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The

# TWELVE

and You

**What happens to Democracy**

**is your business, too!**

*By Elizabeth Gurley Flynn*

# THE TWELVE AND YOU

By ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

ARE you losing sleep? What's worrying you? Spies? Conspiracy? Force and violence? There are plenty of problems pressing on the American family today, but they are not the ones in the scare headlines. Top priority worry everywhere is when do we eat—and what? The high cost of living—that's what's eating us! We don't need figures and percentages. We know from our daily buying and our shrinking purses that everything from soap to beefsteak has gone up. Milk, eggs, butter, bread, sugar, meat—are all skyrocketing. Wages are cut to the bone in their actual purchasing power.

Greedy food gamblers squeeze the farmer and the public. Millions of pounds of meat are held in cold storage. Men in high offices secretly play the market and get rich on food speculation. *It is a shameful conspiracy against the health and well-being of our growing children.* Worry is the lot of the average parents trying to feed our families. It harasses us daily, and cheats us of sleep. The Beef Trust, the Milk Combines, the stock brokers, the big commission merchants, all get their share of the take—out of us. They never do a useful day's work but grab millions in profits. Bandits and pirates are gentlemen compared to them. Are they in the headlines? *Are they indicted, arrested, pictured in the F.B.I. Rogues' Gallery, put under heavy bail, denied freedom of motion, and rushed to trial for their actual criminal conspiracy to swindle and starve the American family, for stealing food out of the American market basket and from the mouths of children?* No, they are not. Tom Clark, the U. S. Attorney General, has done nothing to bring these thieves to justice. He was too busy indicting Communists for "conspiracy," with the aid of a "blue ribbon" jury made up of the so-called "better class" of our democratic society—no workers, no Negroes, of course.

Edmund L. Cocks, foreman of this Grand Jury, is a banker. He is now exposed as figuring in a conspiracy as Vice-President of the Greenwich Savings Bank. The Federal Government charged this bank and 27 others with combining to restrict loans to housing projects for Negroes and Porto Ricans. This illegal combination practically pleaded guilty last June and promised not to conspire further. *They were not punished.* The complaint against the group was signed by U. S. Attorney Francis K. McGohey. The *Daily Worker* had vigorously demanded their punishment. How does such a character head up a Grand Jury and have the opportunity to strike back at John Gates, Editor of the *Daily Worker*, and Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., President of its publishing company? It's a question for our Government to answer.

Abraham Lincoln said, "You can fool all of the people some of the time"—but not forever. Is it the fault of the Communists that you can't put a roast of beef on the table for your Sunday dinner? What have the Communists to do with the high cost of living? This much, dear reader, that we Communists have fought it tooth and nail. We have exposed those who are responsible, have helped to organize protests, demonstrations, picket lines and lobbies against it. We are workers and farmers, we are housewives who go forth daily to battle for a square meal on our table. We are the same kind of people you are, and when we fight for your interests we fight for our own. The twelve arrested Communist leaders do not deprive people of milk and meat. They are charged with a trumped-up "conspiracy" to draw your attention away from the real criminal conspiracies against the welfare, safety and rights of the people, fostered by capitalism.

Are you a capitalist? Do you live without work on the labor of others? Do you collect dividends, clip coupons, draw profits? Do you winter in Palm Beach and summer in Switzerland? Are you one of the lucky sixty families who hit the jackpot in our free enterprise system and now own America? Do you revel in year-round luxury even to the third and fourth idle generations? To fight the evils of capitalism is plain treason to such birds of prey. Probably you're saying, "Who? Me? Lady, you've got me wrong. I work for a living." So you won't have a stroke if you keep on reading. We Communists consider you, the American people, the real jury. We present to you a counter

indictment against the men of the trusts. They are the menace to the well-being of our country. They accuse us to cover their crimes.

Did you read a report, tucked away in an obscure corner of the papers, where the Federal Reserve Board says that 28% of U. S. families have spent all their wartime savings and that over 13,500,000 families are today going deeper and deeper into debt, spending more than they earn? Did the 12 Communists leaders put all these Americans "*in the red*"? No, in fact the Communists are among these families. We are all "*in the red*" together. This is far more important news than screaming headlines about fake spy scares. So is another story, hidden away in the press. It is now eleven years since President Roosevelt spoke of "one-third of a nation ill-housed." The latest U. S. Census statistics show it is still true. At least *48 million people or more than one-third of our nation today are ill-housed. Six million families live in wretched city slum areas; fourteen million live in city and farm dwellings that are sub-standard.* These are government figures. Communists do not cheat people out of decent homes, nor force ten to eleven million Americans, many of them World War II veterans, to live "doubled up." Is it the fault of the Communists that you can't have a new house or apartment or must live with in-laws? Did the 12 Communist leaders conspire to monopolize land, raise rents, refuse repairs, prevent low-cost housing, corner building materials? What have the Communists to do with bad housing? This much, dear reader, that we Communists have fought everywhere throughout America for adequate low-cost housing for all—regardless of creed, color or national origin. We too live in crowded places. We too are veterans and their families who would like to live alone, and who have a right to expect better after we fought a war against fascism. The same profiteers who piled up huge fortunes during the war have conspired since to cheat our third of a nation out of decent dwellings. They prefer to produce a stockpile of war materials while they whoop it up for another war. The real estate combines, the big landlords, the construction companies, the politicians, have conspired to defeat all proposals for widespread adequate low-cost housing. *Are they indicted, arrested, pictured in the F.B.I. Rogues' Gallery, denied freedom of motion, and rushed to trial for robbing American*

families of a roof over their heads? No, they are not. Tom Clark, the U. S. Attorney, has done nothing to bring these thieves to justice. He was too busy indicting a political party in an election year, depriving the Communists of their constitutional rights to speak to you on election issues.

