries, particularly France and Italy.

"Indirect aggression" is the treaty's transparent excuse for the oppression of labor and of any movement for social change or national liberation which the rulers of the existing social order consider a threat to their profits and power.

Article Four reveals that the treaty is a Holy Alliance for the

repression of the labor and Communist movements of Western Europe. This is admitted by James Reston, in the *New York Times* of March 1, "The executive branch of the government is convinced that some of the Western European nations must have military aid not only to defend themselves against external aggression *but primarily to bolster their police powers against their own Communists.*"

And Secretary of State Acheson, explaining the treaty on March 18 confessed that while a purely internal revolution would not be regarded as an armed attack, "an uprising, inspired, armed and directed from the outside would be a different thing." This statement is reminiscent of those habitually made by Big Business, which professes to respect the right of workers to organize and strike but defends its use of anti-labor violence on the ground that the workers are being "misled by outside agitators."

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, all popular movements against feudalism and monarchy were denounced as inspired by American or French revolutionaries. Today every movement for the improvement of the people's living standards, for national liberation or social advance is denounced as "Moscow inspired." The Atlantic Pact commits the United States to the forcible suppression of all popular movements, and thus makes a mockery of the Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms, and the aims for which the peoples fought the second World War.

Article Four is not only an instrument for intervention against any people which defends its national independence, rejects reaction and fascism, or decides that capitalism has outlived its social usefulness. Article Four is also designed to continue the oppression of all the colonies of the imperialist powers associated in the new alliance.

This was made plain enough by Belgian Foreign Minister Paul Henri Spaak when on March 18 he declared in Brussels that "consultations between the signatories could also take place in case of an incident occurring outside the geographical area of the pact if one of the signatories considered its security involved."

Thus Spaak admits that the treaty is intended to keep a handful of imperialist rulers in effective domination over much of Asia and

Africa. He also strips the pact of its last claim to be a purely regional arrangement, confined to Atlantic powers.

Some Senators have indicated that they oppose E.R.P. aid for the Netherlands if that country continues to defy the United Nations with respect to Indonesia. It will be interesting to see what stand they take on the Atlantic Pact, which is designed to give the American monopolists a greater chance to muscle in on the empires the pact seeks to maintain by force.

This Committee has heard both charges and denials that the Atlantic treaty violates the Constitution of the United States. The plain fact is that the treaty arrogates to the executive branch of the government unrestricted power to make war. It would leave Congress only the power to make a formal declaration that a war is being waged.

But the treaty invites and promotes other violations of the Constitution and would advance the process of nullifying the Bill of Rights already going on. In advancing the military preparation for a third world war, the treaty accelerates the growth of fascism, and particularly the adoption of measures aimed at the total suppression of every force that struggles against the warmakers.

The current political heresy trial of the twelve Communist leaders, as well as the police state legislation adopted by a number of states and pending in Congress, are war measures auxiliary to the Atlantic treaty. So are the witch-hunts and book burnings, the mounting anti-Semitism and increasing violence against the Negro people, the growing attacks against labor and Americans of foreign birth—all of which have accompanied the preparation for the Atlantic treaty.

It is inherent in the logic of the treaty that its bipartisan proponents filibuster against anti-lynch and anti-polltax legislation, and retain the Taft-Hartley Act while this war measure is being rushed to ratification. The attempt to brand as treason the patriotic struggle for peace threatens the suppression of all movements in defense of the people's living standards and democratic rights.

The signing of the North Atlantic Pact has increased rather than diminished the growing opposition to it in all parts of the world. This treaty is opposed not only by the nations and peoples against whom



it is most obviously directed, but by the majority of the people in the signatory countries—including the United States.

The working class and its Communist vanguard in Western Europe is a serious force for peace. But the Communists and their allies, particularly in the key countries of France and Italy, are by no means the only forces opposing the treaty. Whole peoples, including the masses in all political parties, are demonstrating their determination to repudiate the war commitment made by the governments of the signatory countries, and voicing their refusal to fight for the gain and glory of Wall Street.

The great World Peace Conference recently held in Paris spoke not only for the Communists and the Left. It spoke for the hundreds of millions of plain people everywhere in the world who are rallying in united action against the imperialist war schemes of the U.S. monopolists. Nor is it only the Left, including the Communists, who oppose this war alliance. The Committee must have considerable evidence of the far wider organized and unorganized opposition which is already substantial and grows rapidly. Strong opposition to the treaty has been voiced by major church groups in this country, and by outstanding cultural leaders. Among the rank and file of the trade unions, the Negro people, and the organized farmers sentiment against the treaty is increasing and becoming more vocal.

In view of the temper of the people, and taking into account the forthcoming meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, further consideration of the Atlantic treaty should be halted. To cut off these hearings, in an attempt to rush ratification before the people have made themselves heard, would reveal that the United States approaches the Foreign Ministers' Conference in bad faith. Our government cannot even pretend to good faith in negotiations for a peaceful settlement of differences with the Soviet Union if in advance of negotiations it concludes this aggressive military alliance.

The masses of the American workers and people recoil with horror from the prospect of the atomic war which the Atlantic treaty in effect assumes to be inevitable.

In accord with the desires and needs of the American people, we Communists call for a Pact of Peace and Friendship with the So-

viet Union, and for the repudiation of the aggressive Atlantic war alliance.

We call for universal disarmament, and for a policy that will make the United Nations work for peace.

We call for implementation of the U.N. resolution on curbing the warmongers, for the destruction of all atomic bombs, and the outlawing of their manufacture.

We call on our government to negotiate with the Soviet Union a settlement of the German question along the lines of the Potsdam agreement, and for American-Soviet co-operation such as the Roosevelt policies made possible.

We call for the establishment of friendly relations with the new, liberated, China.

We call for normal foreign trade relations without interference in the affairs of other nations, and for an expansion of government expenditures to meet the American people's peacetime need for homes, education, health, and social security.

The Communist Party, declaring that World War III is not inevitable, proclaims the inevitability of the people's continuing struggle for peace. We are confident that the American people, refusing to be intimidated or stampeded, will organize and unite to defeat this infamous war alliance. But Atlantic treaty or no Atlantic treaty, we believe that our people will strengthen the effectiveness of their struggle for peace. We Communists are and will remain an integral part of the American people's movement of resistance to the imperialist and war-breeding policies of Wall Street. We are confident that the workers and people of our country and of the world will enforce their will to peace.

# *Part Four*

## WORLD CAMP OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

*Peace serves the interests of all peoples everywhere. But for our people peace will be decisive in determining how hard or how easy, how long or how short, will be the road of social progress.*

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### LENIN, STALIN, AND THE MID-CENTURY

*We American Communists look on the future, not as a chapter to be read, but as one to be written.*

[This article first appeared in the *Daily Worker*, January 22, 1950, and has since been widely reprinted in the chief publications of the world Communist and working class press.]

Stalin's seventieth birthday and the twenty-sixth anniversary of Lenin's death coincide with the half-way mark in the twentieth century. Most historians already acknowledge that these two world giants, the teachers and leaders of the international working class, of communism, have decisively shaped the course of the whole century and of social progress.

The opening of the year 1950 is therefore a fitting time to draw up—even if only in the briefest manner—the balance sheet between two paths, two social systems, two world outlooks: the capitalist, on the one hand, and, on the other, the social system and world outlook symbolized by the names *Lenin* and *Stalin*.

On the capitalist side of the ledger appear a number of major entries, made in the past fifty years. At the turn of the century, U.S. capitalism, and with it world capitalism, attained the summit of its development. Having reached the peaks of its ascendant stage, capitalism in its final monopoly stage—imperialism—started on the path of decline and decay.

By 1914 and the outbreak of the First World War which it engendered, world capitalism was sick beyond hope of permanent recovery; and with the victory of the great proletarian revolutions in 1917 it had entered the period of its general crisis. It also suffered a number of serious economic crises, beginning with the panic of 1901 and climaxed by the great economic crisis of 1929-33 which wracked, not only the United States, but the whole capitalist world.

The brutality, rapaciousness, parasitism, and fatal sickness of monopoly capitalism in the period following World War I manifested themselves, above all, in barbarous fascism, which in 1933 seized power in Germany. Thus was underscored, once again, the analysis of Lenin that “. . . politically imperialism is in general a striving toward violence and reaction.” The imperialist Munich policy and “anti-Comintern” rape of Manchuria, Ethiopia, Spain, and Czechoslovakia were inevitably followed by the devastation and mass slaughter of World War II.

In the postwar period, Wall Street, heading the camp of imperialism, unable to live without oppression and conquest, seeks to imitate the Hitlerites and to dominate the world. For the last five years, under the smokescreen of “containing communism,” it has intervened and warred against the peoples of Greece, China, Indonesia, Palestine. It has restored, under U.S. control, the cartels and war potential of Western Germany and Japan. It has undermined the national independence and well-being of France and Italy, and strengthened its predatory grip on Latin America, Africa, and the Near East.

As 1950 opens, a new economic crisis is maturing in the capitalist

world generally, and particularly in the United States, the stronghold of world imperialism. While retarded up till now by huge expenditures for armaments, the Marshall Plan, and the North Atlantic Pact, this new crisis draws nearer and threatens to have more devastating consequences than any of its predecessors. Its development is accompanied by the colossal, extensive, and adventurist preparations of Wall Street for a third world war, and thus, too, by the growth of pro-fascist reaction in our country and its satellite states.

Capitalism, especially in the period of its ascent, enabled mankind to raise considerably the productive forces and to make notable advances in the fields of science, industrial organization, and culture. But, as is most dramatically illustrated by the atom bomb, the capitalist system is now capable only of utilizing these achievements for purposes of reaction, destruction, and aggressive war.

On the other side of the ledger, history records the entries made by the camp of peace, national liberation, and socialism, headed by the U.S.S.R.

Here the great event of the turn of the twentieth century was the formation of the Bolshevik Party—the party of Lenin and Stalin. Arising from the historic split with Menshevism, with opportunist- and revisionist-corroded Social-Democracy, which even then subordinated the interests of the working class to those of the bourgeoisie, this party of a new type is at once a monument to its founders, and the invincible and enduring instrument for the continuation of their work.

True to the principles of revolutionary Marxism, Lenin and Stalin developed further this universally valid, working-class social science in accord with the new conditions prevailing in the epoch of imperialist wars and proletarian revolutions, and in the period of the victorious establishment of socialism. The Bolshevik Party organized and led the October Revolution, which made socialism a glorious reality. This model party set an example for, and inspired the development of powerful Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class in other countries.

The Great October Socialist Revolution put an end to capitalist



and national oppression in one-sixth of the world. It replaced the tyranny of tsardom, Russian capitalism, and landlordism with working-class democracy, establishing through the dictatorship of the proletariat the rule of the many over the few, of the exploited over the exploiters.

After Lenin's death, and under Stalin's brilliant leadership, the Bolsheviks and the Soviet state completed the victory of socialism. Defeating all treasonous opposition and plots of the predecessors of the Titoites—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, and other imperialist agents—they built up a socialist heavy industry and collective agriculture. They raised the living standards, well-being, and culture of the people to new heights. They established the equality and friendship of the many nations and peoples within the Soviet family and multi-national state on the basis of the Lenin-Stalin teachings on the national question. They consolidated the new working-class democracy—the highest democracy in the annals of mankind—and carried forward the enormous advances of the Soviet people through the adoption of the Stalin Constitution.

In the most severe test, the world's first socialist state—guided by Stalin's unequalled military strategy and national-liberation policies—played the decisive role in the world coalition of states and peoples' resistance movements which defeated the Axis powers in World War II.

Since the end of World War II, as a result of the liberating role of the Soviet Union and its glorious Red Army, the oppressed masses of a series of countries in Eastern Europe have entered on this side of the ledger their achievement of People's Democracies, which, as a new form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, have opened up in those countries new paths of transition to socialism.

Second in historic importance only to the October Socialist Revolution and as a result of that great revolution and the victories of socialism is the entry recording the liberation of the 450,000,000 Chinese people from centuries of feudal and imperialist oppression; and the establishment, under the leadership of the great Chinese Communist Party, of the new People's Republic of China.

In contrast to imperialism's way of life through reaction and war, on this side of the ledger there is no record—indeed no possibility—of

aggression and war incitement, of national enslavement, social regression, and obscurantism. In contrast to monopoly capital's economy of misery for the many amidst plenty for the few, on this side of the ledger there is no record of economic crisis, no entry of millions of unemployed, no threat or possibility of impending depression or economic decline.

On this side of the ledger the people can see that already in the first half of the twentieth century socialism has proved capable of improving upon, and surpassing, the scientific, industrial, and cultural achievements of capitalism in its heyday. And they can see that Stalin symbolizes man's potential power, the power of the working class to lead the nation and to master nature, and to plan and achieve limitless new benefits for his fellow man, for the cause of peace and progress.

Adding up the entries on this side of the ledger we behold the historic phenomenon that 800,000,000 of the world's people now live in states led by Marxist parties, by parties devoted to the principles of Lenin and Stalin—which rule in behalf of the working class and in the interests of the vast majority. This vast camp of peace, democracy, and socialism—headed by the U.S.S.R. and its great leader, Stalin—extends also to hundreds of millions of people in the capitalist and colonial countries whose struggle for peace, social progress, and national liberation is led by their own vanguard Communist Party.

The second half of the twentieth century dawns on a world in which this new anti-imperialist camp is powerful enough to prevent another world war, or at the very least can guarantee that should such a war be launched by the war-makers against the will of all the world's peoples it would end in the interests of all peoples, in the interests of a world freed at last from imperialist capitalism, from wars, colonial enslavement, national oppression, and fascism.

This, in sketchy outline, is how things stand between the two paths, the two social systems, the two world outlooks, at the end of the first half of our century. What are the prospects for the next fifty years?

One view of the future was put forward by President Truman. Bypassing the urgent needs of the people in 1950, he holds forth the promise of an income of \$12,000 for the average family at the end of

the century—fifty years hence. But with this he foresees more "cold war," more power to the American trusts, and he even dreams of re-enslaving the peoples liberated by socialism and the People's Democracy. To Hoover, Taft, and Eisenhower, even Truman's "Fair Deal" appears as a "radical utopia." But with or without the \$12,000 average income fifty years from now, the Trumanites and the G.O.P. look forward to an eternity of "free enterprise," that is, to the survival of full sway for monopoly capitalism, its increased power and a permanent state of "cold war" punctuated by recurring crises, imperialist aggression, and outbreaks of colossal mass murder.

We Communists take a different view of the future. We and millions of other working people know that in the course of the new half century the Soviet Union will complete the transition from socialism to communism already begun; and that, whatever the difficulties may be, the transition to socialism will be completed by the new People's Democracies, as well as by a number of other countries.

As for our own country, we confidently foresee that the American people will achieve great social, democratic advances in struggle against and at the expense of, the monopolists in the course of the new half century now opening up. Rejecting any and all "exceptionalist" notions of American capitalism "in permanence," we are confident that the coming great struggles of the American workers will advance among them the frontiers of class consciousness, and the end of the twentieth century will find them marching on the path of socialism.

Where our country stands in the year 2,000 A.D., and the relative ease or pain with which the American working class and people advance toward their inevitable socialist goal, depends, to a great extent, on how effectively labor and all progressives, Communists and non-Communists, work and fight for peace *now*. Today peace, and the struggle for peace, favors and promotes social progress, and is the enemy of pro-fascist reaction. The more lasting the peace, the better for the American people and the worse for the trusts, for their Wall Street enemies.

Peace serves the interests of all peoples everywhere. But for *our* people peace will be decisive in determining how hard or how easy, how long or how short, will be the road of social progress. Unjust,

imperialist war is costly and exacts its toll of all peoples, but another world war—a Wall Street-instigated war—would be worse for the American people than for any other. It would be disastrous and catastrophic for our people, no less than Hitler's war was for the German people.

Great opportunities for achieving lasting peace exist now and will expand in the future. They exist because of the great and growing might of the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies, the new German Democratic Republic, and liberated China. They exist, too, because of the organized and conscious efforts of hundreds of millions of people in the West, led by their Communist parties, to impose peace on the warmongers. They exist because the U.S.S.R., under Stalin's leadership, pursues a resolute peace policy and strives to realize the realistic possibilities, the Leninist-Stalinist concept of the peaceful co-existence of socialist and capitalist states. They exist because, as Stalin emphasizes, the peoples are war-weary and yearn for peace. They exist because the mutual interests of the American and Soviet peoples necessitate and favor co-operation and friendship, the realization of the proposal of Stalin for an American-Soviet Pact of Peace.

