

THE MENACE
OF AMERICAN
IMPERIALISM



By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

AMERICA NEEDS
THE COMMUNIST
PARTY



By EUGENE DENNIS

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By Eugene Dennis

COMRADES, FRIENDS: I feel sure that I speak for each and every one of you when I say that we American Communists have a very special feeling about this, the 26th anniversary of our Party.

To every family there comes a moment of awareness that the shadow of tragedy has fallen on its home, and passed. And all that we hold dear is dearer for the realization of what we might have lost.

Our family, our Communist movement, has just passed through such a crisis. Fortunately for ourselves and the American people, we did and do possess sufficient Communist stamina and courage; we did and do have an unshakable faith in, and devotion to, our Marxist principles and ideals—so that we were able to overcome and destroy the virus of revisionism before it could do irreparable damage.

Tonight we rejoice that our Communist organization has emerged from this fateful crisis united and stronger than ever. In the future we shall know how to guard ever more jealously our Party, which is at once our very own and also the

common property of the American working class from which it sprang.

We are not alone in placing the deepest value on the Communist movement, the vanguard Party of the working class. In the course of the war against Hitlerism and the Axis, the freedom-loving peoples of all lands, all sincere anti-fascists, acquired a new and more realistic appreciation of the role of the Communists as the staunchest champions of democracy, peace and social progress. Yet, in the United States—in the most industrially advanced country of the world—there are many people still backward enough to believe that a modern nation can afford the luxury of being without a Communist Party of its own.

But every patriot in every land scourged by the flames of the anti-fascist war knows better. There is Yugoslavia, a small and weak nation, impoverished by centuries of feudal and reactionary rule. It should have been an easy thing for Hitler to enslave Yugoslavia. But Yugoslavia had riches not listed on the stock exchanges, and a strength outside the calculations of the typewriter generals.

Yugoslavia had a Communist Party, and out of it came Tito, who inspired and led an army of people's guerrillas who achieved gloriously the liberation of the Yugoslav peoples.

It is the same story almost everywhere we look—in China, France, Greece, and Italy. Where there was a Communist Party, the core of anti-fascist resistance was firm, the fight for freedom went on to victory.

History has found more than one way of teaching mankind this basic truth. It has given us the examples of Germany and Japan, where, at least temporarily, the Communist Party was destroyed, the working class and the people were divided and rendered leaderless, and thus the Nazis and the Japanese militarists obtained a free hand to rob, torture, and oppress, to unleash World War II, to imperil the fate of mankind. Contrariwise, history has also given us the epic example of the

Soviet Union, where the working class and its Communist Party took power, built Socialism, smashed the Nazi aggression, and consequently saved world civilization in its greatest trial.

Is the Communist Party of the United States so different from its Communist working-class brothers in other lands that it is less devoted to the interests of its class and its people? Is the United States so different from all other nations that it has nothing to learn from their experiences? Affirmative answers to both these questions are being fed the American people, and that is not a healthy thing for our nation or for the world.

We are not yet a large Party, but we have over 12,000 of our best sons in the armed forces. Hank Forbes, Herman Bottcher, and many others like them will not be coming back to us. Their insight, as Marxists-Leninists, into the nature of fascism, their true understanding of patriotism, their loyalty and devotion to the working class and the nation made them leaders among the men beside whom they fought and died. The nation has publicly acknowledged its debt to many Communist fighters, including our own Bob Thompson. Even the War Department has found it necessary publicly to repudiate the slander that Communists are not loyal and able fighters in defense of democracy.

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But we American Communists are in no mood to boast of our war record, of our signal contributions to victory over fascism. We have our own yardstick of working-class service. And by that yardstick we have taken our own measure and found ourselves deficient in certain respects.

Our stern test tells us that, while it was essential and invaluable it was not enough to uphold labor's no-strike pledge, to struggle for Negro rights, to fight for the Second Front, to advance the world unity of labor, to work for the re-election of Roosevelt, to help cement the unity of the nation and the

mighty anti-Hitlerite victory coalition. We Communists say that by our own fault we failed to give *all* that history asked of us. For we have been guilty in the recent period of costly mistakes, of revising Marxism. And this limited the scope and quality of our vanguard role in the struggle against fascism and actually resulted in the liquidation of the Communist Party, the independent political party of the American working class. Only by rooting out our former revisionist policies were we able to avert disaster for ourselves, for labor, for the camp of democracy.

But these mistakes were never called to our attention by those who now question our patriotism. It was we Communists who recognized our errors and set about correcting them. It was we American Communists who brought our Party back on the correct course and who are now steering our ship with the compass of Marxism-Leninism.