Abraham Lincoln said, "You can fool some of the people all of the time"—but not forever. Are you among these "some"? I hope not. Ask yourself a few questions. Are you going to get low prices by putting some guys in jail? Who—the food profiteers or the Communists? Are you going to get a house by putting some guys in jail? Who—the real estate profiteers or the Communists? Where does all the red-baiting come from? Who pulls out the old red herring every time you ask for a raise in pay? The Steel Trust and other big bosses shout: "Tools of the Communists!" You want a sirloin steak or a couple of lamb chops? The Beef Trust bellows, "Dupes of the Communists!" You want a house with a bathroom? "Communist agents!" roar the Real Estate interests. When will you get wise to all this ballyhoo? Communists are being constantly abused in a stream of downright lies and slander, in the press and over the radio. But consider the sources from which this attack comes—Wall Street, Big Business, National Manufacturers Association, Chambers of Commerce, anti-New Deal Democrats and Republicans. White supremacists in the South, Ku Klux Klan, the notoriety-seeking Un-American Committee, and even some labor misleaders who don't want to stand up and fight but prefer the soft seats of appeasers of capitalism. Is it just an accident that "red scares" and "spy plots" are headlines, but food and shelter are not? Do you notice there is a pattern to it? Prices go up, rents are upped, and we get another red scare. Workers ask for a raise; the Progressive Party holds a successful convention, and we get more red scares. Everybody gets a chance to discuss the Communists—except the Communists. Is this free speech? Is this the atmosphere for a fair trial? It creates a lynch atmosphere. How about your union, club, fraternal society, church, asking a Communist, not an anti-Communist, to speak on "*What is the Communist Party? What does it do? Who belongs to it? What does it stand for in the 1948 elections? What are its ultimate purposes?*" Who is better qualified to speak with authority than the Communists themselves?

But in spite of all the present handicaps we have faith in the ultimate justice of the American people, when the fog of the present hysteria rolls away. Abraham Lincoln said: "You can't fool all the people all of the time!" History has proved that. We are willing to rest our case with our fellow Americans, after they know the facts. History vindicated those who fought and died for freedom of religion and science, for democratic rights against feudalism, and human slavery. Pioneers who fought for women's suffrage, free public schools, labor unions, had a rough time. But they are honored today. The first unions in our country were charged with "conspiracy to injure trade and commerce." They're still trying it in the Taft-Hartley Slave Law over a century later. On Monday, June 6, 1836, twenty-seven thousand people gathered in City Hall Park to protest the sentencing of twenty New York tailors. "*If this be the law,*" said John Greenleaf Whittier, renowned Quaker poet, "*It is unjust, oppressive and wicked.*" "*If this is not slavery,*" said William Cullen Bryant, poet and editor, "*we have forgotten its definition.*" They had experienced the repression of the Alien, Sedition and Naturalization Laws, when many were deported, persecuted and prosecuted. It was the Mundt Bill of that day and was sent to its well-deserved grave when Jefferson was elected, in 1800. Are we Americans of 1948 less conscious of our rights than were these fighting offspring of revolutionary fathers?

"Overthrowing the government" has ever been the charge hurled by the "rich and well-born" who agreed with John Jay, first Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court when he said: "Those who own the country ought to govern it." To this day this privileged class dare identify themselves with democracy and consider that any attack upon their special system of private ownership of our country's resources and industries is a threat to government and to the American way of life. This employing class dares to speak of "force and violence." It would be a farce if it were not so tragic. In the twenty-nine years of the Communist Party's existence not a single act or advocacy of force and violence has been proven against our party. In the case of our comrade, Schneiderman, before the U.S. Supreme Court in June, 1943, the issue was one of citizenship. Nevertheless the Court, after examining the practices and doctrines of the Communist Party, remarked as follows: "*A tenable*

conclusion from the foregoing is that the party in 1927" [when Schneiderman was naturalized—E.G.F.] "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 time in the future, because of peculiar circumstances, constitutional or peaceful channels were no longer open."

Are there such cases? Yes, when the Southern slave-owners refused to accept the election of Abraham Lincoln and took up arms against the government. A similar recent case was the fascist Franco's overthrow of the Spanish government. The Communist Party constitution states clearly: "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 majority of the American people can maintain their right to determine their destiny in any degree, shall be punished by immediate expulsion." The long range program of the Communist Party, the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism, is possible when the majority of the American people agree, by amending the Constitution of the U.S.A., just as slavery was abolished by the Thirteenth Amendment and the slaves declared citizens of the U.S. by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments (which the Dixiecrats want to abolish). Any force and violence will be on the part of the minority capitalist class against the will of the people, as by the slave owners during the Civil War. As Eugene Dennis pointed out in his magnificent Madison Square Garden speech on August 2nd, the only blood shed by American Communists was in fighting fascists in Spain and on every battle front of World War II. But the long and cruel record of capitalism in shedding the blood of American workers can be proven by thousands of widows and orphans. In over forty years in which I have been active in the American labor movement I can recall many such killings.