The mid-century year challenges all thoughtful and forward-looking Americans, in the first place workers and all anti-imperialists, to seize upon, shape, and utilize fully these new opportunities for achieving lasting peace. This challenge places a special historic responsibility on the American working class, and above all on its vanguard Communist Party. The Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin has demonstrated, in the almost fifty years since the ideological and organizational crystallization of Bolshevism, what a working class with a mind and will of its own, guided by the beacon-light of Marxist science, can accomplish. It has proved that through the instrument of such a party, millions of men and women can become masters of their destiny, the conscious architects of a better world for all, the world of socialism.

We American Communists look on the future not as a chapter to be read, but as one to be written. Our Party is determined to do all in its power to help assure that the hand of those who would write on it the disaster of a third world war—the monopolists and their

Tito-ite, Social-Democratic, and reformist agents—shall be stayed by the united action of millions of our fellow-Americans, acting in unison with countless legions of partisans of peace in all countries.

Inspired by the wisdom and the indestructible achievements of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, we guard the unity of our Communist Party and the purity of its principles, the unity of our Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, the strengthening of the Party and its ties with the masses, as the most precious possession of the American working class.

Drawing upon the best in America's democratic and revolutionary traditions and the rich and glorious experiences of the international labor and Communist movements, we will bend every effort to promote united labor action and the broadest front of peace to advance the welfare and security of the American people, Negro and white. We will go forward relying upon the militancy and creative initiative of the working class and its great allies: the Negro people, the progressive intellectuals, and working farmers. Undaunted by persecutions and momentary setbacks, we will build an ever more effective, steeled, and influential Communist Party to guide America by the compass of Marxism-Leninism forward to new struggles and new victories in the people's fight to prevent fascism and World War III, and to ensure peace, democracy, and socialism for our people and our nation.



## MAY DAY, 1950

*In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, we and all advanced workers march with the countless legions of peace in all countries.*

[Article written by request for publication in *Rude Pravo*, leading newspaper of Czechoslovakia, May 1, 1950.]

On this First of May hundreds of millions of men and women march as part of the world camp of peace, national liberation, and socialism, at whose head stands the Soviet Union. In the countries under capitalist rule and in the colonial lands, the peoples march to impose their will for peace. In the U.S.S.R., the countries of People's Democracy, and new China the peoples demonstrate their support for the resolute peace policy of their governments.

What of May Day in the United States, headquarters of the A- and H-bomb blackmailers and of the world camp of imperialism led by Wall Street and its government?

At the expense of the people's welfare, the Truman administration and bipartisan Congress intensify their aggressive war preparations, heat up the "cold war" atmosphere with the fumes of their "total diplomacy," and more brazenly resort to provocative warmongering acts. They dare to brand as "traitors" all Americans who oppose their imperialist policies, sound the warning against the menacing danger of war and fascism, and strive to mobilize united action for peace, security, and democracy.

Hence, this May Day presents an historic challenge to the American working class, its 15 million organized workers, and its vanguard Communist Party.

Since Truman's announcement that manufacture of the A- and H-bombs is to be speeded, a grass roots peace movement is developing throughout our country. This movement, as yet, is not adequately organized or clearly oriented. But it is spurred on by a growing understanding that Wall Street monopoly's drive to world domination, war, and fascism threatens to wipe out all that the American workers and people have won in generations of militant struggle. In increasing numbers, broad sections of rank-and-file trade unionists, the Negro people, progressive intellectuals, women, and youth begin to understand that the struggle to defend world peace, living standards, and democratic rights leads them into head-on conflict with the aggressive Wall Street-Washington "cold war" adventurists. This growing realization is expressed in the gathering mass opposition to the A- and H-bomb program and the police state Mundt Bill.

Despite the traitorous role of the Social-Democratic and reformist labor leaders, millions of militant workers and progressives, led and influenced by their Communist vanguard, begin to join in united action to resist fascist intimidation and check the imperialist war drive. Increasingly they see that the frantic attempts to outlaw our Communist Party and imprison its leaders are aimed at destroying peace and the Bill of Rights.

This glorious day of international working class solidarity had its origin in Chicago, the industrial heartland of America. May Day was born in the bloody struggles which American labor had to wage in order to wrest a few elementary rights and economic crumbs from the capitalist system—even in its heyday.

This May Day, American Communists draw upon the revolutionary and democratic traditions of the American working class and people, as well as on the generalized experience of the world working class. We call upon our fellow workers to unite millions in common action against the monopolists, their Titoite, Social-Democratic, and reformist agents, and to defeat all who conspire to bring upon our own and other peoples the horrors of a criminal imperialist war.

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, we and all advanced workers march with the countless legions of peace in all countries.

We hail the achievements of the People's Democracies, and their

advance toward socialism. We warmly greet the Communist Party, the working class, and the people of Czechoslovakia, whose victories confound the enemies of our working class and inspire all American anti-fascists and anti-imperialists.

We hail the Soviet Union's magnificent socialist victories, and its historic transition to communism under the guidance of the party of Lenin and Stalin. Its steadfast championship of peace and freedom inspires the peoples everywhere, and facilitates the realization of their aspiration for peace and national and social emancipation.

We pledge that this May Day will inaugurate a campaign to enlist new millions of American workers and progressives, Negro and white, in the invincible ranks of the world partisans of peace and progress.

Long live the People's Democracy of Czechoslovakia! Long live the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and its leader, Klement Gottwald!

Long live the friendship and solidarity of the American, Czechoslovak, and Soviet workers!

Long live the world camp of peace, democracy, and socialism!

# Part Five

## IN FOLEY SQUARE

*theories, ideas, and political policies are not triable in any court of law.*

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### SUMMATION TO THE JURY

*one way or another, we will continue to serve the cause of peace, democracy, and socialism to which we have dedicated our lives. . . .*

[Portions of summation to the jury, at the conclusion of the Foley Square trial, October, 1949. Sections omitted deal with the prosecution's charges as to how the Communist leaders allegedly "would" act in the event of another economic crisis, or the establishment of fascism in the United States, as well as a section dealing with the unity of Communist theory and practice.]

Members of the Jury:

As millions of people have come to realize, this is a historic trial. This is so not only because it involves eleven Communist leaders. This is so because it also involves the political principles and the inalienable rights of an American working-class party which bases its theory and

program on scientific socialism. This is so because this trial involves the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, the rights of freedom of speech, press, and assembly—and therefore involves the democratic liberties and future of all Americans.

We defendants contend, and have proved, that our trial is in fact a most extraordinary trial, a political trial, a thought-control trial.

The prosecution has tried to try the untriable, as the evidence and testimony prove. While contending that this is just an "ordinary criminal case," it has none the less put before a court and a jury a whole body of political doctrine, a social science, a political philosophy, and an economic theory.

The evidence and testimony confirm what could already be inferred from the indictment. We Communist leaders are *not* guilty of any criminal conspiracy to commit any overt act, direct or indirect, with intent to overthrow the United States government by force and violence. And, indeed, *we have not been so charged*.

There is no evidence or testimony purporting to connect us in any way with any attempt to incite or organize any uprising, rebellion, or riot. There is no evidence or testimony purporting to show that we conspired to teach the procurement or use of arms, or advocated seditious treason, or revolt against the government of the United States.

There is no credible evidence to show that any of us, by our own words, writing, or acts, ever advocated that it is a duty and necessary for any group of persons to overthrow the United States government by force and violence. Least of all is there any such evidence or testimony relating to the period covered by the indictment.

Moreover, the record completely refutes what the prosecution alleges to be our understanding of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. For the record shows how we Communist leaders applied our understanding of this working class social science in the interests of our people, in the cause of peace, democracy, and social progress.

Unable to challenge the record of our deeds, the prosecution has placed a new defendant in the dock, a defendant who is neither real nor an imaginary person. This is why the false accusations of the prosecution are made against the theory and philosophy of scientific socialism, particularly against the classic works of Marxism-Leninism.



Consider the evidence presented by the prosecution. It consists almost exclusively of books, articles, speeches, and resolutions—of quotations and excerpts torn from their written and historical context.

Consider the testimony of the prosecution's false witnesses. It consists primarily of fabricated reports of what a Martha, a Dave, an Al said they—and not the defendants—understood the written words of the books in evidence to mean.

The prosecution and its witnesses not only pretended to be ventriloquists, putting words into our mouths, they also professed to be mind-readers and crystal-gazers. They presumed to tell the jury what we Communist leaders *would* do, *would* teach, *would* advocate—if, and when.

The prosecution could not bring us Communist leaders to trial for anything we have done, taught, or advocated—individually, or collectively. Yet it did not dare say frankly that it seeks to convict us for our political beliefs, or for alleged hidden "dangerous thoughts."

Having heard of the First Amendment, and well aware of the American people's devotion to the principles of free speech, press, and assembly, the prosecution had to move heaven and earth to palm off this political-thoughts trial as an "ordinary, criminal case." To this end it resorted to a police state subterfuge, as we can see from its attempt to develop the following line of proof, to wit:

1. We defendants reconstituted the Communist Party.
2. This working-class political party stands for the principles of Marxism-Leninism.
3. Allegedly, Marxism-Leninism means the duty and necessity to overthrow the United States government by force and violence.
4. Hence, according to this caricature of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party is an organization of persons that allegedly teaches and advocates the forcible overthrow of the government of the United States.

The prosecution has rested its miserable case primarily on point 3 of this Goebbels-like line of proof—on the question of whether or not

the advocacy of the forcible overthrow of the United States government is a Marxist-Leninist "principle." It has thus rested its case (a) on a monstrous falsehood, refuted by all the evidence and testimony; and (b) on the untriable issue of how we defendants understand and apply our political doctrine and theory.

But before seeing how the record proves that Marxism-Leninism has nothing in common with the prosecution's *Mein Kampf* caricature of its principles, let us first clear away the underbrush of points 1 and 2.

The prosecution says we defendants reconstituted the Communist Party as a working-class political party, basing itself on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

This event took place in the broad light of day, three years before the indictment of July 20, 1948, was put together in the dark of the moon. The reconstitution of the Communist Party was front-page news in every newspaper, and grist to the mill of every editor, columnist, and radio commentator. The Communist Party documents setting forth the details, aims, and purposes of this political event were public documents, widely circulated in June and July, 1945, and thereafter.

What do these documents show to be the true facts concerning the reconstitution of the Communist Party?

The jury must have been struck by a coincidence of dates, inadvertently revealed in the indictment. The fictitious "conspiracy" to dissolve the Communist Political Association is alleged to have begun on or about April 1, 1945.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt died on April 12, 1945. In April, 1945, the military defeat of the Axis enemies and the victorious end of World War II were already sufficiently assured to turn the minds of all thinking people to the problems of the postwar world. Thus, a new political situation in our country existed and had to be taken into account by all who were concerned with our people's welfare.

The record shows that these objective factors led Foster and the eleven defendants, as well as large sections of our membership, to pursue more diligently the re-examination of Communist Party policy, begun long before April 1, 1945.

The record shows that the defendants, led by Foster, had been waging a struggle against Browder's incorrect and revisionist policies and his

alse estimate of the postwar world for a whole year before Jacques Duclos' important and wise article put the French Communists on guard against Browder's anti-Marxist influence. This protracted inner-party conflict had nothing at all to do with any question of the advocacy of force and violence. Browder and his adherents held that sections of American monopoly would guarantee world peace and would lead the bandwagon of social progress after the war and that the working class could hitch on behind, with not a care in the world.

In 1945, we defendants, as well as Foster, differed fundamentally with Browder. We understood that monopoly does not change its spots. We held then, as we hold today, that monopoly was and is reactionary, and that only by joint action to curb the economic royalists could the workers and common people prevent the rise of fascism in our country, defend their living standards, achieve a stable peace, and march forward along the road of social progress.

The record shows that our aim and purpose in reconstituting the Communist Party *was to enable it to become a more influential and effective working-class force in this postwar struggle to save our people from the force and violence of monopoly reaction, lynching, and atomic war. It was to equip our Party to perform its role as the Marxist vanguard of the working class, leading the people's fight for peace, democracy, and socialism.*

The prosecution does not claim that we defendants organized a *new* political party, or adopted a *new* set of principles, in 1945. All it claims is that we went "back to the old Communist Party."

What "old" Communist Party? Even the prosecution cannot deny it means the Communist Party founded in September, 1919. This was the same Communist Party which had been on the American scene, teaching and advocating the principles of Marxism-Leninism, for many years.

It was the same Communist Party which had opposed the reactionary policies of such governments as those headed by Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. But it never advocated their forcible overthrow.

It was the same Communist Party which, in 1933-34, and in 1939-40, had taken sharp issue with the Roosevelt government on many questions, though it never advocated the forcible overthrow of the Roose-

velt government, and incidentally denounced the extreme pro-fascists who advocated "That Man's" assassination.

Above all, this was the same Communist Party which supported Roosevelt against the Liberty League and which loyally supported his administration during the World War II years—the same party, with the same matchless record of devotion to the cause of victory over Hitler and Hirohito.

It was the same "old" Communist Party that made history in many struggles, including those for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys, Angelo Herndon, Tom Mooney and Sacco and Vanzetti. It was the same "old" party that led the fight for social security, industrial trade unions in the basic industries, equal rights for the Negro people, and to quarantine and defeat the Axis aggressors.

From 1919 to 1948, this very same Communist Party was under the constant, secret surveillance of the F.B.I. There always were Philbricks and Youngloves and Hidalgos in its ranks, fabricating what they were paid to fabricate and otherwise trying to slander and disrupt. But neither before nor after the reconstitution of the Communist Party could any government of the United States find or fabricate evidence that we defendants or our Party were plotting its forcible overthrow.

The prosecution had a special purpose in constructing its frameup case around the 1945 reconstitution of the Communist Party. It sought to give a new and sinister twist to our 29-year-old Communist Party in order to lend some faint semblance of reason to the timing of its Nazi-like indictment. In so doing, it tried desperately to hide from the American people the plain and simple fact that this is a political-thoughts trial aimed at beheading and outlawing a Marxist, working-class party, a minority opposition party.

But what are the terrible things which the prosecution has gone to such great lengths to "prove" that we defendants *did do* between April 1, 1945, and July, 1948? What does the indictment say we did?

Why, it says we convened meetings of a national board, a national committee, a national convention. We adopted a draft resolution. We even amended and adopted a constitution. We caused the organization of clubs, district and state units of a political party. Worse yet, we elected officers, we tried to get people to join our Party. We assumed

responsibility for schools and classes. We caused—imagine—we caused the publication of certain books, articles, magazines, and *newspapers!*

None of these acts is forbidden by statute, and all are protected by the First Amendment. But if the prosecution has its way, these acts would henceforth be forbidden to the Communist Party in particular, and working-class political parties in general—and subsequently they would likewise be forbidden to trade unions and other people's organizations.

You jurors have been looking at us eleven Communist leaders in the dock for eight months. Look at us again. We are eleven individuals. But we are also the National Committee of the Communist Party. Only one of our members—Mrs. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn—is not under indictment, and only Foster's ill health severed his case from this trial.

Look at us, and suppose for a moment that we were the National Committee of, say, the Progressive Party, of the C.I.O., the A. F. of L., the N.A.A.C.P., or the American Jewish Congress. Suppose also that the charge, the evidence, and the testimony were substantially the same—except that some other organization's principles had been substituted for our Communist Party's principles, and that some other defendants had agreed to convene a national board, a national committee, and a convention.

Under those circumstances, would you jurors have any doubt that this is a trial of ideas, of political doctrine, of a philosophy of life? Would you doubt that its purpose is to secure not only the imprisonment of the leaders of an organization—but also the outlawing of the organization itself and the prohibition of certain ideas?

The fact that in this case the organization *is* the Communist Party only serves to underscore the point.

Keep on supposing for another minute that we are eleven other fellows. You jurors know there is a second indictment pending against us, and against Foster. It charges each of us individually with being a *member* of the Communist Party. Doesn't that say plainly enough that if the prosecution were to win this case, *every member* of our organization would be subject to indictment and prosecution?

Nor is it so far-fetched for you to suppose that the leaders of some other working-class organization, or minority political party, might



some day be sitting where we Communist leaders now sit. What began in Nazi Germany with Communists and Jews reached out very quickly to Protestants and Catholics, Social-Democrats and trade unionists, and not long after—to the whole German people, and all progressive humanity.

The device by which the Nazis spread an ever wider and wider net is commonly known as guilt by association. The prosecution and court have assured you that this Nazi concept would never be tolerated in Foley Square. But what have you American men and women seen here, with your own eyes, and heard with your own ears?

This whole case, beginning with the indictment, has been built around the defendants' association. In the first place, around our association with *books*, our association with *ideas*, with a body of scientific socialist thought common to hundreds of millions of people all over the world.

Moreover, in cross-examining defendants and defense witnesses, the prosecution did not ask what we Communist leaders practice, teach, or advocate. It wanted to know *who was there, listening to what was allegedly said*.

We Communist leaders are opposed to any effort to smuggle into American political life and jurisprudence the idea of guilt by association. We do not think that anyone, be it ourselves, our relatives, friends, acquaintances, political allies, or any other fellow citizens, should be penalized for our beliefs or activity.