This is the greatest service we can claim to have performed in the year between the 25th and 26th anniversaries of our Party. It gives us the right to declare in all modesty, that we share kinship and a common science with the Marxists of other lands. It gives us the right to ask that our fellow-citizens—workers and progressives—join with us as partners and allies in unitedly shaping the destiny of our country, now that victory is won.

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Men who themselves, did not have the anti-fascist war at heart would deny us that right. They have begun a new campaign to exclude us from any participation in the solution of the many complex problems with which our nation is now confronted. We learn from subpoenas, and from that ill-famed organ of American fascism and reaction, Mr. Hearst's *Journal-American*, that on September 26 the House Committee on Un-American Activities will "investigate" the American Communist Party. It will examine the "change in our line" about which committee investigators like Charles Cough-

lin's former associate, Ralph Burton, have already drawn their own pro-fascist conclusions.

It seems that the gentlemen of Congress who have taken up where Martin Dies so reluctantly left off are alarmed because all kinds of alleged Communist "blocs" have suddenly become active in this country.

A so-called Negro "bloc"—in reality, a broad, progressive coalition of American democratic forces, both Negro and white—demands jobs for returning Negro veterans and laid-off war workers, a permanent F.E.P.C. and repeal of the poll-tax. A so-called Jewish "bloc"—in reality, a broad, progressive coalition of American democratic forces, both Jewish and Gentile—fights anti-Semitism. Greek-Americans, embraced in an all-American democratic coalition, make so bold as to clamour for a little more democracy and an end to reactionary foreign intervention in Greece. Italian-Americans, embraced in an all-American democratic coalition, want democracy in Italy. German-Americans, in common with the entire American people, take an interest in destroying the vestiges of Hitlerism and in the democratic re-education of the German people. There is even, "a Far Eastern Communist 'bloc' that 'meddles' in the affairs of China." That is, there is a coalition of patriotic Americans which demands that the peace terms for imperialist Japan shall be modelled after those imposed by the United Nations on Nazi Germany; which favors United Nations action against militarist-feudal Japan; and which supports the establishment of a strong, united and democratic China.

We are not responsible for the ominous conditions which give rise to the so-called "Far Eastern bloc meddling in the affairs of China," nor for any other of the "blocs" in which the Congressional Committee professes an interest. But we deeply share with the American people those liberating aims for which they fought the war so dearly won.

We Communists will not permit the men of the trusts, the economic royalists, to substitute their private vested inter-

ests and objectives for the national liberation aims of the peoples; we will not rest until the peoples' democratic aims are fully realized. We will not accept the soft-peace aims for Japan as advocated by the State Department and practised by General MacArthur. We will not agree to a divided and reactionary China, to continued American support for the pro-fascist Kuomintang dictatorship in Chungking which breeds civil war and an unstable peace in the Far East.

The Un-American Congressional Committee, whose guiding genius is John Rankin of Mississippi, finds that our new National Committee of 55 has among its members 31 comrades from two minority groups. Naturally, this also is an alarming fact demanding "investigation." For Rankin would like to rid our country not only of Communists, but also of Jews and Negroes, and, of course, of trade unionists.

However, the Communist Party is a stumbling-block in the way of Rankin's ambitions and of the whole program of the Southern bourbons and reactionary finance capital.

Therefore, according to these proponents of un-Americanism, the first thing is to get rid of the Communists. This is a truism that Rankin learned from Martin Dies, who in turn picked it up from two ersatz gentlemen named Hitler and Goebbels. As a matter of fact, the reactionary American monopolists, with their editors and politicians, subscribe to this thesis, as do even some members of the Truman Administration.

In the past few months we have convinced ourselves, if not the wishful-thinkers in the camp of reaction, that our American Communist Party is a pretty hardy plant and can withstand not only outward storms, but hidden canker. The secret of our strength and dynamic vitality is indeed to be learned from a study of the Marxist-Leninist science by which we live.

But the House Un-American Committee is not motivated by scientific curiosity, nor is it converting itself into a Marxist

study circle. Its sudden interest in our "line" is just a new scheme for trying to put us out of mass activity.

More subtle means for achieving the same end have already been tried against us. We have been ridiculed. Hearst and Roy Howard, even the staid *New York Times* and *PM's* learned Max Lerner have all had their fun at our expense. Fun over our so-called "flip-flops," our public "breast-beating," our "orgy of confession."

But it appears that we have no sense of humor. We Communists did not die laughing at ourselves, nor did we become demoralized laughing at each other. When ridicule failed, abuse was heaped upon us. But we are tough, and survived abuse. So now our enemies, who again have proved themselves equally to be enemies of the American people, are trying to isolate and discredit us by painting a more lurid and alarming picture.