In 1911, there was the *Triangle Fire*, when 129 young girls burned to death after the boss locked the doors against union organizers. In 1912, *Anna LaPizza* was shot by a policeman and *John Rami* stabbed a guard, in the Lawrence,

Mass, textile strike. In 1913, two workers, *Madonna* and *Modestino*, were shot by deputies in the Paterson, N. J., silk strike, and the same year in Calumet, Mich., a group of strikers' children were smothered to death at a Christmas party, when a thug yelled "fire." In 1914, thirty-four men, women and children were massacred when the strikers' tent colony was set afire in Ludlow, Colo., and organizer *Louis Tikas* was shot down trying to save them. In 1916 *John Alar*, a striker, was killed on the Mesabi Iron Range in Minn. and five I.W.W. members, *Rabinowitz*, *Johnson*, *Baran*, *Looney* and *Gerlot*, were shot down at Everett, Wash., in a free speech fight. In 1917, a striker was killed in Bisbee, Arizona, and *Frank Little*, I.W.W. organizer, was lynched in Butte, Mont. In 1919, twenty-one steel strikers were killed in the big strike and *Mrs. Fanny Sellins*, union organizer, was brutally murdered by deputies at Natrona, Pa. The same year *Wesley Everest*, World War I veteran, was lynched by Legionnaires at Centralia, Wash., following their raid on the I.W.W. hall. In 1925, *Mike Saravich* was killed by a Klansman in the Zeigler, Ill., union hall. In 1919, *Anna May Wiggins*, textile striker, mother of five children, was shot by deputies at Gastonia, N. C. In the 20's *Sid Hatfield* and *Ed Chambers* of the U.M.W.A., were shot to death as they walked unarmed up the courthouse steps to trial. In 1931, *Harry Simms*, young Negro Communist organizer, was killed in Harlan County, Ky. In 1932, bonus marchers *William Hushka* and *Eric Carlson* were killed in Washington, D.C., and four unemployed workers, *Coleman Leny*, *Joe de Blasio*, *Joe Russell* and *Joe York*, the latter two Communists, were killed at Dearborn, Mich., by Ford Plant guards. In 1934, *Nicholas Bordoio*, Communist, and *Howard Sperry*, were killed in the San Francisco general strike. In 1935, *Joseph Shoemaker* and *Frank Norman* were beaten to death in Tampa, Fla., by the K.K.K. In 1936, ten pickets were killed by the police in the Memorial Day massacre of South Chicago, Ill. These are some I remember. There were many more. But I do not remember a single case where the murderers were punished—not one. Where was Tom Clark and his predecessors when these hideous crimes were committed against workers who had fought only for more bread?

Five thousand Negro Americans have been lynched since 1882 in this country, and no one was ever punished, according



to the Appeal to the United Nations submitted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A. C.P.). Where was Tom Clark when two Negroes were murdered by police officers in Columbia, Tenn.; the Ferguson brothers murdered by police in Freeport, L. I., and Marcie Snipe, a veteran in Georgia, murdered by a mob? Snipe's "crime" was to register; William Milton was murdered by a policeman on July 15 of this year in Brooklyn, N. Y. Is it the Communists who are responsible for these tragic deaths which disgrace America before the whole world?

What about the murder by cops of a 15-year old Negro youth, Leon Mosley, in Detroit? What happened to James Harmon of Trenton, N. J., a Negro worker who went out for a cup of coffee and died weeks later, all smashed up and unable to tell what happened to him? Where was the F.B.I. when these horrors happened? Too busy indicting the Communists, who fight for the rights of the Negro people. While the F.B.I. were arresting the 12 Communist leaders, the Ku Klux Klan was meeting in Konklave in Stony Mt., Georgia, plotting to deprive Negro Americans in the South of their right to vote—by force and violence. Were there any Communists among them?

This oppressive capitalist system, which the Communists charge with force and violence, was guilty of the deaths of 17,000 workers in preventable industrial accidents in 1947. There were 1,165 coal miners killed underground and 63,000 injured. The most terrible accident was at Centralia, Ill., where 111 miners died, due to wilful negligence by the company and the state. The doomed miners had warned the governor of Illinois of the dangerous state of the mine. Did any one go to jail for these crimes? Not one. The 80th Congress, which passed the Taft-Hartley Slave Law to shackle the miners, failed to pass an Amended Federal Safety Code to prevent such catastrophes. They failed to pass an anti-lynch law.