The jury knows that a number of defendants, of their own volition, refused to aid or abet the prosecution's attempt to impute guilt to other persons not on trial. You know also that Henry Winston, John Gates, Gus Hall, Gilbert Green, and Carl Winter were remanded—and three of them have spent most of the trial period in jail.

Under the rulings of the court, the jury may not pass upon, or the defense argue, the unconstitutionality of the indictment and the Smith Act.

But the principles of the Bill of Rights and the First Amendment are understood and cherished not only by us defendants, but also by the majority of the American people. The prosecution knows that as well as we do. It will therefore, no doubt, in its summation tell the

jury to order us Communist leaders taken into "protective custody," alleging that otherwise we would destroy the Bill of Rights in some unknowable future.

But you jurors should not let anybody talk you out of believing what you have seen and heard for yourselves. Since the prosecution has before your very eyes violated the principles of the Bill of Rights, you should at least conclude that it is under a cloud of suspicion.

We Communist leaders were ostensibly indicted for our principles. We were not indicted for reducing the size of Communist Party clubs—a matter not proscribed by statute. We were not indicted on charges of alleged perjury or alleged use of false passports. We were not indicted because some of us may have changed our names, or because some Communists call each other by their first names.

But the prosecution has tried to smuggle such extraneous charges into this trial because it is unable to bring any evidence or credible testimony of conspiracy to teach and advocate the duty and necessity to overthrow the government of the United States by force and violence. That is why it has had to rely on this back-door effort to create an atmosphere of mystery about our Communist Party.

The jury might well draw some conclusions of its own from the prosecution's false witnesses, who testified that they covenanted with the prosecution for thirty pieces of silver, and from that time sought opportunity to betray their trade-union brothers, their own blood relatives, the family next door.

They testified that they were employed by the F.B.I., which schooled them to ply their sordid trade of falsification, provocation, and disruption. They confessed—nay, boasted—that they are without shame or scruple.

Thus the prosecution's false witnesses inadvertently proved the Marxist thesis that end and means are inter-related and inseparable. They proved that the despicable conspiratorial methods adopted by the prosecution in its desperate attempt to convict the defendants are as un-American as they are sinister.

The fact is that the only conspiracy which has been proved in this trial is that to which the prosecution and its false witnesses are party—the bi-partisan conspiracy to destroy the Bill of Rights and peace.

Yet the prosecution and its false witnesses have the unmitigated gall to tell you jurors that it is we Communists who teach that "the end justifies the means."

It is true that some Communists, concerned for their jobs, their liberty, and sometimes even for their lives, do independently decide to conceal their names or otherwise exercise their constitutional right to maintain the privacy of their political affiliation. This is no crime—but the jury should ask itself: what goes on in our country when such concealment becomes increasingly a necessity not only for many Communists, but also for non-Communist progressives, trade unionists, Negroes, and professionals.

Does not this state of affairs reveal the existence of an evil, reactionary, political atmosphere in which growing numbers of Americans of necessity have to take such measures of self-protection? How is this evil to be remedied? Will these conditions be eliminated by the prosecution's proposals not only to convict us defendants, but to outlaw the Communist Party, and by its implied program for introducing more and more political repression in American life?

We Communist leaders disagree. We think that repressive measures are the surest way to crucify the Bill of Rights, to compel the organization of secret societies, and to force millions of people to walk carefully and look behind them before they speak. We say the only way to overcome such a police state atmosphere is to enforce the Bill of Rights, and to make sure that every American—Jew or Gentile, Negro or white, native or foreign-born, Communist or non-Communist—is secure from economic, social, or political penalty for his or her beliefs, race, creed, or color.

Regardless of how some Communists may have sought to protect themselves against witchhunts and this Nazi-style punishment for guilt by association, the whole record in this trial proves that we defendants and our Party fully, frankly, and proudly declare our views and aims.

Moreover, the 35 defense witnesses provided the jury with an opportunity to see a cross-section of the Communist Party membership. The contrast between these upstanding men and women and the prosecution's Judas parade cannot have escaped your notice.

Probably most of you jurors never saw a real, live Communist before you came to Foley Square. Perhaps you were surprised to find descendants of Daniel Boone and John and Priscilla Alden sharing leadership in our ranks with descendants of heroic Negro slaves. You must also have noted that just about half of these witnesses were World War II veterans. The record shows that there are 15,000 such veterans in our relatively small Communist Party. Many of them, including four of the defendants, hold leading posts in our Party.

It cannot have escaped your notice that men and women, Negro and white, of all national and religious origins and occupations—most of them workers and trade unionists—find their way to our Communist Party on the basis of their own experience and socialist convictions.

That we have distinguished and noble friends outside our ranks you jurors also learned, even though one of them, that great American, Paul Robeson, was not able to do much more than say that he knew the defendants, and some of us as friends.

One need not be either a Communist, or a Communist sympathizer, or a progressive, or a trade unionist, to recognize the difference between people with good or evil intent. One need not understand a single Marxist principle, or agree with a single word ever written by Lenin, to recognize the real conspiracy symbolized by the prosecution and its false witnesses. Or to know that the defendants and the defense witnesses are men and women who are dedicated to serving the interests of the American people—Negro and white—and seek to promote peace and democratic advance.

Now let us get down to the prosecution's \$64 question: do any of the principles of Marxism-Leninism mean the duty and necessity to overthrow the United States government by force and violence? We defendants have proved that they do not.

But what has the prosecution produced to substantiate its fabricated charge? Its main reliance is on what it refers to as "the paraphernalia of the conspiracy." This is what we plain-speaking Communists call: *books*. This is the classic literature of Marxism-Leninism, an indispensable part of modern mankind's knowledge, culture, scientific thought, and social advance.

Before analyzing, if only in capsule form, the great liberating principles of scientific socialism, dealt with in these classics, I would like to call the jury's attention to several vital facts.

Some of the classics put in evidence by the prosecution have been circulating freely in this country for ten years, some for thirty years, some for fifty years, some for one hundred years. The Communist Party has publicly promoted the publication, distribution, and study of most of them for thirty years—and *not excepting* the 1944-45 period of the Communist Political Association.

A special honor and symbol attaches to these books: where the Marxist classics have been banned, free speech and press have been banned; where they have been put on trial, men and women have been put in concentration camps without trial; where these books have been burned, human beings have been consumed in crematoria.

These books are a sort of barometer of the political climate. It is known to the jury, and written on the record of this trial, that these very Marxist-Leninist books were returned to free circulation by the peoples in Germany, Italy, France, and Japan when American, British, and Soviet soldiers came to liberate those lands from Nazi and Mikado tyranny.

Strange as it may seem, these are the books with which we Communist leaders have been confronted in this court. The prosecution does not even claim we *wrote* them. It doesn't even say we defendants quoted from them. It says merely that somebody recommended them in an outline as "additional reading for future self-study."

The prosecution professes to put in issue what we Communist leaders understand these books to mean. But no body of thought, least of all scientific socialism, can possibly be tried in a court of law. No court and no jury can determine what goes on inside our heads, or the heads of any other defendants being tried for their political beliefs.

Nevertheless, we Communist leaders have proved what the principles of Marxism-Leninism are—and what they are not.

What does the record reveal about these principles for which we are ostensibly indicted? Do they, for example, include the "principle" of dog-eat-dog, of each for himself and the devil take the hindmost?



No, those are the principles of the "free enterprisers," of the imperialist warmakers.

What are the Marxist-Leninist principles to which we eleven defendants proudly declare our adherence and which we endeavor to apply in the interests of our people and country?

These principles are outlined in the testimony of the defense, especially in Foster's deposition. They are also stated—in various ways in relation to a host of historical and social events and developments—in the *Communist Manifesto*, *State and Revolution*, *Foundations of Leninism*, *The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, the chief Marxist-Leninist classics put in evidence by the prosecution.

The record establishes that the principles of Marxism-Leninism affirm the following:

First: that the struggle between social classes, between exploiters and exploited, between capital and labor, has been, and is, the motor power, the moving force, in the development of civilized society, regardless of the will or desires of men.

Second: that the working class is the most progressive class in modern society, the class in league with the future, destined to rule the nation and free the peoples from the tyranny and oppression of vested capitalist interests, from class and national oppression. Therefore, the working class is the grave-digger of dying capitalism and the creator of the new system of society—socialism.

Further, that neither evolutionary social progress nor revolutionary social change can be brought about by minorities, adventurist plots, or palace revolutions. Basic social change, social revolutions, can only be achieved when objective circumstances, and the teaching of experience, bring tens of millions of people to act together, under the leadership of the working class, in accord with the majority will.

Third: that *after* the attainment of state power, the working class and its allies can maintain their rule only by establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat; and by using the power of the new working-class state—then the only legal and constitutional state power—to

smash the *old* state machinery of the exploiters, of the old capitalist minority and to crush their counter-revolutionary resistance.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a working-class dictatorship against the exploiters; it is the rule of the majority of the people; it is democracy for the great masses of the people. It must establish and consolidate socialism and will ultimately create a classless, a communist society.

Fourth: that our Marxist-Leninist principles establish that some wars are just, liberating, and progressive, and should be supported; while other wars are imperialist and reactionary, unjust, and should be opposed, whether waged by one's own government or some other government.

Fifth: that there is a brotherhood of all working people, whose common historic aim and interest in peace, national freedom, and social progress unite them against their common enemies in the spirit of working-class solidarity and internationalism.

Sixth: that it is a principle of Marxism-Leninism that to fulfill its historic aim the working class needs and creates a political party of a new type, a vanguard party, the party of socialism, which is guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism, and champions the immediate and fundamental interests of the working class and all oppressed people.

These Marxist-Leninist principles, set forth in the classics and in our testimony, sum up the fundamental truths distilled from American and world history and general international working-class experience. They are very different from what the *Wall Street Journal* frankly and approvingly calls "the jungle principle of the Atlantic Pact." They have nothing in common with the "principles" of, say, the duPonts or Rockefellers, or John Foster Dulles or John Rankin, or the N.A.M. and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

Strange as it may seem to the jury, the prosecution has never openly and directly challenged our forward-looking and scientific Marxist-Leninist principles—for which ostensibly we Communist leaders were indicted. Nor has the prosecution dared to challenge openly the historic

goal of the working class, the eventual socialist reorganization of American society which we Communist leaders advocate.

As we have testified, socialism is the public ownership of the great banks, factories, utilities, railroads, mines, and all productive resources, and the management of the nation's economy by a people's government at whose head stands the working class and its Communist vanguard.

We defendants have testified that under socialism, as in the Soviet Union, there is no exploitation of the many by the few, no racial or national inequality, no religious persecution, no fear of unemployment or social insecurity. There is no economic or social basis for seeking to subjugate other nations and peoples. Hence, there is no reason or basis for a socialist state to pursue a foreign policy of aggression and war. Quite the contrary.

We have further testified it is our earnest belief that the strengthening of socialism in the country where it has been established—in the U.S.S.R.—and the attainment of socialism in all countries will forever end the threat of reaction, fascism, and war—and so open up new and boundless opportunities for humanity's well-being, happiness, and social progress.

Whether or not any of you jurors agree, even in small part, with what we Communist leaders believe about socialism is not an issue here. Just when the American people will decide they want socialism, and how they will achieve it, is a question for the majority of our fellow citizens, for the working people, and for the future.

However, the prosecution has professed to pose before you jurors a hypothetical and theoretical question, namely: do we defendants believe that the socialist reorganization of American society *can ever, at any time or under any circumstances, be accomplished without the overthrow of the United States government by force and violence?*

In falsely answering this question, the prosecution has deliberately jumbled and sought to confuse the important difference between principles and ultimate aims on the one hand, and the strategy and specific tactics required to apply these principles on the other.

But as you have learned from Foster's deposition and other defense evidence and testimony, we Communist leaders teach and emphasize that the realization of working-class aims, the application of the prin-

ciples of scientific socialism, necessitate the adoption of a definite strategy and flexible tactics in accordance with historic realities, in accord with the time, place, and circumstance. Government's Exhibit No. 33, *Foundations of Leninism*, deals extensively with this distinction in Chapter VII.

What does this exhibit underscore in regard to what we Marxists mean by strategy and tactics?

It tells us that real Marxists must first of all understand that they cannot accomplish their socialist aims by wishful thinking. They must study what is going on in each particular country, in each particular historical period, in each particular stage of the country's political life, including what's what in the working-class movement.

They must know what grievances and aspirations stir the millions to common action at each given time and place. They must know how to identify the main enemy of progress, the main danger to peace, at each particular stage of events. They must shape their policies and set their course in accord with objective reality and the will of the majority of the workers and common people.

That is what we defendants teach when we teach Marxist-Leninist strategy.

In addition, Government's Exhibit No. 33 tells us that tactics are subordinate to, and serve, strategy. It tells us that tactics may change often and rapidly in response to changing conditions—even though these changes do not necessarily require a change in strategy.

It must be clear to the jury that there is nothing in any of this teaching to substantiate the prosecution's specific false charge that, because we Communist leaders are Marxists, we advocate the duty and necessity of the forcible overthrow of some hypothetical future United States government—as the *only possible means* to achieve the ultimate goal of the working class: socialism.

How has the prosecution tried to prop its monstrous and fantastic charge? It has parroted the undeniable fact that there is a law of inevitable proletarian revolution. The prosecution has also borrowed a leaf from Hitler's book, *Mein Kampf*, in an effort to make it appear that this law says socialism cannot be peacefully achieved, and that we Communist leaders have a "blueprint" for when and how to bring it

about by the forcible overthrow of the government.

The law of inevitable proletarian revolution was, and is, a basic social law. It exists as independent of the intent of the defendants, or any other Marxists, as the law of atomic fission exists independent of the will of nuclear physicists.

This law of social change and revolution says socialism will ultimately be established in every country. *But it does not say when, or how.*

We Communist leaders have proved what scarcely needed proving: that reactionary classes or minority cliques in power have used force and violence to block all progress whenever and wherever they were able to do so. A very striking recent example of this was the warning that even the mildest social measures to meet the people's needs would be met by violent counter-revolution, which was voiced and advocated by John Foster Dulles in the current election campaign in New York.

We defendants are proud that Marxists have, for 101 years, used their understanding of the laws of human society to advance social progress, and to defend the immediate, as well as the future, interests of the working people.

Everywhere in the world, force and violence are the instruments of monopoly rule, especially in its drive toward fascism. And in every time and place, the piously professed abhorrence of violence has been a hypocritical disguise adopted by reactionary vested interests, by those who oppose anything and everything the people may do to promote life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To this rule, Foley Square is no exception.

The responsibility for force and violence was very well described in what Mark Twain wrote about the French Revolution in that great American classic, *A Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court*. Mark Twain, whose real name, incidentally, was Samuel Clemens, wrote:

"There were two 'Reigns of Terror' if we would but remember it; the one lasted mere months, the other had lasted a thousand years; the one inflicted death upon ten thousand persons, the other upon a hundred million; but our shudders are all for the 'horrors' of the minor Terror; the momentary Terror. . . . A city cemetery could contain the coffins filled by that brief Terror which we have all been so diligently



taught to shiver at and mourn over; but all France could hardly contain the coffins filled by that older and real Terror—that unspeakably bitter and awful Terror which none of us has been taught to see in its vastness or pity as it deserves.”

Because it wanted to obscure that older and real Terror, the prosecution also tried to keep the jury from understanding that the law of inevitable proletarian revolution covers a long, historical process.

We defendants, and especially the testimony of Foster and Weiss, Gates, Green, and Thompson, have explained to the jury that the five stages of social evolution and revolution covered by this law include:

1. The rise of capitalism and its development into moribund imperialism;
2. The attainment of state power by the working class;
3. The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of working-class power, that is, working-class democracy, which proceeds to smash the old bourgeois state machinery, capitalist resistance, and counter-revolution;
4. The building of socialism;
5. The eventual achievement of communism and the ultimate withering away of the state.

There is nothing in this law of inevitable social change and revolution that says any, or all, of its five stages can be accomplished only by the violent overthrow of the United States government, or of any particular government.

However, the prosecution in its pretended “theorizing” deals only with the second and third stages. Characteristically, it prefers to gloss over the fact that the capitalist system has quite a record of force and violence, dating a lot further back than 1917.

Most capitalist states came to power through the forcible overthrow of feudal and monarchist governments. Capitalism in the U.S.A. and elsewhere has taken a toll of hundreds of millions of lives in many unjust wars of profit, plunder, and imperialist aggrandize-

ment. It has taken the lives of hundreds of millions of toilers as a result of preventable industrial accidents and disease.

Whether in the form of pogroms or lynchings, capitalism has bred violence, terror, and chauvinism. In the epoch of its decline, monopoly capital breeds fascism, the savage and brutal rule of the most reactionary, war-minded trusts, the perpetrator of crimes so inhuman that a new name—genocide—had to be coined.

