

About the Authors

THIS PAMPHLET contains the speeches by Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party, and John Gates, member of its National Committee and Editor of The Worker and the Daily Worker, at an overflow meeting at Carnegie Hall, New York City, on January 20, 1956, gathered to celebrate the 32nd anniversary of the Daily Worker. The occasion was the first public appearance of both Communist leaders since their release from prison as victims of the infamous Smith Act.

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Speech by EUGENE DENNIS

DEAR COMRADES AND FRIENDS:

It is mighty good to be with you again.

It is a good omen for our nation that we can assemble, and that this memorable 32nd anniversary celebration is being held in Carnegie Hall.

I am especially happy to be here as the fraternal guest of my favorite newspapers—the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*.

Take it from one who knows—when you're not free to read freedom's press, you really miss it!

To the voice of truth—once again edited by my comrade and prison buddy Johnny Gates—I wish a long and ever more fruitful life, with an ever expanding circulation!

A Critical Half-Decade

These past five years have been one of the most critical periods in our country's history.

How perilous these times were now has been publicly, if brazenly, acknowledged by the Secretary of State.

During this grave period, the same evil forces that conspired against world peace also unloosed the scourge of McCarthyism, gutted the Bill of Rights, and enjoyed a profit orgy at the people's expense.

But this period of acute danger and severe hardship has not been all of one piece. For it also saw a new trend develop, with the rise of popular resistance to the ferocious attacks of the monopolists, their Cadillac Cabinet, and McCarthyite witch-hunters.

Our country is not out of the woods yet. But through the trees we begin to see growing patches of blue sky.

Salute to Freedom-Fighters

I would like to pay tribute tonight to those countless unsung heroes who, in a variety of ways, served the cause of freedom during these trying years. History will yet record the inspiring story of the great number who defied blacklists, witchhunts and the lynch-pack, and by their courage gave hope and confidence to hundreds of thousands.

I pay tribute to all the brave men and women—Communist and non-Communist, Negro and white—who have kept bright the flame of America's democratic spirit, and to their martyred heroes, the immortal Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, the Reverend George W. Lee, and young Emmett Till.

Not least among the patriots who have added new lustre to our working-class and democratic traditions are the leaders and members of the Communist Party, whose chairman is that intrepid Marxist and great labor leader—William Z. Foster.

I particularly wish to salute those stalwart champions of the people who stood firm in prison and those who are still in prison, Gus Hall and Bob Thompson, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Pettis Perry, and all the other Communist leaders. I salute Ben Davis who is illegally held in "conditional release," in protective custody.

I salute those valiant patriots who are political exiles and refugees, as well as those other staunch working-class fighters who are now on trial or under indictment, or appealing their infamous convictions under the thought-control Smith Act.

To all these dear friends and comrades, and to their courageous families, I pledge anew that we Communists, together with all democratic Americans, will redouble our efforts to secure their freedom and restore the Bill of Rights as the shield of democratic liberty for all Americans.

"Self-Evident Truths"

The past half-decade, so fraught with danger and tribulation, has also been rich in new experience.

Some vital truths, once clear only to a small minority, have now become plain to many. Some of these self-evident truths, whose

lessons are so meaningful for our country, need to be underlined anew:

1. Either the Bill of Rights exists for all, for Communist and non-Communist—or it exists for none!

2. Peace and civil liberty are as inseparable as the heart and bloodstream of the human body.

3. Wall Street's war program, cold or hot, plays havoc with the people's liberty, civil rights, and the general welfare.

4. Now as always, and especially in this so-called atomic age, American monopoly is the Number-One enemy of the nation. There is an indissoluble connection between the growth of monopoly reaction at home and Wall Street's aggressive military adventures and war alliances abroad. And the trend towards new mergers of the great trusts, including the malignant growth of state monopoly capitalism in this period, has furthered the militarization of the country, accelerated the process of fascization of the state apparatus, and tightened monopoly's stranglehold on the nation's economy, and the nation's life.

5. But, as recent history has reaffirmed, the monopolists are not invincible. They can be curbed now, and eventually defeated, by militant, united labor and democratic mass action.

The plain truth is: the men of corporate wealth who threaten the world with rule or ruin are not almighty and they can be thwarted! Three times the peace-loving nations of the world and the peace forces of our country and other lands, have prevented the atomaniacs from catapulting our nation and much of the world over the brink into atomic disaster, forced them to modify their course, and finally compelled them to climb up the hill to the summit, to Geneva.

Even though Dulles and his corporate companions travelled reluctantly and with ill-concealed hostility, their forced journey to the summit demonstrated anew that the road to a stable peace lies along the path of peaceful co-existence, and that the people have the power to enforce this course. Although the advocates of atomic diplomacy now try to reverse their steps, the peoples are determined to go forward, and their will shall yet prevail!

The McCarthy-Eastland architects of an American form of fascism are not invincible, either. They have suffered some important

defeats. And they can be licked to a standstill—if the American people really unite to put them to rout.

This most vital truth was stated many years ago in another critical time at the founding of our Republic:

"We must all hang together, or assuredly we shall all hang separately."—thus did Benjamin Franklin put one of the greatest lessons of all.

The simple fact is that monopoly reaction made such headway in the late 1940's and early 1950's because most of the labor and democratic forces in our country permitted themselves to be divided and disoriented.

But, in 1954, the growing pro-peace and anti-McCarthy forces began to "hang together," to find new avenues for joint and parallel action, and to develop some capacity for overcoming the poisonous effects of the Big Lie. It was then that the tide began to turn in our country against the most aggressive forces driving towards war and fascism.