Are the Communists responsible for this appalling waste of human life? Do they own the mines and factories, hire guards, ignore safety regulations and make widows, orphans and cripples? The hands of the rich are stained with blood. They are guilty of murder underground, on the picket line, in the darkness of the night. *Are those who readily advocate and can be proven by thousands of overt acts to use force and violence*

against labor and the Negro people, indicted, arrested, pictured in the F.B.I. Rogues' Gallery, put under heavy bail, denied freedom of motion and rushed to trial for their obvious criminal acts? No, Tom Clark is too busy indicting the 12 Communist leaders for advocating Socialism, a system which would make such deeds impossible. I've seen pickets and strike leaders arrested by the hundreds and innocent workers framed up, like Tom Mooney and Sacco and Vanzetti, like Eugene Debs and Joe Hill—but I have yet to see a mine owner, mob leader, trigger-happy copper, strike-breaking thug, vigilante or gunman, punished for crimes against the people. I hope to live that long, dear reader.

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The Smith Act, under which the Communist Party leaders are now indicted, was passed in April, 1940. There are two indictments. One is for conspiracy, in which all twelve are named. The other is an individual indictment, specifically dealing with membership in the Communist Party. The man on the street could logically ask why the Government waited eight years if "a dangerous group of reds" were trying all this time to overthrow our Government by force and violence? Why does the indictment only cover from 1945 on, when the Communist Party has been in existence for the last twenty-nine years—since September, 1919? Is it because during World War II there were 15,000 members of the Communist Party in the armed forces of the U.S.A., or one out of every six members of our Party, using force and violence to defeat fascism? That would surely have been an inconvenient time to charge Communists with such an indictment, wouldn't it? Four of the twelve defendants were in the armed forces—*Robert Thompson, John Gates, Henry Winston* and *Gus Hall*. All were honorably discharged. Thompson won the Distinguished Service Cross for extraordinary heroism in action in the South Pacific; Gates was a paratrooper in Europe. Both of these men fought in Spain, against the fascists. Thompson was badly injured both in Spain and New Guinea. Gates led some of the bloodiest battles on the Ebro in Spain. Gus Hall served in the Navy, during the war. Henry Winston, Communist Negro, fought on the European front. He handled military cargo at Antwerp, under bomb fire. In February, 1947, President Truman wrote to George Earle, former governor of Pennsylvania: "People of

this country are wrought up about the 'Communist bugaboo' but I am of the opinion that the country is perfectly safe as far as Communism is concerned." Where was the great "conspiracy" then? Isn't it odd that it's alleged just the last three years, when we fought Mr. Truman's policies? His Department of Justice whipped it up neatly on the eve of the Wallace third party convention in Philadelphia, which should fool nobody. It did not fool Henry Wallace who said: "The indictments are, I feel, an attempt to promote new fears. They are another series of diversions created for Americans who are complaining about mounting inflation, the stupid bungling in Berlin and other problems. Both the administration and the bipartisans in Congress make allegations to make headlines, make headlines to make fear, and make fear to stay in power. . . . Defense of the civil rights of Communists is the first line in the defense of the liberties of a democratic people. The history of Germany, Italy, Japan and Franco-Spain should teach us that the suppression of the Communists is but the first step in an assault on the democratic rights of labor, national, social and political minorities and all who oppose the policies of the government in power."

In the indictment, which the New York silk-stocking jury labored over for over a year, there is no charge of the actual commission of a single act of force and violence, not even as much as throwing a brick. Advocating ideas, namely the Socialist principles of Marxism-Leninism, is the core of the indictments. The question at issue is—do these ideas constitute advocating force and violence? We say they do not and that what the Government is trying to do is outlaw the advocacy of Socialism. In the New York *Times* Sunday magazine section on August 22, Professor Henry Steele Commager writes on "Should We Outlaw the Communist Party?" He is a professor of history at Columbia University. His conclusions, after a lengthy analysis, are as follows: "On all these grounds then, it would seem unwise to outlaw the Communist Party or to punish those whose only crime is membership in that party. It is unwise because it would surely fail of its objective. It is unwise because it would be a grave departure from our traditions of law and constitutionalism. It is unwise because it would endanger the position of other non-conformist groups, prove an entering wedge to the suppression of freedom of

speech and thought, and open the gates to the kind of despotism that is most pernicious. It is unwise because it would deny to our people and our Government the advantages of criticism, which, whatever its animus, is essential to our health and prosperity."

The real issue in this trial will be "*Can ideas be put in jail?*" People can, but the whole history of the human race has proved it is impossible to imprison ideas. The crucifixion of Jesus and the violent deaths of all the apostles who preached his words; the torture of Galileo; the exiling of Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson, did not succeed in killing their ideas. We did not seek this opportunity to present our views on a world scale. But since the Government compels us to do so, we will use it for all it's worth. Not one American will be so remote or isolated that our message will not reach him or her during this historic trial. Millions will know that as Gene Debs and Bill Haywood and their comrades represented the cause of the workers before the courts in the 20's, that Bill Foster, Gene Dennis, Ben Davis and their comrades represent it today. Who deprives the people of food, who wants war, who uses force and violence, will be exposed by this trial.

There isn't one of these twelve men you would not find it a real treat to sit down with to talk over your own problems as well as national and world affairs. For instance, *Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.*, is a City Councilman, elected twice over as a Communist, on Manhattan Island. Born in Georgia, as a lawyer he defended Angelo Herndon and the Scottsboro boys in those infamous frame-up cases against the Negro people—his people. He has led delegations to Washington against the poll-tax, for an anti-lynch law, for adequate F.E.P.C., for the end of discrimination in the armed forces and has been a thorn in the side of the hypocritical Truman administration in his demand for *civil rights now for the Negro people*. He has equally challenged G.O.P.'s candidate Dewey on similar issues within our state and especially on the unpunished brutality and wanton murders of Negro people. The door of his office is always open for any aggrieved citizen who needs a champion.