Nevertheless, the law of inevitable socialist revolution holds that no matter how violent capitalism may be, it must outlive its social usefulness before the economic, political, and social factors mature which make possible the rise of the working class to power and the establishment of socialism.

Now, what about the two stages of this basic social law in which the prosecution pretends such a profound theoretical interest?

First: the jury should remember that we are talking about a whole process of social development, about a social law—not a blueprint. Second: you should bear in mind that this law's operation is affected and modified by changing national and world situations.

The prosecution has given each of you jurors a souvenir of Foley Square: *The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*. The false witnesses said that a Martha, a Dave, or an Otto taught them to study this history as a blueprint for overthrowing some un-named United States government by force and violence in the unknowable future.

But what does the record show that the defendants teach from this valuable summing up of the history of the first successful proletarian revolution?

Naturally we teach that there was a revolution in Russia in 1917; and also that it confirmed the general laws discovered by Marx, and developed by Lenin and Stalin. We also teach that this first proletarian revolution played havoc with all blueprints, and made a laughing stock of blueprint worshippers. We teach that there would not have been a socialist revolution in Russia in 1917 if Lenin and his associates had used the *Communist Manifesto* as a blueprint. For, as you recall, this classic, Government's Exhibit No. 40, anticipated that the first socialist revolution would begin in a highly industrialized

country like Germany, and could only succeed if completed simultaneously in a large number of other advanced countries.

We teach that there was a successful socialist revolution in Russia in 1917 because history took a course different than that anticipated, but not blueprinted, by Marx and Engels. And also because Lenin and Stalin proved in practice that real Marxists are guided by a social science, that they do not use blueprints, and that they enrich and develop the creative science of Marxism.

Moreover, we teach that at one time, under the conditions then prevailing, Marx and Engels foresaw the possibility of two countries in particular, the United States and Britain, achieving socialism through the orderly and constitutional coming to power of the working class; and that Lenin, the champion of social change and proletarian revolutions, found two real—though fleeting—opportunities for the peaceful development of the Russian revolution: in March, and again in July, 1917. Lenin advocated that the working class, wherever and whenever possible, make every effort to take advantage of such opportunities. It was not Marxist-Leninist principles but capitalist resistance and imperialist intervention that foreclosed these peaceful opportunities.

And, finally, we teach that the socialist revolution in Russia took place in the midst of an imperialist war, in the midst of a world torn by force and violence. The relatively peaceful attainment of working-class power there was followed by the military intervention of the British, French, American, and Japanese militarists.

The first socialist revolution was indeed a difficult one, but we Communist leaders do not teach that all future socialist revolutions will have to be equally difficult. The world has changed not only since 1917, but even since your souvenir textbook was written in 1938.

It is not a question of theory, but fact, that the defeat of the Axis powers and the further strengthening of socialism in the Soviet Union made possible altogether new developments, never foreseen or "blueprinted" by Marx and Lenin.

Thus, the question of who is responsible for force and violence long ago ceased to be a "theoretical" question for the people of the Eastern European countries. The Polish people found that those who ac-

cused the Polish Communists of advocating force and violence murdered nine million Polish civilians—three million of them Jews. The people of Czechoslovakia do not forget that when the Nazi invaders imprisoned Czechs for their Marxist beliefs, they executed 60,000 other patriots, put 200,000 in concentration camps, and drove a million and a half from their homes.

As was testified here by defense witness Max Weiss and defendant Gilbert Green, the Hungarian working class attained power by peaceful means in 1919, with Lenin's hearty approval and advice. But its legal government was overthrown by the force and violence of the feudal landlords and the pro-fascist capitalists whose state machinery the Hungarian workers had failed to smash.

As a result of these experiences, the peoples of the Eastern European countries turned to the leadership of the working class and its Communist vanguard when they were liberated from the hated Nazis and their collaborators by the Red Army in 1945.

In these countries, the working class attained power by peaceful and entirely constitutional means. It overthrew no capitalist government by force and violence.

In these countries, the working class, on the basis of historically new conditions, developed a new form of proletarian dictatorship: the form of people's democracy. It thus showed its contempt for the blueprint worshippers who said it is written in a book that the proletarian dictatorship must inevitably take the form of soviets—as it did in the U.S.S.R.

Of course, in these Eastern European countries the working class, after establishing itself in power by peaceful and legal means, then smashed the bourgeois state machinery. But political machines do not bleed, and this smashing is not necessarily the gory business the prosecution wants to make it seem. On the contrary, it is something like what the Democratic and Republican parties call "a good housecleaning"—when one of them succeeds another in governmental power; the difference being, however, that the working class really does clean house and puts in an entirely new social category of "tenants," instead of substituting one gang of five percenters for another.

These people's democracies are now firmly established, have rid

their countries of fascism, and are pioneering new paths from capitalism to socialism.

Thus far, they have been spared the force and violence of civil war and imperialist intervention which the Soviet Union suffered in the 1920's. That is because they have the Soviet Union as a powerful and friendly neighbor and because they have not hesitated to take firm measures against minority cliques of imperialist agents threatening their legal people's governments with forcible overthrow.

Whether you twelve men and women of the jury approve or disapprove of what the people of these Eastern European democracies have done is not an issue in this trial. But the testimony and evidence prove, beyond doubt, that there is no such animal as a Marxist blueprint; and that we Communist leaders do not teach what the prosecution says we teach.

On the contrary, we teach that the rare brief moment of possible peaceful transition to socialism, seen by Lenin in the Russia of 1917, has now lengthened out immeasurably.

The jury knows that the Communist Party has been advocating socialism for 30 years. But we never tried to convince the American people that the road to socialism in the United States would follow a blueprint.

Even the prosecution cannot think up a credible motive why we should do so now; *now* when new and golden opportunities for orderly social progress have come into being.

The defense has brought evidence and testimony to prove that, in essence, the Marxist law of inevitable social revolution holds true of all social revolutions—non-socialist, as well as socialist. We have also established just what Marx and Engels meant when they stated in the *Communist Manifesto* "that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. . . ."

The democratic and revolutionary significance of this proposition of Marx and Engels was confirmed in their lifetime, right here in the United States. The jury has heard the defense explain how this happened. It is a chapter of American history familiar to you long before you read Chapter VII in *The History of the C.P.S.U.*



In 1860 Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States. His was no ordinary election, though it was strictly legal and peaceful. Lincoln was elected by a new political party.

This was a coalition party of capitalists, workers, and pioneer farmers who disagreed about a lot of things, but were brought together first by their common opposition to the expansion of slavery, and thence by the realization that victory over the slave oligarchy required the abolition of chattel slavery.

These Americans — abolitionists, socialists, capitalists — had lost confidence in the two old political parties of that day. The new government they elected was dedicated to the proposition that chattel slavery should not spread into new territory, and that the Republic should be preserved.

The jury should note that this was the only United States government, in the 173 years of our nation's history, that had to defend itself against a serious threat of forcible overthrow. This threat came from an illegal armed insurrection of slave owners, hellbent to maintain the social conditions of chattel slavery. This counter-revolutionary revolt did not come from the abolitionists, the early socialists, or the Negro people who advocated the destruction of chattel slavery.

Lincoln's government used the most powerful instrument of force and violence at its command, the United States Army, to put down this armed insurrection.

Horrifying as this may be to the prosecution, the federal government later sent the army into southern states *to smash the slave oligarchy's state machinery*. It took from the slave owners their most valuable property, without paying them for it, or asking their leave. It amended the Constitution to give the vote and other citizen rights to the Negro people, and did not permit the slave states to vote the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments up or down.

One can learn strange things in Foley Square. Perhaps most of you jurors did not know before that there were American Marxists in Lincoln's time. They subscribed to the principles for which we defendants are now ostensibly being tried. Their ultimate aim was socialism, the abolition of both chattel and wage slavery. They promoted

the unity of Negro and white. They were proletarian internationalists. Lincoln himself had a high regard for proletarian internationalism. He said: "The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds."

These early American Marxists took pride in Marx's successful efforts to organize the British workers in support of the Union cause. They joined in building the broad coalition and new political party which elected Lincoln, and they served as high-ranking officers in the Union Army.

Here we have a real social revolution to stack up against the Smith Act, the indictment, and the prosecution's *Mein Kampf* version of the law of inevitable proletarian revolution.

This social revolution followed a fundamental Marxist law to a T. It was supported by American Marxists and by the international Communist movement. It overthrew the *social conditions* of chattel slavery by force and violence, and began, though it did not complete, the national liberation of the Negro people.

But this American social revolution did not overthrow the United States government. It achieved its aims by *upholding* the United States government with force and violence. This real revolution overthrew, destroyed and smashed the whole "theoretical" basis of the prosecution's case.

The prosecution has still another "iffy" proposition. It falsely charges that "if" we Communist leaders do not advocate the forcible overthrow of the government in time of depression, then allegedly we "would" do so during the "next" imperialist war.

This theory has been spun by the prosecution from the old and revered working-class slogan, "turn the imperialist war into civil war."

As to this, we defendants have answered in the first place—that our calculations are all based on the proposition that the peoples are going to *prevent* another imperialist war, another world war.

Nevertheless, we have told the jury all about this slogan, dug up from the archives of World War I by the prosecution.

In fact, you also read about it in Government's Exhibit No. 30,

*The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.* You know that at Stuttgart in 1907, and again at Basle in 1912, the world socialist movement declared that workers consider it a crime to shoot each other for the sake of the profits of the capitalists.

When World War I broke out, it was the Bolsheviks who alone applied this principle and adopted as a slogan of action: "Turn the imperialist war into civil war." That was the only possible way of opposing that *particular* unjust war, and hastening its end. It also turned out to be the way—at that time, in that place and under those circumstances—of advancing the struggle for socialism to its complete victory over tsardom and capitalist oppression in Russia.

The jury knows that the German workers did not practice this slogan in 1914-1918. The defense has shown how consequently this helped prepare the way for Hitler's coming to power.

Above all, the jury should remember that the slogan, "turn the imperialist war into civil war," was employed in a specific war, in the concrete circumstances of World War I. It is true that this tactic, this slogan of action, flowed from a cardinal Marxist principle—to which we defendants subscribe.

This is the principle that there is a fundamental *difference* between wars of national defense and national conquest, wars of national liberation and national oppression—between just and unjust wars. According to this working-class principle, we Marxists hold that it is a duty to oppose all unjust wars, struggle to prevent their outbreak, and if that struggle is defeated—to work for the establishment of a democratic and just peace.

The prosecution does not dare come right out and say it is either illegal, or immoral, to distinguish between just and unjust wars. But, particularly in the cross-examination of the defendants Gates, Green and Thompson, it made its position clear. The prosecution's code of "ethics" distinguishes only between declared and undeclared wars—between wars waged by other governments and wars waged or supported by the government of the United States.

This is the language of the advocates of a "preventive war," it is the language of aggressors, and of those who seek to emulate Adolf Hitler.

We Communists speak the blunt and honest language of working people. We say it plainly that the first and highest duty of the patriot in *all* countries is to judge if the cause in which his *own* government resorts to arms be just or unjust. We say that if guilt attaches to those Germans who did not oppose Hitler's wars of aggression—then Americans would be equally guilty if they support an unjust war waged by any government of the United States.

As we defendants have told the jury, we concur in the patriotic idea expressed by Carl Schurz, close associate of Lincoln, opponent of unjust wars, and Senator from Wisconsin. In 1872 Schurz told Congress that "in one sense I, too, say: My country right or wrong; if right, to be kept right; and if wrong, to be set right."

We eleven defendants have written much about unjust wars, and a good deal about the historic significance of the slogan: "Turn the imperialist war into civil war." The prosecution has been over all this material with a fine-tooth comb. But you jurors know there is not even half a sentence in evidence to show that any of us ever advanced this slogan *as a slogan of action*.

I repeat, no matter what this or that defendant, as an individual, may have thought at one time, or may have written decades ago, our Communist Party *never* put forward at any time this slogan *as a slogan of action*.

Out of the whole 30 years' history of our Communist Party's resolute struggle against the imperialist warmakers, against every imperialist war, the prosecution has not been able to dig up a single example that the Communist Party or its national leadership ever advocated the use of this slogan, the concrete application of this tactic—even though we had the constitutional right to do so.

The best, or more concretely, the worst the prosecution could do to "prove" the impossible was to have the false witness Budenz assert that in 1939 and early in 1940 he once heard me say the imperialist war should be turned into civil war. This unmitigated lie was clearly exposed by the defense witness, Max Weiss.

We Communist leaders have testified under oath, and we say again, that if an unjust war develops, we are going to oppose it, work to bring it to a speedy end in the interest of our own and all other peoples

and advocate the establishment of a democratic and stable peace. And that goes for *any* unjust war—whether waged against the Soviet Union, or some Latin American country, whether waged against Britain, France or Italy, against the new people's democracies in Eastern Europe, or against the new, liberated China.

But that does not mean that, if such an imperialist and disastrous war should take place, we Communists are inevitably going to advocate that anybody turn such an unjust war into civil war.

As you jurors know, the slogan "turn the imperialist war into civil war" was never used as a slogan of action during World War II—a just war which we Communists resolutely supported from beginning to end.

How does the prosecution "theorize" this fact to suit the needs of its mind-reading line of proof?

The prosecution hops on to another well-known fact—the fact that we Communist leaders considered the early, "phony war" period of 1939-40 an imperialist war, and warned that Chamberlain and Daladier were going to switch sides and suck the United States with them into Hitler's camp. But this hop puts the prosecution's ersatz "theories" into an even more defenseless position. For even the prosecution has to admit that in this period we American Communists adopted as our slogan of action: Keep America Out of War.

The prosecution's next hop tries to get around this by saying our failure to call for civil war against the Roosevelt government in 1939-40 "doesn't count." Why? Because the United States was not "officially" a belligerent at that time.

But this double talk also collapses under the weight of evidence and testimony. For, as the jury knows, the Chamberlain and Daladier governments *were* officially at war with Nazi Germany. This was known as the "phony" war not so much because it was then an imperialist war, but especially because these official belligerents declared war but didn't fight it.

According to the prosecution's theory, the French and British Communists really should have called for civil war. But they didn't. They adopted a new slogan of action, made possible by new historic conditions even before the Soviet Union's entry into World War II—and never advanced by any Communists in World War I. This was the



slogan calling for the *negotiation of a democratic people's peace*, which was made possible of realization because of the new world factor not present in 1914—namely, the existence of the U.S.S.R.

Whenever the prosecution gets into a really tight corner with its "theorizing," especially on the question of war and peace, it again tries to confuse principles, strategy and tactics. On this question, it pretends to predict our strategy in the event of a third world war by "proving" the well-established fact that we Marxists teach that capitalism breeds imperialist war. But the record shows that we Communist leaders have been teaching since April, 1945, that capitalism "ain't what she used to be"—and that what is bred doesn't always hatch.

The record proves that we have been saying in the whole period covered by the indictment that the defeat of the Axis powers in 1945, as well as the great and growing power of the anti-imperialist camp of peace, democracy, and socialism, make it possible, *for the first time in history*, to *prevent* another world war.

Many Americans, taken in by Wall Street's war propaganda, by its anti-Communist hysteria, believe that World War III is inevitable—as does the prosecution, which fosters the bi-partisan war drive.

But there is no law against believing, and there is every reason to believe, that the peace-loving peoples of the world—if united—are now powerful enough to impose their will for peace.

We Communist leaders do believe that. We believe that today the Soviet Union is a mighty and invincible bulwark for peace—stronger and more influential even than it was during its military victory over the Axis in World War II. We believe that the new democracies of eastern Europe, and the People's Republic of China, have further tipped the world scales against the imperialist war makers. We believe that hundreds of millions of people in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America are uniting to save the world from the unimaginable horrors of an atomic war.

And we believe that the passionate desire for peace is bringing together millions of Americans, especially working people, who hold many different views about the future course of social development, and uniting them in action to assure that no United States government

ever plunges them into another world war, into an unjust and barbarously destructive war.

It seems that the prosecution would like you jurors to forget the atom bomb, and to ignore the fact that if there should be another world war, it would not only be manufactured by Wall Street, but would be an atomic war. How else can you account for the fact that the prosecution seems to think there is something sinister in the fact that we eleven defendants advocate the *prevention* of such a criminal war, of such barbaric force and violence and unprecedented mass murder and destruction?

In view of this, the prosecution even at this late date has tried to make it appear that we Communists supported the United States and United Nations war against the anti-Comintern Axis for "ulterior" motives.

The prosecution wants you to believe that our own devotion to the cause of world peace is not motivated by allegiance to our people, by concern for our country's welfare. It has also endeavored to insinuate that today our advocacy of American-Soviet friendship and peace is akin to treason.