The broad outlines of this picture have already been sketched for us by the Hearst *Journal-American* in its issue of September 10. We are to be portrayed as "agents of a foreign power, fomenting strife and dissension." Yet these were the epithets hurled against our Party when it issued its birth-cry in 1919.

After the last world war, the N.A.M. used the cry of Communism to divide the American labor movement and to divert the attention of the people from a serious solution of the great issues of jobs, security and peace. And this is why the Department of Justice used the red-herring to vindicate its Palmer raids, and why Hamilton Fish spread the bogey of Communism over the pages of his investigating committee.

Whenever the nation faces a crisis, whenever reaction prepares to launch a new offensive, a new effort is made to behead the labor movement of its advance guard, with the same old weapons of Red-baiting, slander and intimidation. And so it is again, today.

But perhaps some of the younger comrades do not remember, by what "strange" means we Communists supposedly used

to foment "strife and dissension" in the past. Some years ago, we said it was possible to organize the steel workers, and Bill Foster led a strike in 1919 to lay the foundation for that wondrous achievement.

We also said the automobile industry could be organized, and the marine workers, and the electrical workers—and all the mass production industries. Believe it or not, the workers agreed with us and did the job. And in time, what resulted from all our "fomenting" was not industrial strife and dissension, *per se*, but the beginnings of the orderly process of collective bargaining, and an upsurge of labor's organized, independent political action.

Foster and Amter, and many of our other comrades, led the great unemployed movement in the dark years of the Hoover depression. That, too, came under the name of "strife and dissension." But, in time, even Congress came around to our way of thinking, and Federal unemployment compensation and social security were enacted into law.

When the veterans of World War I marched to Washington demanding their promised bonus, Pete Cacchione was one of the active organizers of this movement. Nor should it be forgotten that the same Douglas MacArthur, who today uses kid-gloves toward the Japanese fascist butchers, personally commanded the troops which shot down the bonus marchers.

Ben Davis and Bob Minor exposed the Scottsboro case as a national scandal, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Mother Bloor championed the cause of Sacco and Vanzetti. There has been more justice in our land since those memorable battles in which we played our part with honor.

We were called "foreign agents" when we protested against U. S. aid to Kolchak and the other White Russian counter-revolutionists, when we asked our government to establish normal diplomatic relations with the workers' State, the Soviet Union, when we called for sanctions against the fascist invaders of Ethiopia, when we called for arms to the Spanish Republicans, when we said no more scrap iron to Japan.

As befits a vanguard Party, we Communists were always a step or two ahead of the American people and the working class. But each of our "visionary dreams" of yesterday was rooted in the needs and aspirations of the working class and the people—that is why many of them have already become the realities of today. Our ultimate goal of Socialism, which we keep ever bright before us, is but an extension of this democratic process. It, too, will someday be reached when the American people so will it.

* * *

But there is something new to be added to the old, old story when the House Committee on Un-American Activities starts its witch-hunt next week. Exhibit A will be the article written by the French Communist, Jacques Duclos, calling attention to our former revisionist errors.

This will be offered as the clinching documentary proof that we are un-American and get our orders "from abroad."

We American Communists answer that it was we, and we alone, who were responsible for our mistakes. And further, that the first criticism of our mistakes came from the outstanding leader of our own Party, from Comrade Foster. It was out of his experience in the American labor movement, the Left wing of the Socialist Party, the I.W.W., and, above all, the American Communist movement, that Foster and subsequently the rest of us found the wisdom to oppose, combat and defeat the Browder revisionist line.

Of course, all of us appreciate and are grateful for the sound fraternal advice of the French Marxist, Duclos. Marxism is a science, and therefore knows no national barriers. We Marxists, as social scientists, are internationalists. However, we Marxists are working-class scientists, and champions of the unity and solidarity of the workers and democratic peoples of all lands. We test our findings and our conclusions in the crucible of political struggles, in life itself. And we resolutely

support the cause of world labor, of all freedom-loving peoples.

Even the worts jingoes have yet to call the atom bomb un-American because the work of foreign scientists went into its invention. What matters in the social science of society, as in any other science is whether the analysis is correct—not what country it came from.

Today we Communists are pilloried for accepting sagacious advice from the French Communists, and for drawing our own independent political conclusions therefrom. Not so long ago the Vichyites called the French Communists “agents of Roosevelt” for advocating the alliance of the French resistance movement with the United States and the other United Nations. So much for reaction’s interest in scientific truth and analysis!