In two minutes you'd be calling the Chairman of the Communist Party "Bill." He worked at every kind of trade from the age of 14. He is the best labor organizer this country has

yet produced. *William Z. Foster* laid the basis for the C.I.O. in organizing the 60,000 meat packing workers of Chicago in 1917 and 365,000 steel workers in 1919. As a direct result of his efforts a substantial gain was made for the employees of the five big packers—who won \$6,000,000 in back pay alone. The steel strike was the first powerful blow at the main open-shop fortress and ended the 12-hour day in that industry. Foster was attacked then, before there was a Communist Party, as “*the chief red*” who was using these strikes “*to start the revolution.*” Born in Taunton, Mass., of Irish revolutionary parents, Bill Foster became a Socialist as a youth of nineteen in 1900. Once before, in 1922 in Michigan, he was charged with “advocating force and violence” but the case collapsed. The only jail sentence Foster has ever served was for leading the great New York demonstration of the unemployed, on March 6 in 1930. This tremendous nation-wide movement helped to elect President Roosevelt in 1932, and to inaugurate the “New Deal” which included the right to work, social security, unemployed insurance, etc. William Z. Foster is known by millions, who should now speak out on his behalf.

*Eugene Dennis*, born in Seattle, Wash. of Irish and Norwegian parentage, also began fighting for Socialism as a youth. He worked in lumber camps, as a seaman, a teamster, an electrician and at other outdoor jobs. He too was arrested on March 6, 1930, leading the unemployed in Los Angeles, Cal. As General Secretary of the Communist Party, Eugene Dennis was the first people's leader to defy the fascist Un-American Activities Committee, by refusing to recognize a body set up to suppress the rights of the people, having as a member the illegally elected Jim Crow John Rankin of Mississippi where only 4 percent of the electorate are allowed to vote.

*Gus Hall* was a C.I.O. organizer during the drive to hold the line in the bitter Little Steel Strike in 1937, while *John Williamson*, as the Ohio state organizer of the Communist Party, helped to build the C.I.O. in steel and rubber. They are well remembered by workers there. On the same March 6, 1930, that Foster in New York and Dennis in California were arrested, *Jack Stachel*, then Communist Party leader in Michigan, led a demonstration of 100,000 unemployed workers there. As trade union secretary of the Party and a leader of the Trade Union Unity League, he helped to lay the basis

for many of the industrial unions which exist today. *Irving Potash* is one of the best-loved leaders in the International Fur and Leather Workers Union of the C.I.O. who played a large part in routing the Lepke-Gurrah gangsters in the fur market in the 30's. In his youth he was a victim of the vicious Palmer anti-red raids and in 1940 was again sentenced to prison for his union activities. His comment as he entered the Federal Building at Foley Square to surrender himself was: "*These charges are ridiculous. They tried in 1920 and failed. The workers won't take this as a substitute for higher wages and peace.*" *Carl Winter*, who leads the Communist Party of Michigan, also got his early training in the depression days. His parents were Socialists, as were his wife's parents—friends of Eugene V. Debs. He helped organize steel, as Williamson's assistant, in Ohio. He led the fight in Michigan which gathered 100,000 signatures against the Callahan Act, thus invalidating this cheap local version of the Mundt Bill. *Gil Green*, now Party organizer in Illinois, was secretary of the Young Communist League for many years. His graduates took part in the C.I.O. organizing drive, fought fascism in Spain, and furnished some of the best soldiers and officers in the Second World War, many of whom died in action while the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey kept its cartel agreements with the Nazis six months after war was declared. You can see from even this brief resume of these twelve that four are veterans of World War II; two are veterans of Spain; one is a popular fighting public official; two are leaders of the Negro people; four were front-line leaders in the struggle for jobs for the unemployed during the depression; one is a loved and respected labor official; seven were active organizers in the American labor movement. They are family men, with at least twelve young children dependent upon them; one with a son in college; one with grandchildren, and one whose wife is expecting another baby soon. Nine of the defendants are native-born. Three are foreign-born, coming here at a very early age. These three are also held under bail for deportation, on the same charge of "advocating force and violence." How many times can people be arrested and punished in different ways for the same charge? Their only "crime" is very clear. It is the same as that of Jesus of Nazareth: "*He stirreth up the people.*" Yes, these twelve men, over the past

several decades, have stirred up the American people—to fight for jobs, for unions, for democratic rights, against capitalist exploitation. For this—that they care what happens to people—should they be crucified?