It is true that we Communist leaders, and millions of our fellow Americans, did not want to see the building of socialism interrupted by the Munich men—much less halted by Hitler, Mussolini and the Mikado. Nor do we and other peace-loving and progressive people want to see the orderly and great constructive advance of socialism in the postwar period interrupted or retarded by another aggressor.

But it is equally true that all we have done, and are doing, was and is in the interests of our own people and country. Was it not in the interests of the American people to advocate quarantining the fascist aggressors prior to World War II? Did the American people have less to gain than the Russian people from the military defeat of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis? Is it not in the interests of the American people to strait-jacket the Wall Street advocates of an "atomic blitz-war," to prevent another world war—as we Communist leaders are striving with all our might to do?

Members of the jury may recall that when Thomas Jefferson opposed the Federalist plot for an Anglo-American war alliance against revolu-

tionary France in 1790 he was motivated by the genuine interests of the American people and the cause of peace.

Lincoln had the welfare of our people, no less than that of the Mexican people, at heart when he opposed the annexationist war against Mexico in 1848. And Franklin Delano Roosevelt sought to and did promote the vital interests of the American people and the cause of peace by advocating and establishing friendship and co-operation with the U.S.S.R., both in times of war and peace.

Thus too, we Communists, who zealously oppose the warmongers, and advocate and work for a Pact of Peace and Friendship between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., are second to none in advancing the indivisible cause of world peace and the welfare, liberty and happiness of our fellow Americans.

Nowhere in the world today—except in Wall Street and Foley Square—is there talk about the “inevitability” of another world war. Everywhere in the world, everywhere in the States of our Union, the people—and in the first place Communists—have as a militant slogan of action: NO MORE WAR! This is both a glorious and a practical and realizable slogan. This is the slogan we eleven defendants believe in and advocate. We have done so during the period of the indictment and will do so today and on the morrow.

But, if in defiance of the will of the vast bulk of humanity, an aggressive imperialist war, an atomic war, should be unleashed on the world—what then? Does the jury, for a minute, suppose that if we eleven defendants were in prison that nobody in America, nobody in the world, would struggle to put a speedy halt to the criminal atomic destruction of the human race?

We Communist leaders think otherwise.

Throughout this long trial, you jurors must have asked yourselves time and again—just why were we eleven defendants indicted? But by now it is clear for all to see—for all who want to see—that on July 20, 1948, we Communist leaders were indicted for our beliefs, our ideas, our principles.

The record shows that this indictment was brought eight years after the passage of the infamous Smith Act which was adopted in 1940,

eight whole years in which we Communists continued to teach and advocate the Marxist-Leninist principles adhered to by our Party since it was founded in 1919.

During four of these years the American people—including the Communists—were upholding the government of the United States by force and violence in the most crucial war ever fought for our nation's survival. Did none of you ever wonder why we Communist leaders were not indicted at a time when the prosecution's false charges would have been tantamount to treason, that is, during the wartime years of 1941 to 1945?

The answer is that we were *not indicted then* because there was no evidence or basis for the charge that we conspired to teach and advocate the duty and necessity to overthrow the United States government by force and violence—and *there is none now*.

Further, in effect, the Marxist-Leninist classics and our principles have here been put in double jeopardy. This indictment was brought five years after the Supreme Court decision in the Schneiderman case, rendered when the Smith Act was already in effect.

Under the rulings of the court, the jury may not pass on, or the defense argue, the political and constitutional points common to this trial and the Schneiderman case.

Over the objection of the prosecution, however, one small paragraph of the Schneiderman decision has been admitted into evidence. You may draw your own conclusions as to why the rest was excluded.

In any event, the record shows that the Communist leader, William Schneiderman, was represented before the Supreme Court by the late Wendell Willkie, who took the case without fee and as a public service. It shows further that the Supreme Court's decision was written by that great democratic jurist, Mr. Justice Frank Murphy, whose untimely death occurred in the course of this trial. Finally, the record shows that the paragraph admitted in evidence refers to the Supreme Court's examination and judicial opinion on how we American Communists interpret and understand such outstanding Marxist-Leninist classics as the *Communist Manifesto*, *State and Revolution*, *the Foundations of Leninism*, and the *1928 Program of the Communist International*.

In expressing the majority opinion of the Supreme Court, Mr. Justice Murphy wrote in this paragraph:

"A tenable conclusion from the foregoing is that the Party in 1927 desired to achieve its purpose by peaceful and democratic means, and as a theoretical matter justified the use of force and violence only as a method of preventing an attempted forcible counter-overthrow once the Party had obtained control in a peaceful manner, or as a method of last resort to enforce the majority will if at some indefinite future time because of peculiar circumstances constitutional or peaceful channels were no longer open."

This Supreme Court decision was rendered in June, 1943, when the United States was at war. The indictment was brought three years after the 1945 Emergency Convention reaffirmed the adherence of us eleven defendants and of the Communist Party to the principles and theory referred to by Mr. Justice Murphy.

What changed in this period? What changed from 1943 to 1948? Certainly not the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which remained just as constant and valid as they were prior to and after these dates. Even the prosecution does not accuse us of acquiring a new set of principles—but of going back to those we adhered to at the time this Supreme Court decision was rendered.

The record shows that what changed between 1943 and 1948 was the *political situation in the United States and the federal administration in the United States.*

The record shows that in 1943 and 1944 we defendants were most active supporters of the Roosevelt administration. It shows that in 1944 we not only played a leading part in launching the fourth term campaign for F.D.R.'s re-election, but also supported his running mate, Harry S. Truman.

Something changed after 1945—but it was *not our scientific socialist principles, nor our attitude toward Roosevelt's New Deal and anti-Axis coalition policies.* The record shows that in 1948 we Communist leaders were still supporting Roosevelt's progressive policies—and opposing the men who had betrayed them.



However, the record does show that in 1948 our Party supported Henry Wallace and the Presidential ticket of the Progressive Party, as against both President Truman and Governor Dewey. The record shows that we were indicted at the high point of a hard-fought election campaign, and two days before the founding of the new Progressive Party.

The record offers no evidence or testimony to establish any motive for the defendants' alleged intent to teach and advocate the duty and necessity to overthrow some hypothetical United States government by force and violence. But it *does* establish a pretty clear motive for a Democratic administration, under Republican fire for alleged "coddling" of Communists and fellow-travelers, to indict eleven Communist leaders in the campaign summer of 1948.

There is, however, more behind this trial than partisan politics. The jury can now see the sinister and far-reaching purpose that led to the indictment of the Communist leaders for our principles, our beliefs, our ideas—not for any overt act.

In this trial the prosecution has been trying to lay a "theoretical" foundation for nullifying the Bill of Rights, and has waged ideological warfare against Jefferson's principles as well as against ours. The prosecution is trying to lay the same anti-Communist ideological foundation laid by the Nazis for the destruction of the labor and Communist movements and of the bourgeois-democratic rights enjoyed by the German people under the Weimar Republic.

But this trial is in many ways very different from the Reichstag Fire trial of 1933, although the points of similarity must have struck some of you jurors who remember that trial.

The false charge of setting fire to the German Reichstag as an alleged signal for a non-existent Communist uprising, brought by Hitler against the great Bulgarian Communist, George Dimitrov, and others, was rejected by the Leipzig court.

However, by that time, Hitler had achieved his immediate objective. The Nazis were already in power and the German Communist Party was outlawed. Then the working class and the whole German people lost their liberties. Much blood flowed in Germany and in the world between the time when Goering and Goebbels bore false witness

against Dimitrov at Leipzig, and the conviction of the Nazi war criminals by the United Nations high tribunal at Nuremberg.

Fascism has *not yet* come to power in the United States. If it had, we Communist leaders *would not have had this nine months trial, and our Party would already have been outlawed.*

*But if there were no danger of fascism, this trial could not have been held at all, nor would the Bill of Rights now stand in jeopardy.*

By seeking to convict us eleven Communist leaders, the prosecution has also been aiming at another un-American target. It has been trying to lay a "theoretical foundation" to "convict" everybody, anywhere in the world, who subscribes to Marxist principles—to "convict" them of intent to teach and advocate the duty and necessity to overthrow the United States government by force and violence.

Thus, as you jurors can readily see, in asking you to "convict" not eleven men but the "principles" of Marxism-Leninism, the prosecution is trying to lay a "theoretical foundation," an "ideological" basis, for Wall Street's "cold war," for its "get tough with Russia policy," for its colossal arms race, for its atomic bomb diplomacy, for all its preparations to launch another world war.

Members of the jury, no one can genuinely subscribe to and resolutely uphold the principles of the United Nations Charter, and at the same time accept the prosecution's Nazi-like caricature of the Marxist-Leninist principles we Communist leaders hold. No one can concur in the prosecution's false charge and still champion Roosevelt's "Grand Design" of American-Soviet amity and co-operation—the keystone of world peace.

History has given you twelve men and women of the jury an opportunity, and thus a responsibility, for doing your share to help prevent the rise of fascism and the launching of an imperialist war for world domination.

It is not an easy thing for jurors to perform their duties in times such as these, or to discharge their grave responsibilities in such a political thought-control trial as this, especially in the present atmosphere of an artificially created anti-Communist hysteria.

I know that the prosecutor will come before you and seek to influence your judgment by telling you that he speaks in the name of the

government of the United States, with all the power, prestige, and authority of government. The United States Attorney will try to make it appear to you that patriotism requires conviction.

It is a hard thing for a jury to preserve its independence in the face of such a situation. In listening to whatever appeal the United States Attorney may make, you men and women of the jury should bear in mind that the *Constitution imposes on you the duty to defend the people, and if need be to defend the people against the arbitrary actions of any bureaucratic or tyrannical party or regime representing itself as the government of the United States.*

It is the purpose of our jury system to protect a defendant against injustice and unrighteousness. I don't have to tell this jury that even in an ordinary criminal trial the jury is supposed to stand as a bulwark defending the accused against frame-ups and oppression by the government itself.

In a political case such as this, the responsibility of the jury to protect the defendants is almost immeasurable. For if juries did not stand between the government and the people, to *safeguard political rights, to protect the inalienable rights of free speech, free press, and freedom of assembly—and the right of political opposition—then these rights would be a mockery.* All our constitutionally protected institutions would then be converted into a weapon for eliminating those who criticize the government and challenge its policies.

Bear this in mind when the prosecution tells you that it speaks in the name of the government. *Bear in mind that you are supposed to listen and decide as representatives of the people.*

Bear in mind, too, that the prosecutor in the Scottsboro case spoke in the name of the State of Alabama; the prosecutor in the Tom Mooney case spoke in the name of the State of California; the prosecutor in the Sacco-Vanzetti case spoke in the name of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; the prosecutor of the friends and associates of Thomas Jefferson spoke in the name of the United States. Did that make their claims right or just? Did that prevent the verdict of history from subsequently shaming their words and reversing their infamous claims?

So, when the prosecutor in this case tells you that he speaks in the name of the United States, remember that we Americans fought in a

revolutionary war in this country to erase for a time the pretense that the "king can do no wrong," and "that government is superior to the people." Our country was founded on the proposition that all power resides in the people, and the people's will is sovereign.

You jurors are not called upon to approve, or disapprove, the principles or political activities of the eleven defendants or of the Communist Party. These principles and activities are placed outside the jurisdiction of courts and juries by the First Amendment to the Constitution which guarantees freedom of religion, freedom of speech, press, and assemblage.

*Theories, ideas, and political policies are not triable in any court of law.*

Nevertheless, you jurors are called upon, independent of your desires and against the prohibition of the First Amendment of the Constitution, to render a verdict as to whether the Bill of Rights is sacred for all the American people—Communists as well as non-Communists. You are called upon to express a judgment as to whether or not the Bill of Rights shall be undermined by restricting it only to those who conform to the status quo, support the political party now holding federal office, and bow to the vested monopoly interests which dominate our country.

Not only we eleven defendants, but millions of other Americans, and hundreds of millions throughout the world, are awaiting your verdict.

We hope that you twelve men and women will reaffirm the principles of the Bill of Rights, the principle that in America there is still room for many different political views, and freedom for the common people—including those with whom you disagree—to speak and listen, to publish and assemble, and to work for peace and for social progress.

It is these democratic principles that are at issue in this historic trial.

Whatever be your verdict, we Communist leaders face the future with confidence in our Party, our class, our people, our country. One way or another, we will continue to serve the cause of peace, democracy, and socialism to which we have dedicated our lives.

One way or another, that cause will inevitably triumph. For no one—no federal administration—can stop the forward march of history. No one—no federal administration—can stop the forward march of the people. No one—no federal administration—can kill ideas or imprison principles and beliefs.



# Part Six

## FORWARD TO VICTORY

*With confidence in the ultimate outcome of the big and sharpening struggles upon which we enter at this historic turn of the mid-century—the new half century that will witness the triumph of socialism on a world scale.*

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### CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

*We can and must tackle all of our problems in the spirit of Communist criticism and self-criticism.*

[Closing remarks (abridged) at the plenary meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party, March, 1950.]

As our Party and its leadership have signaled at our 1945 and 1948 conventions, at all our conferences and National Committee meetings, and very sharply and forthrightly at this Plenum—today, more than ever, it is essential, it is of decisive importance that we Communists and all whom we can influence, all anti-fascists, should do everything, literally everything, to forge the widest united and people's front

of struggle, a fighting people's anti-war and anti-monopoly coalition.

For the pre-war and the post-war experiences of the working class of our country and of other countries, and especially of the international Communist movement, underscore that the broadest and most militant unity of working-class and people's struggle is today the decisive weapon, the shield by which the workers and all democratic forces can stave off the threat of another world war and prevent the establishment of fascism.

As the Plenum has noted, starting with Comrade Hall's report, not only is the need for unity of action great, but surely new opportunities are arising to promote the widest front of struggle of labor and other democratic forces. This is seen in the upsurge of the peace movement, including the highly important growth of the Labor Peace Committees, around the issue of outlawing the A- and H-bombs and promoting peaceful co-operation with the Soviet Union. It is also seen in the widening opposition to the Mundt Bill, in the extension of Negro and white unity, in the struggle for Negro rights, and in the heightened fighting spirit and resistance of key sections of the working class, of the miners, auto, and maritime workers, to the offensive of big capital. It is also expressed in the fact that these struggles and movements have been sparked, or influenced, or supported, in one way or another, by our Party, whose vanguard role and fighting spirit and capacity are at an all-time high level. All of this bears witness to the fact that the conditions are ripening for new and substantial advances in crystallizing the united and people's front mass movement.

But, comrades, as the reports have stressed, and the facts have shown, we must take into account and soberly recognize that the growth of united labor action, the extension of the movement for Negro rights and civil liberties, the developing peace front, do not yet measure up to the needs of the present moment. There is still a great gap between the organized power and the potential strength of the democratic and peace camp. There is still a vast gulf between the existing level and organization of the labor and people's mass movement in our country and the scale, tempo, and caliber of the unity of action in mass economic and political struggles still required to restrain, check, and defeat Wall Street's drive toward war and fascism,

which is accelerated by the developing economic crisis.

What is holding back unity of action? Here I do not want to deal with such key and important factors as the special role of the Truman Administration, which couples its H-bomb diplomacy and war preparations, and methods of repression and terror against the popular forces with the use of unprecedented demagogy and a cunning policy of picayune domestic reforms, certain "liberal" appointments, and a policy of coalition with all major reformists and Social-Democratic elements and organizations in American political life.

Nor do I want to analyze, as has been done in the reports, the treacherous role and maneuvers of labor's top officialdom and most of the A.D.A. leaders in fostering the "lesser evil" theory, in providing a "labor front" for Wall Street's war program, in promoting splits and disruptions, in spearheading anti-Communist slanders, and generally in advancing a reactionary class-collaboration policy in the name of "national unity," "national defense," and "labor's welfare." Nor, at this point, do I intend to deal with the vital need for the most consistent, resolute, and skillful struggle to expose and isolate these agents of imperialism, a struggle which is indispensable for achieving united labor and people's action.

At this juncture, and within the limited time allowed, I prefer to focus major attention on some of our own weaknesses and shortcomings which impede our mass work and put a brake on the most effective application of our united and people's front policy. I want to do this, because we, and we alone, can rectify our errors and shortcomings. And as recent experience has shown in the struggle for peace, in the miners' fight, in the mobilization for Negro rights—when we do so we can help shape events in an influential and constructive way.

What harmful tendencies, what Right-opportunist and Left-sectarian attitudes and mistakes have many Party leaders been evidencing and making in unfolding our correct united front policy? For one thing, there still exists in practice in most Party organizations a gross underestimation of the fighting spirit, the political ferment, and the process of radicalization now taking place in the ranks of the working class, among the Negro people, the youth, and a growing section of farmers. Together with this, there was and is a slowness in many Party circles

to seize upon new issues, new struggles, in order boldly to advance the mass movement and unity of action on both a local and national scale.