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If the House Committee were really interested in exposing un-American activities, it would concern itself, not with our proletarian internationalism which is thoroughly consistent with the best interest of our nation and which is rooted in our country’s great democratic traditions, but with all brands of a certain kind of “internationalism” which betrays the interest of our nation and which works to foment strife and dissension at home and predatory wars—that is, the “internationalism” of the great cartels and monopolies, of DuPont, Standard Oil, and Westinghouse.

Westinghouse, just to take one example, owns 20 to 30 per cent of the Mitsubishi Electrical Engineering Co., a part of the vast Japanese cartel system. A spokesman for Mitsubishi has told an American newspaper correspondent, “We reserved their dividends for them during the war. They can get them whenever they come.”

That is monopoly capital’s brand of “internationalism.” That is one of the cues to the current soft-peace policy which Washington and London are pursuing towards Japan.

At home, Westinghouse has just used a company-union in-

spired strike of white-collar workers as an excuse for locking out production workers who ask a \$2 wage increase. That, too, is how monopoly foments strife and dissension.

But the House Committee on Un-Americanism will not pursue its investigation along these lines. For the trail would lead from Ford, DuPont, Rockefeller and Westinghouse to Rankin and Bilbo, to Vandenberg and Wheeler, and who knows how far beyond!

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We may anticipate that when the Un-American House hearings begin, our championship of American-Soviet friendship will once again, and even at this late date, be charged against us.

Those who question our patriotism on that score do so because they have not yet given up hope of disrupting the United Nations Organization and splitting the Big Three, the unity of action of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and Britain. It is they, and not we, whose patriotism must be questioned. It must be remembered that the war has taught the American people how staunch an ally is the Soviet Union in battle, and how vital an ally she is in the postwar period. They have seen American-Soviet friendship prove the keystone of the arch of victory. They know that if it crumbles, the house of peace will not long stand.

Wrestling with their own knotty problems of reconversion and demobilization, the American people learn with interest that these questions are more easily and quickly solved in the world's first Socialist State, where there is no unemployment, where the right to work is the law of the land—a law validated by the Socialist system which has abolished the basis of unemployment.

Strengthened bonds of friendship and new channels of experience and communication have been opened up; new voices are heard in praise of the Soviet Union. Of first importance is the fact that world labor is at last outgrowing the

anti-Soviet prejudices with which it was so long poisoned by world reaction. Now it is a Sir Walter Citrine, a Philip Murray, who answer the lies of the George Meanys and the Mathew Wolls. In the future, those who try to stir up trouble between the United States and the Soviet Union must reckon, not only with us Communists, but with the majority of the American working people.

* * *

Nor are we Communists responsible for the strife and dissension with which big business circles now threaten to rend our own country. We are not responsible for the growth of unemployment, and for the mounting attacks of the corporations upon the unions and the living standards of the people. We are at one with the American working class and its allies in the desire for speedy reconversion, for jobs and security, and for the democratic unity of our nation and all the United Nations.

But we will not accept the "peace" of factories where no wheels turn, such as is imposed upon the 50,000 Detroit auto workers by Ford. Nor will we accept unity with the congressional saboteurs of President Roosevelt's postwar program for 60 million jobs.

It is true that our political line is the line of political mass struggle, of unity of action. We will not only participate in, we will help organize and lead, every struggle of the American people for jobs, full employment, higher wages, and the rights of the Negro people and of all minorities; for the strengthening of the democratic unity of the people against the concentrated power of the trusts, and for the forging of the greatest unity of the Big Three. We will take our stand in the forefront of all those millions of Americans who are resolved not to endure again the strife and dissension, the force and violence, the hunger and despair that followed the first World War.

* * *

The American people must therefore conclude that while the United States can easily dispense with the House Committee on Un-American Activities, it cannot afford to do without the American Communist Party. Least of all now, when all the signs point to stormy weather ahead.

The responsibility for giving our country the stronger, more united, independent Marxist Party it needs rests squarely upon our shoulders.

This is a time of testing for every individual, for every organization. What each of us does and what we do together will determine such vital issues as the final destruction of fascism, the establishment of a long-term peace, the winning of jobs for all.

We Communists meet the challenge of the coming days and months with confidence. The special convention of our Communist Party equipped us to fulfill our duties with honor and effectiveness.

We Communists will know better *now* how to strengthen the organizations and the independent political role of labor, and above all its unity. We Communists will know how to knit closer the democratic coalition of the American people. We Communists will know better how to cement the unity of the American-Soviet-British coalition and of all the United Nations.

Within our own Communist family we will achieve unity and singleness of purpose, and learn together how more effectively to master and apply the science of Marxism.