By this time you are wondering, I'm sure, "What about all those 'foreign agents' and 'spy' charges?" I'm not surprised you ask. The New York *Mirror*, for instance, had a headline on July 21st, "Indict Top Reds in 5-Year Probe of Spy Network." Well, there's just nothing to it except atmosphere. It is a smokescreen to create a lynch hysteria, which makes a fair trial practically impossible. There are no charges of being foreign agents or of spy activities in the indictment. Attorney General Clark recently reminded Senator Ferguson of this in a public letter. The unproven Hitler Big Lie is "Communist-conspiracy—foreign-agent." On this basis, Mr. Mundt tried to pass his police state bill here. Yet in every country in the world, including our own, during the war, Communists were "defenders of humanity"—as General MacArthur called the Red Army. How can people be among the best fighters for their country and be "foreign agents" at the same time? American Communists did not ship scrap iron to Japan. They picketed and protested against it. American Communists did not ship arms to Franco. They fought hard for an embargo to PREVENT it. American Communists did not do business with the Krupps and I. G. Farben gangs of Germany as Wall Street did before, during and since the war. In 1938, Standard Oil turned over its butyl rubber secrets to I. G. Farben of Germany. Who is a foreign agent, we ask you?

American Communists supported President Roosevelt in his advocacy of "quarantine the aggressor." As my good friend Larry Mahan, Secretary of the Communist Party of New Jersey and a veteran of World War II, said in a radio address over Station WAAT in Newark, New Jersey, on May 17th: "There *are* foreign agents operating in our country today—foreign agents of Chiang Kai-shek, begging for billions in Washington to continue the hopeless war against the whole Chinese people. And there are agents of all the fascists and quislings in Europe, living on State Department bounty. And also the agents of all the broken-down kings of Europe, whose people have finally outgrown them as we did way back in 1776. Our country is crawling with foreign agents, and they're all eating out

of our withholding tax. Whenever a fascist or reactionary is voted out of office in Europe (and this sometimes happens in spite of Wall Street dollars and bankers' bribes, in spite of State Department threats of starvation), wherever such a character is turned out of office, he sails for America—sure of a warm official welcome, wide publicity and free food and drinks. And they're all whooping it up for a war which they hope will bring them back their thrones and estates, and their oil wells and their factories." That's what Larry Mahan, who worked as a radio technician for the Navy, installing and repairing super-secret electronic devices to help lick the Nazis—thinks about the "foreign agent" situation in the U.S.A.

During the American Civil War a Communist, Joseph Wedemeyer, rose to the rank of Colonel. He was a German immigrant, a friend of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, who wrote the Communist Manifesto in 1848. He had helped to campaign for Lincoln and to form the first Communist club in the U.S.A. in 1857. Its vice-president, Fritz Jacobi, was killed in the Civil War. Another friend of Marx and Engels, Adolph Chiss, was an engineer at the U. S. Navy Yard in Washington, D. C. Were these early Communists "foreign agents"?

Thomas Jefferson was called a Red Republican—an agent of the French Jacobins of the revolution of 1798; Abraham Lincoln was called a Black Republican, an agent of the devil. As a result of the hysteria at the time of the Palmer raids over 500 workers, non-citizens, were torn from their families and deported, many to certain death; and 877 citizens were convicted under the fake Sedition Act of that date, without one proved act of injury to the military services. Not a single spy was ever convicted under the act. Among those Americans who suffered were Eugene V. Debs and Kate Richards O'Hara of the Socialist Party, and William D. Haywood and others of the I.W.W. Socialist Congressman Victor Berger was excluded from his seat and New York Socialist Assemblymen were likewise expelled. All this was before there was a Communist Party. The "spy-plot-conspiracy-foreign-agent" gag has been used over and over again to create frame-ups against labor. One is not a foreign agent to express international solidarity with workers and to have common issues for common well-being. The United Nations symbolizes the fact that



nations should act together. The World Federation of Trade Unions expresses the common interest of 75 million trade unionists. On this subject, and it should dispose of this vapid and vicious lie as far as Communists are concerned, Abraham Lincoln 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." We believe in such internationalism.

Recently we held the 14th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., from August 2nd to the 6th in New York City. If the enemies of our Party expected that the indictments of our leaders would demoralize us, they were greatly disappointed. There were 165 regular delegates, with many additional alternates and visitors—from North, West and South. Fraternal delegates from England, France and Norway were barred by the State Department, although they were all Communist members of their respective parliaments. Our delegates were a cross section of America—coal miners, steel, textile, railroad, packinghouse, needle trades, electrical, rubber, auto and varied shop workers, also maritime, hard ore miners, farmers, students, teachers, housewives, writers, artists, editors, union officials and others. We were of all national origins—American, Indian, English, Irish, Scotch, Spanish, Italian, Jewish, Porto Rican, Russian, Mexican, Greek, German, Dutch, Norwegian, Danish, Yugoslav, Czech, and others. We were men and women, Negro and white, young and old, veterans of World Wars I and II, veterans of Spain. One delegate, Alice Burke, our Party organizer in Virginia, brought her nursing baby. Speak about children and pictures were forthwith passed around the tables by fond parents. Father and daughter were fellow delegates in silvery-haired, ever youthful Alfred Wagenknecht and his daughter Helen Winter. Husband and wife delegates were Henie and Marie Huff from Seattle, and Moe and May Miller from New York. Nick Migas, hero of the rank-and-file steel workers for his courageous stand for a wage increase at their Boston convention, where he was beaten up by K.K.K. thugs from Alabama, was a modest unassuming delegate. If you could see and meet our delegates you would find them people just like you—flesh and blood of the American working class, identified with all its needs, struggles and aspirations. The nice old ladies who are per-

manent residents at the hotel where we met were quite impressed at our quiet, orderly, sober and serious convention, which disturbed them not in the least day or night. The longest and most involved discussion I recall was on the subject of "cyclical crisis," or depression to us.