This was demonstrated in the limited and uneven reaction of a big section of our Party leaders and organizations to the announcement on the H-bomb, as well as to the sending of military aid to Western Europe, Formosa, etc. It took many weeks to swing into action many Party Districts, and some of the biggest organizations are not yet fully in this fight. There was a slowness in many districts to develop an all-out campaign and mass movement for relief and various forms of solidarity actions with the heroic miners' struggle, though in certain districts, such as in Ohio and Illinois and later in Philadelphia, Michigan and New York, some very exemplary activity began to be, and in fact was, developed.

Then, too, there has been a hesitation boldly to pick up and to use every opportunity, every crevice, to promote labor's unity of action, such as Lewis' recent proposal for a mutual-aid pact with the Steelworkers. Here the question is not the motivation of Lewis, but the organization of a nationwide discussion in every local and council of the A. F. of L., C.I.O., and independent unions on the need for co-operation and launching a mutual aid pact of solidarity; in the process of this to help crystallize united action, on a local, state, or industry basis, especially now in support of the striking auto workers. I would also say there has been criminal procrastination by not a few leaders of the Left-wing unions to draw the full lessons from the expulsion or pending expulsion of the eleven progressive-led C.I.O. Internationals, and a dangerous hesitation to move toward joint activity and mutual defense and to establish on all levels appropriate rallying centers for co-ordination and initiation of united labor struggles.

On the other side of the coin, the fight for peace and for united labor action is severely hampered by widespread and deep-rooted sectarian attitudes and practices which lump the Murrays, Reuthers, and Dubinskys with the workers who are influenced by them. In our practical work many comrades still confuse the need to unmask and combat these Reformist and Social-Democratic lieutenants of imperialism, with the need patiently to explain our point of view and the issues and

policies involved to the workers who follow the leadership of the top officialdom of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. It is one of the curses of the Left-wing today that many Communists and non-Communist militants, those in the I.L.G.W.U. in New York, in the I.A.M., in the steel, auto, maritime and railway unions, did not and do not draw a distinction between misleaders and the workers who are influenced by them. For a long time this has been a big problem in the N.M.U. and in the relation of U.E. leaders and militants to the workers temporarily influenced by the I.U.E. But progressives, including our comrades, have been making some headway in the recent period in the auto, steel, and electrical industries—though still much too slowly.

In conjunction with this we oftentimes forget in our practical work that the way to influence the majority of the masses in the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. is not primarily by argumentation, or surely not by argumentation alone, but by ways and means of drawing them into united action on one or another concrete issue: *i.e.*, wages, speedup, and upgrading, severance pay and adequate social security, as well as the fight for outlawing the H-bomb and for trade with China, etc.

We must also recognize that in our approach to workers under the leadership of Right-wing C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions, our comrades usually give more consideration to questions that divide the Communists and the Left from the great mass of the rank and file of the workers in these organizations than we do in concentrating upon and utilizing those issues that unite us. For instance, while we must expose the Baruch Plan, we must not let the unclarities and divisions which exist around this sinister proposal keep from uniting the great mass of labor and the people in concrete actions to prohibit the A- and H-bomb, institute honest negotiations with the U.S.S.R. to that effect, and for achieving a peace pact. Then, too, comrades, we often issue very sectarian appeals for united action with the workers in the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. frequently based solely on proposed activity to be achieved not only over the heads of the leaders of their organizations but apart and separate from these organizations. We often forget that on a host of issues the best results can often be obtained by reaching and activating the workers through, and very often with, the participation of their local organizations and established shop steward committees and councils.



And certainly the formal position of the national leadership of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. in favor of disarmament, opposing the Mundt Bill, etc., can be used as a key to open the doors of thousands of local organizations.

Second, I think we must take note that strong tendencies prevail in and outside of the labor movement, especially in many Left-led unions, to hold back, to postpone the organization of local, district, and industry-wide actions on the questions of peace, defense of our Party, and labor strike solidarity. There is a hesitation to take up the struggle against white chauvinism, and a number of related questions under the guise that the membership is "not ready" for such action, or that since these unions are under reactionary attack, "the situation isn't ripe." This too is a big impediment and obstacle in the way of developing united people's action. It also seriously undermines and weakens the fighting capacity of these organizations themselves.

On the other hand, and feeding these wrong tendencies and harmful practices, are constant pressures to seek abortive and mechanical organizational solutions to political problems, "gold-brick" substitutes for organizing broad mass movements on a grass roots level. There still exist tendencies favoring the early and inevitable crystallization of a new third trade-union federation and some sort of Left-wing Negro center as a substitute for developing the maximum political initiative and day-to-day activity in and around the established mass organizations of labor and the Negro people. Loud voices are still heard proposing new and independent organizational centers instead of co-ordinating the influence and powers of the Left and the greatest unity of action of all organizations and sectors of the labor and people's movement on a shop and community basis, and also on a national level around one or several issues.

Then, too, there is the deep-rooted vice of relying on resolutions, on telegrams and letters as a decisive form of struggle. Important as these are, you cannot stop the warmongers and fascists with a front of paper, of resolutions. Resolutions have a real significance, but they are no substitute for mass action. Their value lies not only in registering protests and a certain form of mass pressure. Their chief value is as a means to reach and set masses in motion, a means to organize a daily

struggle for peace, democratic liberties, and economic security. Even today, with some of the splendid activity that has been developed, as, for instance, in the struggle against the Mundt Bill and for outlawing the H-bomb, we have not begun to scratch the surface. The Left and progressive forces have not seriously begun to use the statements of C.I.O. and A. F. of L. leaders, of educators and church leaders, not only to knock on the door of the John Does and Mary Smiths but to swing into mass activity the local organizations and members of the A. F. of L., the C.I.O., the A.C.L.U., the N.A.A.C.P., the Methodists and Quakers, the National Farmers Union, etc.

On the other hand, we Communists and our Left-wing colleagues are plagued by overzealous advocates who reduce their conception of the united and people's front to convening narrow Left-wing conferences which very often do not embrace even all of the Left wing, or setting up sectarian and top paper committees, and adopting in said conferences and committees extensive and often letter-perfect programs of action. I would say, by the way, that this has been the case in the recent period in organizing certain labor peace actions, in a number of independent political action movements, and several civil rights conferences.

Admittedly, it is desirable and incumbent on us to influence organizations as well as conferences to take a forthright stand, not only on one, but on a host of key and related issues that life has placed before the working class and all people, issues that arise from the struggle for the peaceful co-existence of the two social systems, independent political action, the Negro national liberation movement, a militant wage, job and social security program, the struggle against fascism and for democratic rights, etc.

But it is time we learned—and experience should teach us—that, while taking a clear Marxist position on a host of questions, it is also imperative to single out one or two key partial issues around which the combined strength and resources of all participating organizations can pool their efforts and organize a powerful, dynamic, and concentrated movement of mass struggle, as on the issue of the A- and H-bomb. If one wants to compare the latest petition of the Labor Peace Conference, which bases itself on outlawing the Atom and Hydrogen

bomb and ties this up with establishing American-Soviet friendship and peaceful collaboration, with that of the earlier petition which called for simultaneous action on the A-bomb, China, F.E.P.C., Taft-Hartley Law, etc., it is clear that the A- and H-bomb petition will take hold, will help initiate a mass movement, will be picked up and supported by workers of diverse political and religious beliefs, and will forcefully register where it should register, in Washington, at the Pentagon, and elsewhere.

Another weakness of which we are not free is the frequent approach to the united front as a specialized "top operation." Also, and somewhat connected with this is a very bad and dangerous habit where, in correctly figuring out in advance a whole series of possible compromises which we and other Left forces might conceivably make, in the interest of the working class and unity of action, many comrades tend to slip quickly into a position of adopting very vague and pious statements and the least desirable points of a possible compromise—which then often becomes the starting point in the united front negotiations, program and activities. They tend to do so, without an adequate fight, and without reaching and mobilizing the masses in the organizations involved.

In this conjunction I must state in passing that after our discussions on our election policy and tactics for 1950, in the National Committee and regional conferences in November and December, most comrades in a majority of districts started to orient not on how to shape and influence events, not on how to advance the third party movement, not on how to organize coalitions and tickets on a pro-peace and pro-labor program, operating as independents or in one or another of the old primaries; they started operating from the viewpoint of what conceivably might be done along the lines of the 1949 Dulles-Lehman Senatorial campaign. They by-passed or overlooked all possibilities decisively or influentially to shape events and to promote various pro-peace coalitions, independent movements and tickets and new primary alignments. In this connection, often after agreeing to the limited points embraced in such compromises—and here I am not going into the merits of the issues involved or the understanding reached—they uncritically approve and accept the united front agreement as being

equivalent to the position of our Party. This is not and should never be the case, and this is one of the serious problems we face time after time in united front relations. This is frequently the position taken by many comrades who have been elected to leading posts in trade unions and other mass organizations.

Conversely we are also afflicted with a variety of sectarian practices that equally restrict and hamper the realization of a broad united front of struggle. Many comrades and organizations when entering into unity negotiations and pacts strive for and seek to use mechanical majorities and try to impose the full immediate program of the Party, especially upon new, united front political organizations. Likewise, many comrades view top agreements reached with individual progressive leaders as a substitute for involving all Party clubs and individual Party members in day-to-day united front contact and activity with local, shop, and neighborhood organizations, leaders, and members.

Comrades, the great desire of our people for peace, for American-Soviet co-operation, if it is to develop most effectively and be organized on an ever wider scale, as it can, and if the heightened fighting spirit of the working class and the Negro people, as well as the democratic and militant moods among intellectuals, the youth and a section of the farmers—if these are to be organized into a mighty and even more effective people's coalition under labor's leadership—then we must decisively root out, but fast, all such harmful tendencies and mistakes as I have indicated.

Now more than ever our Party can and must display the greatest political and organizational initiative, especially in the factories, in the working-class communities, and in all people's organizations, to apply boldly the tactics of the united and people's front. Simultaneously, now more than ever, we must guarantee that the Party retains and exercises its right of criticism and brings forward our program and proposals on all key questions. And here unquestionably, we must improve and make the greatest use of the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*. Now more than ever we must resolutely fight for unity, understanding that this means unity of action of and with the masses and to win the masses. And we Communists must bear in mind that while we fight together with all labor, democratic, and anti-war forces, we work independently as the



organized Marxist detachment of the working class.

Now, a few observations on the Mundt Bill. In many labor and progressive quarters, and even in certain Party circles, there exists a gross underestimation of the process of fascization now going on in the country. This dangerous shortcoming stems from a *one-sided* appraisal of the fact that the camp of peace, democracy, and socialism is invincible and constantly grows in strength. It stems from an incorrect estimate of the war danger and the increasingly rapacious, aggressive, and adventurist policies of Wall Street abroad and at home. This underestimation in practice of the twin menace of war and fascism is stimulated by the fact that many sections of the democratic camp have learned to live with, and to accommodate themselves to, an aggressive imperialist war policy and a host of reactionary and pro-fascist measures and acts like the North Atlantic war alliance, the Taft-Hartley Act, the Loyalty Oath, the militarization program, the Foley Square frame-up, etc. There is now a great danger that many anti-fascists and non-fascists will completely miss the cumulative effect of this pro-fascist process and fail to see that at some point a qualitative change may take place, as, for instance, if the Mundt Bill were to be enacted and enforced.

For, what would the passage and implementation of such a fascist measure as the Mundt Bill signify? In brief, it would constitute a major victory for the war camp and a severe defeat for labor and all democratic forces. It would extend and intensify the police-state system which already exists and it would provide, as we have pointed out, a legal, constitutional cloak and instrumentality for bringing to completion the many-sided process of advanced war preparations and fascization now under way. Naturally, if the bill were adopted, it would be necessary and possible to continue to mount a mighty mass movement to nullify its enforcement and to restore and advance democratic liberties and progress.

But the big question, the decisive question now is to defeat the Mundt Bill and thus to help prevent the victory of fascism. I think it is necessary to warn that many comrades, including many of our leading cadres, still underestimate the danger of the passage of the Mundt Bill.

On the pain of disaster, we must not rest content with the present



level of mass opposition to this Nazi-like measure even though this broad democratic opposition continues to grow in scope and power and has a fighting chance to win.

Now, a few sketchy comments on the Congressional elections.

At the end of November we mapped out our main objectives and tactical line for the 1950 elections. Since then, this orientation has been approved and developed further in the states and by the discussions and deliberations of this Plenum.

Concretely, what are we aiming at in these elections? Obviously, for one thing, we and other progressives aim to elect a bloc of pro-peace, pro-labor Congressmen, embracing third party adherents, independents, and some anti-war elements who may contest one or another of the old-party primaries. At the same time, we Communists will declare ourselves opposed to, and will not support, any proponents of the bipartisan war program, though we will give top priority to, and *concentrate on*, defeating the most aggressive and fascist-minded of the warmongers.

What else do we strive for? As the reports of Comrade Gus Hall and others have stressed, we strive to strengthen the third party movement around the Progressive Party, around a number of independent and pro-peace tickets and coalitions which will operate through various electoral media.

What other related objectives have we? To promote everywhere, regardless of political affiliation, unity of action of the labor and progressive forces. We aim to crusade for peace everywhere, and, together with this, for democratic liberties and economic security and, not least of all, to rally in one or another mass campaign and struggle for peace, democracy, and jobs the great mass of the working people who in these elections will still vote for administration or G.O.P. candidates.

In so doing, we are mindful of the fact that generally, and especially this year, the parliamentary form of struggle, important as it is and can be, is not the main form of the mass struggle. It is not the chief means to effect a progressive, anti-imperialist political realignment to influence events. It is an important means, it must not be underestimated, but it is not the chief means.

In this connection, and finally, I would emphasize that in the forefront of our political objectives for the year 1950, the central objectives for Communists and non-Communists in the election, and above all in every phase and front of the people's movement, are the following: to compel the administration to enter into honest negotiations with the Soviet Union, to scrap the Baruch Plan, and to reach an agreement for outlawing the A- and H-bomb, for inaugurating gradual and universal disarmament, and for arranging early peace treaties with Germany and Japan based on the Potsdam agreement, to compel the government to extend diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic of China and to enter into normal trade relations with the new China, the People's Democracies and the U.S.S.R.

Likewise, we will give top priority to defeating the Mundt Bill; to enforcing the enactment of effective federal, state and municipal F.E.P.C. legislation and to take effective executive measures to prohibit and penalize discrimination against the Negro people in the fields of housing, education, health, social security, etc., as well as to ensuring the exercise of their right to vote; and to protecting the trade unions, improving wages and working conditions, expanding unemployment security and relief, as well as Federal and state aid to the most exploited farmers and sharecroppers.

Comrades, these immediate objectives can be realized in full or in part in the year 1950. They can be achieved through clarity, unity, and struggle. They can be realized if we recognize the favorable relationship of forces on a world scale, the strengthening of our camp, the camp of peace, democracy, and socialism; and especially if we take into account and base ourselves on the new militant, democratic, and anti-war currents stirring in the country, and if we resolutely and vigorously work to help organize a united mass movement and democratic people's coalition under militant working-class leadership.

Now for some questions on the trial of the Eleven and some points of theory.

Our trial was historic because of the fundamental democratic issues involved, because of the high stakes and because of the struggle waged by our Party in and outside of the courtroom. In a number of respects,

the Foley Square trial for our people was what the Leipzig trial was for the Germans and other nations.

While we did not win the verdict, which was stacked, we did, by the courageous and effective struggle that was waged, win a political and moral victory. We did succeed in rallying considerable mass support in defense of the Party. We did expose, and strengthen, the popular mass opposition to the bipartisan drive toward war and fascism which spawned the trial.

We lost the battle, but not the war. We did prevent the immediate imprisonment of our National Committee. We did upset the timetable of pro-fascist reaction. And we gained valuable time for ourselves, for labor and all progressives, in which to mobilize the forces of peace and democracy to reverse the verdict, to invalidate the Smith Act, and to organize a great people's movement and democratic coalition.

Now the key and next stage of the fight for nullifying the verdict of Foley Square is the mass fight to defeat the Mundt-Nixon Bill. Mass opposition to this un-American bill and the principles upon which it rests—especially if this fascist legislation is defeated—will undermine the foundations of the infamous Foley Square verdict.

Here, I would like to touch on another aspect of the trial. History will record, and any serious evaluation today will also establish, not only that we 12 defendants fought courageously, but also that our Party from top to bottom ably defended its political line, and championed the aims and principles of Marxism-Leninism.

However, this over-all positive estimate should not keep us from recognizing certain weaknesses and a few errors which were made in the course of the trial, in the process of our individual and collective contributions.

One category of weaknesses, it seems to me at least, was that while we made clear that our Party does not advocate force and violence, and showed who did—the Men of the Trusts, the reactionaries—we did not sufficiently defend the historic, democratic right of the people, of the majority, to revolution.