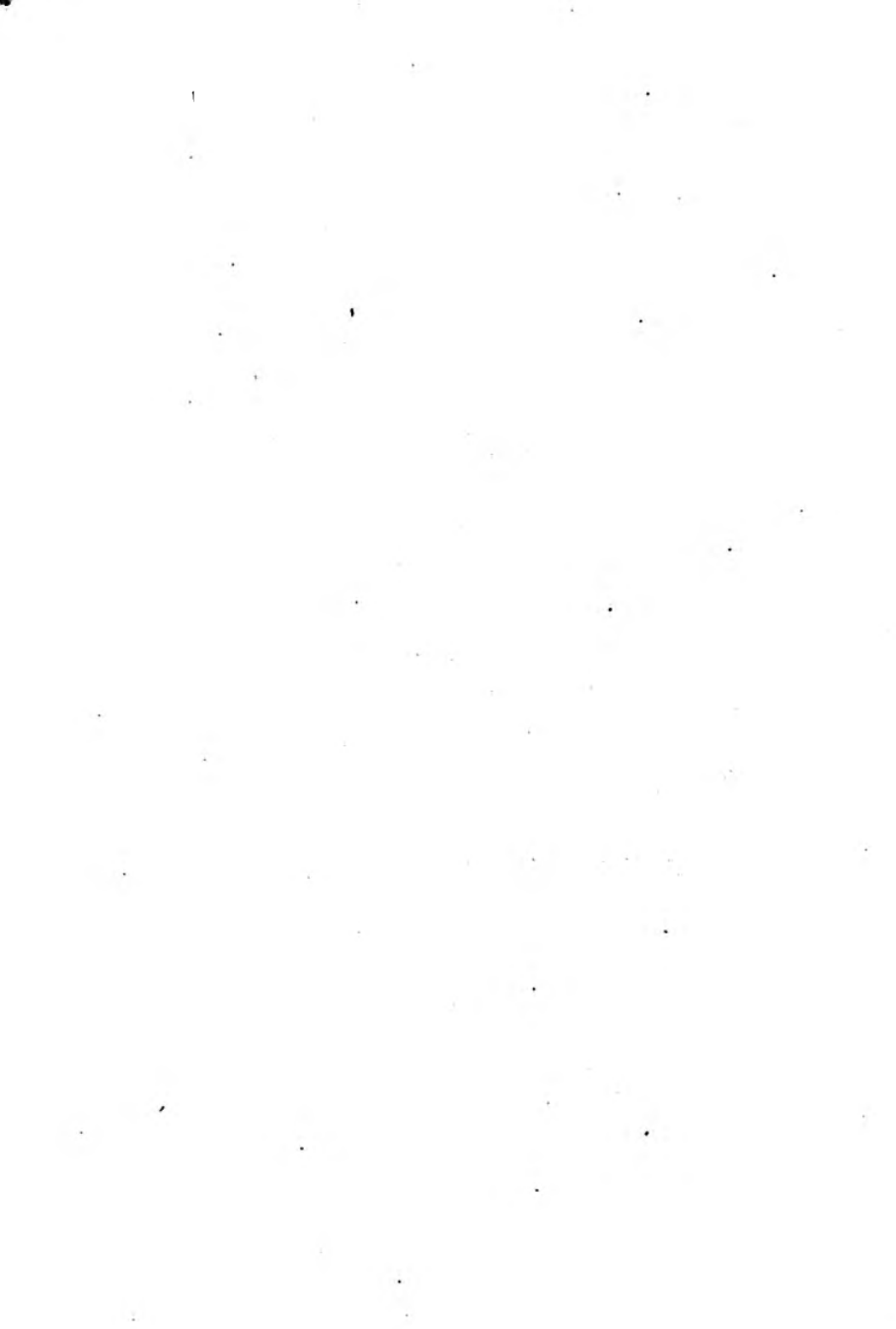
We American Marxists will not permit the posting of "quarantine" signs upon our house by a Congressional Committee or by any other reactionary source.

Boldly, as it is our inalienable right, we will continue to march ahead, to take our place in the front ranks of the struggles of the American labor and progressive movements. For this is our own, our native land and we Communists have the faith, the vision, and the courage with which its labor and democratic traditions endow our people—the working people.

And thus, on our 26th anniversary, we American Communists declare:

Forge the unity of action of labor, of Communists and non-Communists, of all anti-fascists, of all democratic forces! Answer the enemies of our working class and our nation by joining the ranks of the Communist Party!

Complete the destruction of fascism! Forward to new struggles and new victories in the cause of jobs and security, democracy and peace!



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