The deliberations of our convention have all been published. The 1948 Election Platform of the Communist Party has much in common with the election demands of all progressive people in these grave times. It points out: "The dangers of war and fascism are exceedingly great. Only the common people of America, and in the first place the working class, can change our nation's course and save it from disaster. The 1948 elections can help determine which way America shall go. Your vigilance, your united action in this election and in defense of your rights, can strike a blow for peace and freedom. The future of our country is in your hands."

We discussed in our convention and wrote into our platform our views on *War and Peace; The Attack on Labor and Our Living Standards; Civil Rights; Negro Rights; The Two-Party System and the New Party*. We differentiate between the Progressive Party and the Communists not on immediate demands upon which there is little disagreement, but on our ultimate goal of Socialism. This is clear to us. It is, I'm sure, clear to Mr. Wallace and all intelligent progressives. It is a difference that permits us to participate in an anti-monopoly, anti-fascist, anti-war broad coalition party—the Progressive Party—and not expect it to become Communist. Only those who are trying to create disunity and confusion, set up a great hue and cry that Mr. Wallace and the Progressive Party as such are Communists. We know and say they are not. We are not seeking any special favors in this movement. Nor do we accept any disabilities because of our Socialist views. Here is how our own Election Platform of 1948 expresses our ultimate goal:

"We Communists are dedicated to the proposition that the great American dream of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, will be realized only under Socialism, a system of society in which the major means of production will be collectively owned and operated under a govern-

ment led by the working class. Only such a society can forever banish war, poverty and race hatred. Only in such a society can there be the full realization of the dignity of men and the full development of the individual. Only such a society can realize in life the vision of the brotherhood of man."

Well now, dear reader, you've had a streamlined view of the Communists—our work and ideas. But will you feel that your duty is done in just reading this pamphlet? Are all the things I talked about here the private concern of Communists only? Do they also affect you and your children? I am sure you will readily agree: "What happens to America is my business, too. What happens to Americans is my concern, too. It's my life and liberty, too!" Right you are. And it's not a private fight either. Everybody can get into it. It's your fight as well as ours. A prominent Washington news letter to top capitalists has this to say: "The indictment of the U. S. Communists is not a political gesture. It has been planned for a whole year. Government wants to make a start *at corralling them to limit their mischief, just in case of emergency. Government has 200,000 persons under surveillance, can pick them up as a matter of safety.*" If you are a militant trade unionist, maybe you, too, are among the 200,000. If you are opposed to another war, even before our dead are all brought home, maybe you, too, are among the 200,000. If you oppose the Marshall Plan to mortgage needy countries to Wall Street's dictates, maybe you, too, are among the 200,000. If you are opposed to the draft of your young sons, whose education, family lives and futures are thus cruelly interrupted by war preparations, maybe you, too, are among the 200,000.

It is a frame-up for war! It is a "red scare" to screen war plans! Thousands of Negro American leaders realize this as "an attempt to strengthen the current drive to war and reaction in general, by intimidating all political opposition to such a program." They have issued an appeal "The First Line of Defense," signed by W. E. B. DuBois, Roscoe C. Dunjee, Charles P. Howard and Paul Robeson.

A giant petition of 10,000 signatures is under way in San Francisco, signed by leading A.F.L. and C.I.O. officials who "see political persecution as a dangerous step toward fascism."

Top national leaders of 18 Australian trade unions cabled Secretary Trygve Lie of the United Nations, requesting intervention in these arrests. A similar message was sent by 15 Queensland labor leaders. Copies were sent to the Prime Minister to forward to the Australian delegate to the U.N. and to Philip Murray of the C.I.O. The Australian labor leaders consider the arrests a violation of the U.N. provision "observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms." Secretary Healey of the Queensland Trades and Labor Council said in his letter: "We are aware that the attacks on the Communist Party in America are due to the policy being pursued by that party against the war plans of the United States government and that the Communist Party are endeavoring to organize the people of the United States for the preservation of world peace."

As I am writing the date for trial has been set on October 15th. This means about six weeks for the defense attorneys to prepare to defend a case which the government worked on for nearly two years. It is a political case of tremendous magnitude. It involves the life of the Communist Party. It threatens the liberty of twelve human beings. It involves civil liberties and democracy in the U.S.A. It is the Mundt Bill in a new form. Communists are naturally deeply concerned. But the millions who fought the Mundt Bill, who may not agree with us politically, do care what happens to the Bill of Rights and to their own liberties under it. October 15th is not an accidental date. The judge remarked that this is just an ordinary criminal case to him. But this date is exactly two weeks and three days before Election Day, when one of the hottest Presidential campaigns will be coming down the home stretch. The issues of this trial will be bandied back and forth in unparalleled unprincipled and demagogic fashion, so characteristic of American campaigns. Red baiting will reach new heights and an all-time low simultaneously. The attorneys demanded, but to no avail, that this case must not be made into a "political football." It will be difficult to get a fair trial under even the best conditions. But it will be impossible in this hectic pre-election atmosphere. Regardless of the judge's remark, setting the trial date so close to Election Day is an admission of the political nature of the case and is prejudicial to the men on trial.