Our position would have been strengthened, we would have dealt a more effective blow against the "foreign agent" slander, and we would have rendered greater aid to all peoples struggling for national libera-

tion and social emancipation, had we placed more emphasis on the traditions and democratic right of the American working class and people to exercise, in their majority, if and when they so choose, the inalienable right of revolution. We did this, but, I am inclined to think in retrospect, we did not do it sufficiently.

Another shortcoming, it seems to me, was our failure to make maximum use of the jury challenge. If we had fought more effectively on this issue, we might have exposed more clearly the sham jury and grand jury process which is controlled by the men of Wall Street. But irrespective of this, the jury challenge afforded us an opportunity to expose even more effectively than was otherwise possible our frame-up and to unmask the process of fascization and corruption that has engulfed a part of the courts. Moreover, this issue provided another link by which to bring wider sections of the labor movement, especially of the Negro and Jewish peoples, into active defense of the democratic rights of the Party and the Bill of Rights. However, we did not succeed in imbuing the entire Party with this understanding. In my judgment we still have certain opportunities on this score which must be used.

There is another category of weaknesses and unclarities, which it is incumbent on us to recognize and overcome. It was correct and essential to point out, as we did, not only that we Communists do not advocate force and violence, but also that as a result of international developments over the past fifteen years or so, and the developing people's anti-war coalition within the country, certain possibilities could arise to elect and establish a pro-peace, democratic, coalition government. It seems to me that these possibilities, including the presentation of the perspective and new possibilities for realizing a People's Front government, were properly emphasized. However, it is my judgment that in the material published in this connection, we did not clearly enough present our position on the law of proletarian revolution, which governs the rise of the dictatorship of the proletariat, whatever its form. We did not, of course, abandon or repudiate this Marxist-Leninist principle. We defended it at the trial. However, in doing so there were certain weaknesses, as well as the great handicaps imposed by the court.



For instance, in my summation and in Comrade Foster's document we dealt with this question. We upheld this basic principle. Yet some of our statements are faulty or unhappily formulated, and certainly some formulations are open to misinterpretation. Moreover, and above all, the tremendous limitations of the trial and of the court procedures prevented us from dealing with this question fully and clearly enough.

It was not necessary or advisable that in the trial we attempt to provide a final answer to all questions of the future, possible or hypothetical—and certainly under the court's rulings this was not possible. We were not called upon—nor were we allowed—to give lectures on our theory or expound all aspects of our principles and tactics. This is particularly the case when one is forced to try an untriable case in a court room.

In raising these questions, I want to alert you comrades to be on guard against the Browderites, the Franklinites, and similar Tito-ite groups who, in a provocative and slanderous way, are trying to vilify our leadership and trial strategy, and who allege that we have "revised" Marxism. I also want to warn against any wrong interpretations that have arisen or may arise from a superficial evaluation of our publications in connection with the trial.

We must estimate our documents and related trial publications, taking into account many things. Surely we must take into account what was said and what was written. Doing this we would come to the conclusion that our general strategy and political line were correct. We would consider our position and material in connection with the particular form of concrete struggle against the warmongers and fascists which the trial manifested. We would understand, too, that the rulings of the court compelled us to deal with many questions, not fully, but only in part—even though we waged an increasing struggle in the restrictive atmosphere of the courtroom against the efforts of the government and the court to prevent us from presenting our case.

We must also realize that in the course of the trial, while we made significant contributions to enriching the political line of our Party and some aspects of our theoretical work—and this was done in the first



place by Comrade Foster—conditions under which we worked and the limitations imposed by the court did not make it possible for us in any of our documents or testimony to say the last word on all questions, including a number of tactical, theoretical, and important political questions that we dealt with.

I consider it highly important to refer to these matters, even if I lack the time to spell them out. I consider it imperative and long overdue to do this, because, starting from the sound premise that our main line is correct, some comrades, without a full consideration of the evidence, issues, and objective circumstances, have misunderstood some aspects of our trial material, or have seized upon certain loose formulations and have construed them almost into a system of thought, which has nothing in common with our position in the trial, with our line, our program, with Marxism. On the other hand, other comrades have bureaucratically and very uncritically defended, up to every last comma, every document submitted in the process of the trial as being immune to criticism or improvement.

In relation to this I would like to refer briefly to one specific question raised only incidentally and indirectly in connection with the trial, a question around which a number of erroneous points of view have been set forth in the post-trial period. This deals with the problems of a People's Front government and People's Democracies. I want to underscore that here I intend to deal particularly, primarily, with certain incorrect and harmful interpretations and distortions that recently have found circulation within and around the ranks of the Party.

In connection with the perspectives of establishing a People's Front government, many comrades have distorted the position of our Party which we outlined in our 1948 national convention, and during the trial. They mistakenly emphasize only one aspect of this struggle, the parliamentary form of struggle. They do not emphasize, or they ignore, the connection between this front of struggle and the many forms of extra-parliamentary mass struggle. In fact, some comrades even have alleged that in this period the electoral struggle has become the dominant form of mass struggle, forgetting other, key forms of economic and political mass struggle.

Let us be clear: A People's Front government, to realize its anti-war and anti-fascist aims, would have to curb the powers of monopoly capital. Such a government can be established, generally speaking, only under a number of conditions, which must include the following prerequisites:

First, the existence of a political crisis in the country. Second, the existence of militant unity of action of decisive sections of the working class, leading a broad people's coalition and waging a resolute extra-parliamentary as well as an increased parliamentary struggle. Third, a situation in which the Communist Party plays a leading role in this labor and people's coalition.

Further, a word on the question of a People's Front government and a People's Democracy. We should be on guard against a loose handling of these two questions and a certain tendency of some comrades to equate them. Also, in this connection, it is necessary to take issue with any idea that a People's Front government can automatically evolve into a People's Democracy, can grow over and willy-nilly transform itself into a People's Democracy. A People's Democracy is a form of the dictatorship of the working class, which can arise during the course of, or after, smashing the power of the monopolies, of capitalism. It can be established with or without the previous existence of a People's Front government.

We American Communists advocate and struggle to help realize a People's Front, anti-war, and anti-fascist government, because today, and in the coming period, the conditions for this course are developing, and this would provide the best and easiest way forward for our workers and people. It could help prevent the victory of fascism and could help establish a stable, a long-term peace. But I would mention in passing, without belaboring the point, it is not yet written in history that the formation of a People's Front government is an inevitable law of political-social development. However, under the postwar condition of the new dangers of war and fascism, as well as the new opportunities for forging the united labor and People's Front, conditions are maturing favorable to promoting the establishment of a People's Front government.

In any event, regardless of the specific circumstances or features un-

der which a People's Front government might be established, what prerequisites have proved to be essential in order to achieve a People's Democracy?

Aside from the cardinal factor that the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. was and is the decisive factor paving the way for the establishment of the new People's Democracies, and without analyzing specifically the liberating role of the Soviet Union in the anti-Axis war and the effects of this upon the countries of Eastern Europe and China, what general over-all conditions are necessary in order to help establish a People's Democracy? Facts, history, appear to require at least a combination of the following factors:

That there exist an acute and deep-going political crisis, whatever its national peculiarities, representing an historic turning point in class relations. Secondly, that there exist a united working class, not only unity of action, a united working class which fights in alliance with its popular allies, and takes the path of revolutionary struggle to attain state power for the working class. If a People's Front government exists and is waging a determined struggle to curb the power of the monopolies, this could result in the realization of a situation favorable to a relatively peaceful course of the struggle for working-class power. And for this we strive, we struggle.

But the point here is that a revolutionary struggle of the decisive majority of the workers and their allies will decide things; history has shown that there will not be an automatic "growing-over" from a People's Front government to a People's Democracy. Third, to assure victory, to help establish a People's Democracy, it is necessary that the Communist Party must be not only a leading and influential factor, but that the working class must fight under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Party exercising not "a" but "the" leading role.

There is still another question that merits the greatest attention in connection with the problems of the People's Front government, namely, how to create the political conditions to establish such a government, so to say, how to get there. We cannot draw a blueprint on this, but it is sufficient to say that the path lies along the lines we mapped out in our 1945 and 1948 national conventions. It lies along the road of extending the political influence and strengthening the

mass base of our Party; of forging the militant united action of labor; of expanding the Negro national-liberation movement; of establishing close ties with, and working-class influence among, big sections of the most exploited farmers; of ensuring that labor will play the key and leading part in a powerful people's and democratic coalition, and in the broadest front for peace.

Here I would like to stress the fact that the struggle for peace, the people's fight to bridle the Wall Street warmongers—a struggle in which the working class must play not only an influential but the leading role—is the central issue now confronting the American people. Thus, it is *also* the key link in the coming period to help bring about major political realignments in the interests of the people and hence to create conditions favorable to the formation of an anti-imperialist, anti-war people's government.

I have posed a number of these questions for your thinking. The National Committee, which has arrived at an informal concensus of opinion on these questions, in the near future will undoubtedly complete its discussion on these problems.

Our Party must approach these questions in the most responsible way, constantly bearing in mind among other things the situation in which we operate. We can resolve all problems and points of difference or unclarities positively if we evaluate them within the framework of the main political line of the Party, including its application in the trial, which was and is correct. Within that framework we can then proceed to examine, and where necessary to rectify, inadequacies, unclarities or errors or any distortions which have grown up during or since the end of the trial.

We can and we must do this, as well as tackle all our problems, in the spirit of Communist criticism and self-criticism. If we do this we will enhance, not diminish, the historic role of the Party and its leadership in the battle of Foley Square. If we do this, it will not be an academic undertaking; it will help clarify perspectives, enhance our Marxist-Leninist understanding, and enable us concretely to advance our theoretical work and contributions on all other questions.

Likewise, if we do this, our Party will strengthen itself politically, ideologically, and organizationally. And we will imbue the workers

and other progressives with greater confidence in our Party and its leadership and in the ultimate victorious outcome of the big and sharpening struggles upon which we enter at this historic turn of the mid-century—the new half century that will witness the triumph of socialism on a world scale.



## ON THE EVE OF IMPRISONMENT

*The science of Marxism-Leninism is a part of our lives and guides us in our activity.*

[Speech (abridged) delivered at a testimonial meeting, New York City, May 9, 1950.]

I want you to know that I deeply appreciate the warmth of your greeting and value the thoughts and sentiments of the comrades who have spoken here and of those for whom they speak. Above all, I treasure the comradeship and the confidence which you and the great majority of my co-workers and comrades have placed in me, especially since our Party's Emergency Convention in 1945. And I assure you that wherever I may be, in or out of jail, I will endeavor always to be worthy of your trust and your friendship.

The science of Marxism-Leninism, to which we adhere, is a part of our lives and guides us in our activity. The principles, whose greatest standard-bearers in our epoch are Lenin and Stalin, have already liberated over eight hundred million people throughout the world. We know that these principles will also inspire our working class, which stands at the head of all the oppressed and is led by its Communist vanguard, to march forward, through struggles, to victory. The cause for which we stand, the cause of socialism, will triumph in these United States, as it already has triumphed in the Soviet Union and is advancing to full realization in the People's Democracies and in the New China.

We Communists know, too, that victory in the fight for peace and democracy, as well as for the ultimate goal of socialism in our country, will not come by itself. It has to be organized and fought for. We know, furthermore, as the history of our own and other Communist parties and of the international working class, teaches us, that we and

our class cannot advance uninterruptedly from victory to victory. There are ebbs and flows, temporary setbacks and reverses, as well as gains and advances along the way, as we and our people march forward.

Until the American working class, headed by the Communist Party, becomes the ruling class, until our class reaches its ultimate goal of socialism—until then the working class, and the whole progressive camp of Communists and non-Communists, is bound to sustain casualties. Here, I do not speak of the faint-hearted who leave the struggle, or of the traitors to whose desertions we say good riddance. I refer to casualties of those good and loyal comrades, leaders and Jimmy Higginsons, many whose names we do not even know, who have been killed and may be killed in the struggle. I refer to the many who have been in prison, and to the many others who will be in prison. I refer to all those who participate militantly in the struggle and are bound to endure hardship and sacrifice.

We Communists understand that casualties are inevitable in the class struggle, especially in our own country and in this period when the struggle against the looming dangers of war and fascism sharpens into a crucial conflict for the destiny of the working class and the nation. But we Communists also recognize that it is *not inevitable* that the men of Wall Street will succeed in their criminal plans to inflict untold casualties, yes, catastrophes, upon our people, to murder and maim millions of Americans and other peoples in an atomic war. Let me say further that unless a great miracle happens (and I don't believe in miracles except those performed by the working class and its allies), on Friday or thereabouts, I shall be going to jail and, by the way, it will not be the first time.

But it is not inevitable that the five courageous attorneys who defended us, the Eleven, must serve time. It is not inevitable that the other ten members of the National Committee must join me in jail, or that the Department of Justice will succeed in its publicly stated plans of arresting 12,600 members of our Party. These are not inevitable—if the people's forces of peace and democracy make their will felt.

But all this may happen if we do not fight more resolutely and effectively, if we do not reinforce our fighting efforts and activity by

enlisting hundreds of thousands, yes, millions, of working-class fighters in a greater and more powerful people's front of anti-war and anti-monopoly struggle. At this juncture, especially in the fight to reverse the infamous Foley Square verdict and to develop the mass struggle against the fascist Mundt Bill, let me warn against any tendencies to "go it alone," to regard the expanding, independent, and courageous actions of our Party as a substitute for broader mass movements which we have the task to influence and lead. Let me add to this admonition the warning also to be on guard against two dangers. On the one hand, we must guard against legalistic illusions of reliance on the higher courts; on the other, we must guard against fatalistic notions that it is impossible in the United States, in this period of rampant imperialist reaction, to reverse an outrageous court decision or to check the advocates of a fascist police state and a third world war. Both of these, legalistic illusions as well as fatalistic and pessimistic attitudes, lead to passivity, are harmful, and must be rejected.

As you have already heard this evening, I shall be leaving you for a while. I leave, so to say, as a prisoner of war, as a prisoner of Wall Street's "cold war." And as I am about to go, I want you to know that I regret that I have not done more for our Party, that I haven't worked more effectively. Above all, I regret that I shall not be in the operative leadership of our Party during the very critical days ahead, at the time when the danger of war grows more imminent and the peril of fascism looms larger from day to day.

Despite these political and personal regrets, I want you to know that I am able to take this involuntary "leave of absence" with certain assurance, with complete confidence in the outcome of the big struggles ahead. I shall depart for prison knowing that history is on our side, knowing that the world camp of peace, democracy, and socialism headed by the U.S.S.R. is invincible and grows daily stronger.

I leave you for a while realizing, too, that new, strong, militant, and progressive currents are developing in our country: in the labor movement, in the people's fight for peace, among the Negro people, among the youth and the intellectuals.

Moreover, I say a brief farewell confident that I leave our Party in

strong and capable hands. And how could this be otherwise, comrades? Since the postwar period, since the time of May to August, 1945, our Party has been leading and stimulating a resolute and historic struggle in the very citadel of world reaction, against the men of Wall Street who seek to imitate the Krupps, the Thyssens, and the Schachts, and their henchmen, Hitler and Goebbels.

During these past five years the bulk of our Party leadership and membership has become further steeled and strengthened in many struggles. Our Party spearheaded the opposition to the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and the North Atlantic anti-Communist War Pact. At first, we Communists stood and fought alone. But now growing numbers of workers and progressives understand the correctness of our warnings, organize parallel actions in the struggle for peace, and many join together with us in common campaigns to ban the A- and H-bombs, to achieve a pact of peace with the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies, and the New China, and to prevent the revival of Nazism and militarism in Germany and in Japan.

The struggle for peace is the central and overriding task of today. No obstacle can be allowed to stand in the way of the fulfillment of this crucial task. All our thoughts, our energies, our activities must be devoted to bringing into being a mighty, organized movement of the popular forces for peace, against the warmakers. We must work zealously to rally the millions on these shores, in unison with the millions throughout the world, to support the appeal of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress issued at Stockholm to demand the prohibition of the atom bomb and the branding as a war criminal of the first government to use atomic weapons against any country.

It should be remembered, too, that in the past five years our Party, together with other anti-fascists, has had to come to grips with the pro-fascist proposals for outlawing our Party and crucifying the Bill of Rights, advanced by the Schwellenbachs, the Rankins, and the Mundts in obedience to the will of the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce. We also have had to fight against a host of state bills, such as the Ober Law in Maryland, the Callahan Act in Michigan, the Broyles Bill in Illinois, the Feinberg

Law in New York, and many other such police-state measures.

Our Party and its allies have not been found wanting in these important struggles. It should be noted that we fought well and untiringly, and can record certain significant partial victories.

Yet this should not blind us to the fact that the evil, fascist Mundt Bill still hovers over America and is in danger of enactment. We cannot rest until a decisive defeat is dealt this Gestapo-like measure, a defeat that will signalize a real setback to the plotters of fascism and war.