In addition to rushing to trial, the Federal District Attorney refused to allow any of the nine defendants who reside in New York City to travel elsewhere, to address meetings on their own behalf, to raise funds for their defense and to take their side of the case to the American people. But a telling victory was gained when the defendants won the right to travel which the government refused at first, prejudging them guilty before trial. Gus Hall, another defendant, has been confined to Cleveland until the trial date. But Mr. A. H. Giannini, friend of Mussolini, head of the Bank of America, who has been indicted for violating the Anti-Trust Law and faces trial next October, *has been given full right to travel anywhere he wants to go.* Meanwhile the U. S. Treasury Department, out of the kindness of its heart, has been quietly issuing licenses for new branches of Giannini's vast banking network, which according to the indictment, is an illegal enterprise. Judge Medina said of the Communist leaders: "If we let them do that sort of thing [carry out their political work] they will destroy the government." Help the banker, prejudge the Communist—seems to be the rule of the government.

The papers outside of New York City tell very little about this case and that unfavorably. The ABC network refused William Z. Foster time to reply to a "documentary attack" on the American Communists, on the ground that it was "fair, factual—and complete." The traditional American boast of fair play, a square deal, is no more in evidence here than in preparation for a lynching in the South. The deliberate silencing of the accused, while everybody can fire away at them with the wildest accusations, is creating a lynch atmosphere. An election lynching is being planned by the two old parties—G.O.P. and Democrats. It is to wipe out, as the Australians recognized, the most uncompromising opponents of their bi-partisan plan for war and to serve warning on all others, "Let that be a lesson to you, too!"

It challenges every Communist, trade unionist, every progressive and even conservative Americans who have respect for decency. People abroad, who know by bitter experiences where the Hitler Big Lie leads to—the prison, the concentration camps, the fiery furnaces—are more alert to the far-reaching implications of such procedure than is the average American as yet. The authorities act as if they were afraid to allow

the Communist leaders to tour the country and tell the American people the truth. Let us all protest vigorously to Attorney General Tom Clark and to the Federal District Attorney in New York City against these high-handed methods of depriving people of a fair trial. Let us guarantee the necessary funds for their defense.

The Civil Rights Congress has undertaken the responsibility to raise a Defense Fund of at least \$250,000. Labor and the people generally need a strong fighting defense organization now and in the stormy days ahead. C.R.C. chapters should be built in every city, to fight for labor's rights, the rights of the Negro people, for all political and civil rights of all minorities, for the abolition of the Un-American Committee and the freedom of all its victims. George Dimitroff, the hero of the Reichstag Fire Trial at Leipzig in 1933, when the Nazis set the Parliament building afire and blamed it on the Communists, said of American fascism—"in contradistinction to German fascism, which acts under anti-constitutional slogans, *American fascism tries to portray itself as the custodian of the Constitution and 'American democracy.'*"

The infamous Smith Act, passed in 1940 to cripple the unions and shackle them with a no-strike policy, is the instrument today. But with your aid our twelve Communist leaders can "press our indictment against the men of the trusts—and *make it stick,*" as Eugene Dennis declared at Madison Square Garden. The Nazis bitterly rued the day they put Dimitroff on trial. In defending the lives of himself and his comrades, he put Nazism on trial. The President of the Court interrupted him to say: "It is not your business to engage in criticism here!" He defended the Bulgarian people against the slurs in the Nazi press when he said: "The only savages in Bulgaria are the fascists. But I ask you, Mr. Chairman, in what country are the fascists not barbarians and savages?" He challenged them, as our comrades will challenge their accusers, that the Reichstag fire (like the red menace here) was a provocation for an excuse to abrogate freedom of organization, freedom of the press, inviolability of the person and home. Goering, most powerful next to Hitler, was rushed to the defense of the Nazis, now on trial before the world. After an hour and a half of withering cross examination, he could only shout in hysterical rage: "I did not come here in order

that you might question me like a judge, in order that you might hurl reproaches at me. I am not afraid of you." With your aid our comrades will lay bare, in similar fashion, the tissue of lies built up to condemn our Party here; to serve as a similar provocation for the same excuse to suppress the rights of the people as the Reichstag Fire Trial.

Whether you agree with the Communist Party or not, I am sure you want to help the Civil Rights Congress in its efforts to provide an adequate legal defense for the 12 Communist leaders and to give publicity to that defense, through radio programs, literature, leaflets, mass meetings, etc. Therefore I appeal to you to send a substantial contribution to the Defense Fund and bring this appeal to all your friends and any organization you may belong to, as well. Secondly, please send for copies of the Dennis speech at Madison Square Garden, the 1948 Election Platform of the Communist Party and other literature, to 35 East 12th Street, New York 3, N. Y. Thirdly, vote on Election Day to put in office men and women who stand for peace, full democracy, and the rights of labor. Help smash the frame-up system! Help bring to justice the real conspirators against the life, liberty and happiness of the American people—the men of the trusts! Help bring to justice the real perpetrators of force and violence against the people—the men of the trusts! Help bring to justice the real co-operators with foreign Nazi groups to the detriment of our country's interests—the men of the trusts! Help free the champions of labor and the people!

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