If we turn to the fight for Negro rights we see that our Party has been in the forefront of the struggle. Whether in the fight for the enforcement of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments, for a real F.E.P.C. Bill, for anti-poll tax and anti-lynch legislation, for the freedom of Mrs. Ingram and the Trenton Six, or in the struggle to advance the rights of the Negro people to vote in the South—our Party has been present, active, leading the way. The same can be said of our Party with regard to labor's fight against Taft-Hartleyism, the struggle against the menacing and growing scourge of unemployment, and against the evils and hardships of the developing economic crisis which has already produced six million unemployed and many more millions of part-time employed workers in our country. On this front of struggle, our Party has not been found wanting. We have been on the job, and we have given leadership to unite the workers in struggle around their day-to-day, urgent economic needs.

Yes, there are many weaknesses in our work, and we have made some mistakes. But as Stalin said in 1910, in an article about the great German working-class leader, Bebel, "Only the dead do not make mistakes." However, we are working to overcome our weaknesses and errors. We must overcome them more speedily, strive not to repeat them, and endeavor to eliminate weaknesses and errors from our work.

Finally in this connection, I would like to say that our Party has grown stronger in these past years, because in the midst of the mass struggles we have been waging a simultaneous fight on two fronts, against both Right and Left opportunism. At the same time, we have been waging a ceaseless war against reactionary Social-Democracy, against labor reformism, and especially against the malignant ulcer



and treachery of the Tito clique which attracts to itself in the United States the Anna Louise Strongs, the John Rogges, the Trotskyites, and the Browderites.

Yes, comrades, I leave the operative ranks of our Party and our leadership for a while with keen regrets, yet certain that our Party is in good hands. It is in *your* hands.

I should like to mention a few comrades of our national leadership, as well as in the districts, whom you in New York and comrades throughout the country should know more about, and who merit your full confidence.\*

Next, with your permission, let me make a few remarks regarding my close co-workers, the other members of the National Committee, who together constitute a strong, devoted, and capable leadership. First, Ben Davis and Bob Thompson. Ben and Bob display considerable political initiative; they are courageous and militant fighters of the working class and the people. There are Irving Potash, Jack Stachel, Carl Winter—comrades who are staunch, fighting Party leaders, very able tacticians. Then there are Johnny Gates and Gil Green, who are tested and stalwart leaders and who combine their firm adherence to Marxist-Leninist principles with great flexibility in applying the Party line.

Then there is a very dear comrade of mine and yours, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a comrade who reflects, embodies, and symbolizes the most militant and revolutionary traditions of the American working class. Elizabeth is a foremost people's tribune of our Party, and a comrade, I would like you to know, who not only carries the message of our Party to the working people in her speeches, her articles, and her activity, but who also listens to the workers, who goes to the homes of the miners and steel workers, learns from the working people, and transmits their thoughts and feelings to our Party.

Before commenting on my three co-secretaries, the three other secretaries of our National Committee, permit me at this point to say

\* At this point Eugene Dennis referred with high commendation to a number of Party leaders in the district and national spheres of work.—*Ed.*

a few special words about our beloved National Chairman, Bill Foster. Parenthetically let me say, since there has been considerable discussion among comrades in New York in recent months involving points of criticism about some of Bill's latest publications, that a number of us in the National Committee have called attention to certain faulty or unhappily formulated statements in some of Bill's writings, as well as in some of my own. This was noted in the March Plenum of the National Committee. But in so doing, we the members of the National Committee, and your General Secretary, have recognized the most outstanding feature of Bill's works, his positive and great creative contribution. We have likewise noted that his book *Twilight of Capitalism* received very favorable comment in the great Marxist-Leninist journal, *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy*. And we took cognizance of the fact that this same book has been published in abridged form in tens of thousands of copies by our great brother Party, the Communist Party of Italy.

Tonight, I wish to say very simply the following regarding Bill. Bill Foster is the best and the finest son of the American working class. Bill Foster stands shoulder to shoulder with such outstanding Marxists as Thorez and Duclos of France, and with the foremost Marxists of our hemisphere—Blas Roca of Cuba, Vittorio Codovilla of Argentina, and Luis Carlos Prestes of Brazil. I know that I need not urge you to do so, comrades, because I take it for granted that next year, in February 1951, you will make Bill's seventieth birthday an event of national and international significance.

Now I wish to make a few remarks about the secretariat of the National Committee, about the three comrades, who together with me, your General Secretary, have been elected by our National Committee as the secretaries of our Party. One, as you know, is John Williamson, our National Labor Secretary. Johnny is a worker of Scottish descent. He has been a tested leader of the Young Communist League, of our Party, and of the American working class for over twenty-five years. He is a devoted, experienced, and capable leader in mass work. He has political and organizing initiative and he is a firm and skillful Party organizer, as well as trade union organizer. And Johnny combines

political stability with extreme conscientiousness, loyalty, fearlessness, and dependability.

As for our National Organization Secretary, Henry Winston, you know him as well as I do. "Winnie" is one of the best and finest sons of the Negro people, and one of the great leaders of our Party. Not only a competent Party organizer, "Winnie" is an all-round Party political worker who is developing constantly, and is able to guide and lead the work of our Party in many fields of struggle and endeavor. And "Winnie" is a fiery and passionate worker. Invariably, he directs his fire and anger against the enemies of our Party, of our class, against the enemies of the Negro people. Needless to say, "Winnie" is one of my closest co-workers. He has been and is a great source of strength not only to our Party as a whole, but also to me in my activities, in my responsibilities as General Secretary.

Lastly, a few words about Gus Hall. Our National Committee elected Gus as one of its secretaries in December, 1949, and, as of last week, he is our National Secretary. Gus comes from a family of miners from the Mesaba Range of Minnesota. He is a lumberjack by occupation. He was a field organizer for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in the days when steel was being organized, in Youngstown, Pittsburgh, Bethlehem, Chicago, Gary, and other places. He has led numerous struggles in Youngstown and elsewhere. During the recent miners' strike, it was not accidental that the best work of our Party among the miners, as well as in support of them, took place in Ohio, where Gus personally led our Party's work. Gus is a rock-ribbed worker, loved by the workers who know him. He has political initiative and strength. Gus has a capacity for theoretical work and study which he combines ably with the practical mass work of our Party.

Such are the leaders of our Party, and with such co-workers, and with this great membership of our Party, I assure you I can leave for prison knowing that our ship of state is in safe and capable hands.

Let no one misunderstand me. I do not take this so-called leave of absence without deep concern. I realize that while the going is pretty tough today, stormier days are ahead. I know that before things get better, they will probably get worse, and the struggle will sharpen. Because of this, permit me to make a few additional remarks.

Let me introduce my thoughts by posing a fundamental proposition. If you or I were asked: What is the central and foremost achievement of the great Lenin and Stalin—what would the answer be? Some might say that the foremost achievement is the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, which established the highest form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Soviet power; and they would be correct. Some might well place the stress on the triumph of the three Stalin Five-Year-Plans of socialist construction and the great Stalinist Constitution of human, national, and social freedom. Many could well emphasize the decisive liberating role of the U.S.S.R., under the leadership of Stalin, in the epic military-political struggle that defeated the Axis powers in World War II. We could, in addition, give prominence to the steadfast peace policy of the Soviet Union, and be equally correct.

However, I think it would not be an error to state that the foremost, the key, and the central contribution of Lenin and Stalin on all questions affecting the Russian and the international working class, the contribution which determined and guaranteed the victory of the Socialist Revolution, the construction of socialism which is now in transition to communism, is the creation and building of the revolutionary Marxist party, the party of a new type.

With this cardinal thought in mind, I would like to stress briefly a few major questions which I consider imperative to insure the further progress and Bolshevization of our own Party, our own American Marxist-Leninist party—questions that are decisive in equipping our Party for its vanguard leadership of the working masses. I want to raise these questions, although not necessarily in the order of their importance.

First, we must nurture and develop our Party further as the vanguard party of the working class and of all exploited. This requires the maximum political and organizational initiative of our Party on all levels—of each organization, each committee, each member. To be the vanguard, however, means neither to lag behind nor to run ahead. This must particularly be borne in mind today, in the central struggle of this period, in the fight for peace. We must stimulate, organize, and



lead struggles, taking the initiative and even going it alone when it is necessary, but always with the aim of setting into motion not only the host of friends and sympathizers of the Party but the tens of millions throughout the country. This is necessary, if we are to live up to our responsibilities and help to impose the American people's will for peace upon the war makers.

Next, we must safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism. We must wage a relentless war against all deviations, be they Right or Left opportunism, whether they are manifested in our trade union work, in our election campaigns, in the fight for Negro rights, in national group work, or in any other field of our mass activities. To do this, we must open up on a wider scale a merciless, relentless, and sustained struggle against Browder and Browderism, against the traitorous Tito camp.

Third, we must close ranks and establish a greater Communist discipline, guarding the unity of our Party as never before, as our indispensable weapon. Bear in mind, comrades, that precisely while the enemy attacks us from without, while he attacks us frontally, he will also redouble his efforts to weaken and disrupt us from within. We saw this in 1945 and 1946. We have seen it since. Now, with your National Chairman seriously ill, and your General Secretary going away for a while, be on guard against the efforts of the enemy to disrupt our Party. The enemy will seize on all weaknesses and shortcomings. He will try to utilize all differences and shadings of opinion, as well as to exploit personal ambitions, personal weaknesses of comrades. We must defeat the enemy on this front, as well as on all other fronts, and we must preserve and strengthen at all costs the unity of our Party.

Fourth, it is incumbent on us to raise to new heights the struggle for proletarian internationalism, the touchstone of which, for Communists and non-Communists, is the attitude to the Soviet Union, to the land of socialism. We know, and we must help other workers and progressives to realize, that the Soviet Union is *not just another country*.



It is the land of socialism, the land of the workers, of the farmers, of all the peoples and nationalities that make up the U.S.S.R. It is the land where the workers rule and live today free from exploitation, from mass unemployment, free from the insecurities and the oppression of capitalism. It is the land of freedom and culture, the land of true democracy, the democracy of socialism.

Yes, we are Americans, we are American Marxists and working-class patriots. When the workers emancipate themselves, be it in Russia or in China, in the People's Democracies, or in the France and Italy of tomorrow, we have a special affection for these liberated toilers.

Our nation, which achieved its independence in 1776, had a special affection for the people of revolutionary France. In the following century, Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator, acknowledged with warm appreciation the solidarity with the Union cause expressed by Karl Marx and his followers in London. And we American Communists today, in keeping with that high tradition, strive to awaken the American masses to their great task of proletarian internationalism in the cause of peace and progress.

Let me restate what Comrade Foster and I said about a year ago: "If, despite the efforts of the peace forces of America and the world, Wall Street should succeed in plunging the world into war, we would oppose it as an unjust, aggressive, imperialist war, as an undemocratic and an anti-socialist war, destructive of the deepest interests of the American people and all humanity."

In the struggle to realize proletarian internationalism, there are many additional obligations. At this time I want to say only the following: We have a special obligation to the subject people of Puerto Rico, the direct colony of Wall Street imperialism, and to the millions of workers and peasants of the Philippines, to the valiant Hukbalahaps, Communists and non-Communists, who are fighting with arms in their hands for their national independence and freedom. We should not forget and must not fail to aid the workers and the Communists of the tiny republic of Panama; we must not fail to support the Communists and progressives of Australia, where Wall Street, as in Panama, Venezuela, and elsewhere, is trying by interference and dictation to

outlaw the Communist Party in order to strangle the working class and all progressives.

To wage a fight for proletarian internationalism in deeds, not just in words, means, further, to wage a constant struggle against the pernicious ideologies of chauvinist nationalism, of supremacist jingoism, within our own country, and their influences in our own labor movement. It means to wage a fight to the death against white chauvinism and anti-Semitism.

And as we fight for proletarian internationalism, let us remember that we Marxists will prove ourselves genuine proletarian internationalists only if we act as real working-class patriots, imbued with the spirit of Jefferson, Douglass, Lincoln, Sylvis, Debs, Ruthenberg, and Bill Foster.

Fifth, we must more than ever in the past strengthen our ties with the masses, especially with the labor movement and the Negro people. Wall Street is desperately trying to isolate us from the working class, especially from the workers in basic industries. The Taft-Hartley Act, for instance, creates many difficulties for us, as it does for all workers. But, while it will result in our sustaining some losses in trade union posts, we cannot and must not let repressive laws undermine our trade union base and weaken our ties with the masses of workers.

Sixth, we must constantly develop the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. Criticism, to be effective, must be constructive. And self-criticism, to mean anything, must lead to self-correction and must serve to educate the Party and the masses. There are some comrades in our ranks who, after a great deal of criticism and urging, finally do correct themselves; but, in so doing, they are very hesitant to take the Party into their confidence and frankly and openly to admit their mistakes. With the attacks on our Party mounting and getting sharper, you comrades, all of you, must help those leaders who are slow in exercising criticism and self-criticism to take this important step toward their own growth and development.

Next, we must work and fight with a clear perspective. While our

perspective and task in the struggle for peace is to guide the development of the democratic coalition movement toward the emergence of an anti-war and anti-monopoly people's government, we must not lose sight for a moment of our ultimate goal, our final aim of socialism. Thus, today, we must bear in mind that the struggle for peace is not only the most decisive task confronting the peoples throughout the world, but is also the key link that will help shape the major realignments within the country and advance the cause of social progress, the cause of socialism.

At all times, and now more than ever, we must strive to master theory and grasp the Leninist concept of the inseparable bond between theory and practice. We must fight for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, against all deviations and manifestations of opportunism. We must develop true revolutionary vigilance against enemy ideas and agents that ceaselessly seek to penetrate our ranks. We must learn from the Bolsheviks, but we must not copy blindly and try to apply mechanically the lessons of other lands. We must learn to apply Marxism creatively, to take into consideration the concrete conditions, the concrete relationship of forces in the face of every development, in relation to every change.

Finally, I would like to urge that all of us strive to effect a decided improvement in our style of work. We must learn, as Stalin taught, to combine Bolshevik zeal with American efficiency. Always, and everywhere, we must be audacious; we must be bold. We must show greater imagination and achieve individual initiative in our work on all levels, at the top as well as below. Today this requires, quantitatively and qualitatively, a new approach in the struggle for peace, a maximum consideration of how we devote our energies and expend our time and resources, and how we distribute our personnel in the great fight to consolidate the broadest possible peace front.

We are entering a period of acute and sharpening struggles. Let us march forward courageously, determined, and with supreme confidence in our Party, in our class, in our cause. Here, let me take just an additional minute or two to mention a personal experience.

In 1933 or 1934, I had the honor to work in a fraternal capacity

with some Chinese Communist leaders. Those were trying days for the Chinese people and their heroic Communist Party. Our brother Chinese Party fought gloriously and effectively; and yet, for a time, for a number of years in fact, it had been forced to execute a strategic retreat and to abandon the areas of the former Central Soviet Republic of Kiangsi. It was a long march of retreat for the Chinese Red Army. That retreat is now history, which most of you know about. At that time I had a talk with a leading Chinese comrade in Shanghai, who indicated what lay ahead and outlined the very difficult decisions they had to make. He expressed the famous thought of Mao Tse-tung that a People's Army can make retreats and lose territory in order to keep its forces intact, but so long as it has the adherence of the people it will be invincible. And this comrade expressed complete confidence in the future. He was not sure then in what province they would conclude their march, whether in Szechwan or Shansi; but he did know that wherever they were going to be they would be with the people. He also knew that all the murderous troops of the Kuomintang, all the German military missions, all the foreign imperialist invaders would not stop or daunt the Chinese people and their Communist Party.

Among the many things that are unforgettable to me in that experience, in that particular exchange of opinion, is how this Chinese comrade spoke about the Bolsheviks. He said something which all of us know but have not always thought through deeply enough. He recalled that the Bolshevik vanguard party, the party of the new type, was organizationally as well as ideologically crystallized only in 1903. But after the 1905 Revolution it was already tested in a period of unspeakable reaction, with its members exiled to Siberia and thousands done to death by the Tsar's minions. He pointed with pride to the way the Bolshevik Party had stood that test and triumphed shortly thereafter.

The Chinese comrade said: "From 1903 to 1917 was just a span of fourteen years!" It is perhaps not mere coincidence that it is just a trifle more than fourteen years since I had the discussion with that comrade in Shanghai—and see what has happened in China!

Comrades, permit me to conclude. Most likely, in a few days, I shall



be compelled to leave you. Whether or not I am present for a shorter or longer period, whether I am inside or outside of jail, I pledge to you that wherever I shall be, I will be worthy of your confidence and your comradeship, and that I will always conduct myself as a Communist, in a manner befitting a leader of our Party.





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