If we have learned anything in these past years, we have learned that Communists and non-Communists must hang together, or most assuredly we shall all be hanged separately by our common enemies—the monopolists, the atomaniacs, the McCarthyites, the white supremacists, the open shoppers.

Ideas Cannot Be Jailed

One more very plain and self-evident truth: men and women may be blacklisted, persecuted, and put in prison. But it is impossible to jail ideas, or to halt the people's quest for truth and the advance of their popular and liberation movements.

Just look at what has happened to a few of the ideas that were supposedly locked away in prison with us Communist leaders in the summer of 1951.

One was the very tenacious idea—embodied in the Stockholm peace pledge—that all nations should renounce atomic warfare, that all testing of nuclear weapons should be halted, and that all nuclear instruments of war should be prohibited and destroyed.

This idea has now become transformed into a mighty world-

wide movement embracing the vast majority of mankind, and scores of governments, East and West. To the growing roster of its great advocates, who range from Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung, to Nehru, Nasser, and the late Einstein—has now been added the influential voice of Pope Pius XII.

Surely, America's Catholics, especially those in the ranks of labor, will give prayerful thought to the Pope's Christmas message, and will help popularize his plea to save mankind from the horror of atomic warfare.

Surely, too, most of America's Protestants and Jews, no less than we Communists, will also support this noble plea. If we peace-loving Americans, of different faiths and beliefs, concert our efforts, we can yet compel Washington to heed the universal popular demand to quarantine the A and H bomb!

Peaceful Co-Existence

Only a short time ago it seemed that we Communists were virtually the only Americans to advocate the idea of peaceful co-existence among nations of different social systems.

But the historic sessions at Geneva have demonstrated that peaceful negotiations can take place, that they have the wide support of the people, and that they serve the best interests of our nation and the cause of world peace.

Nixon, Knowland, Dulles, the GOP Administration, with more than one assist from many Fair Dealers—are trying to bury the spirit of Geneva. But even if they succeed in muddying the waters and exacerbating world tensions from time to time, their provocative efforts are doomed to failure. For it was the hard facts of world relationships and trends, plus the popular will for peace mounting in our country, that made the summit meeting possible. These ascendant peace forces are so strong that the historic promise of Geneva will yet be realized. And, before long the spirit of Geneva and Bandung shall also insure that the great People's Republic of China shall assume its rightful place in the UN and at all conference-tables at the summit!

How soon this shall be depends, in no small part, on how quickly and effectively the broad peace forces in our country unite

and multiply their influence.

Labor Unity

We American Communists have long championed another idea that could not be jailed—the idea that united labor action and organic trade-union unity are essential to advancing the interests of America's workers.

Today, for the first time in modern American labor history, the trade-union movement has begun to unify itself. The monopolists are not pleased with this development. They insist that only the corporations have the right to arrange mergers.

The more thoughtful workers know that labor's marriage is not going to be all honeymoon. There will be some sharp and protracted struggles in labor's new house. Many problems, old and new, remain to be solved.

Yet it is already evident that the AFL-CIO merger, this mighty, united trade-union movement is a momentous event in the life of our country. It has already spurred on united labor action and will, in due course, still further strengthen labor and promote the welfare of the nation.

The 15 million members of the new AFL-CIO see new threats to the gains labor made in past struggles. They have many grievances and urgent demands. The unfinished business of establishing the 30-hour week, and of organizing the unorganized, presses. Labor now faces big mass political and economic struggles, including major battles on the political-legislative front.

All these can be waged successfully only if the great membership in the key unions of the new AFL-CIO ensures trade-union democracy and autonomy, and, despite the George Meany's, pursues a militant pro-peace and anti-monopoly policy, and resolutely expands its independent political action in cooperation with the Negro people and the working farmers.

All labor will come to draw far-reaching conclusions from the obvious fact that the giant Westinghouse corporation makes no distinction between Negro and white workers, between UE and IUE members, when it comes to rejecting labor's just demands, or assaulting pickets.

The lesson that an injury to one is an injury to all has been learned and re-learned many times by American labor. At this late date, it should be clear that the time has come for labor to put an end in its own house to jimcrow practices, to Red-baiting witchhunts, and to following the bipartisan imperialist program of General Motors and the DuPonts which Meany supports!

Negro Liberation

Not too long ago, the idea that the time is here for full equality and the liberation of the Negro people was labelled a Communist slogan.

Today that idea is really marching on!

In the states of Mississippi and Alabama, and elsewhere, where the Dixiecrats are trying to restore the Confederacy, the heroic and indomitable Negro people are on the move to make that idea a reality. And in solidarity with them move growing numbers of urban white workers and rural sharecroppers.

The Deep South is still what FDR called it in 1938—"the nation's Number One economic problem." But it has become more than that today.

It is the last refuge of the open shop—and therefore the Number One challenge to the united labor movement.

It is the stronghold of the Dixiecrats and Bourbonism—the Southern spokesmen of monopoly, and therefore the Number One challenge to the tens of millions of Americans, north and south, who seek a Congress more responsive to the popular will, who seek democratic advance!

The white supremacists in the South, allied with GOP-reaction, have become the instigators of a new wave of terrorism and lawlessness, the center of a new conspiracy to subvert the American Constitution by incitement to force and violence.

In this connection, note should be taken of the fact that the Texas oil barons and the old Colonel McCormick crowd are promoting McCarthyism under new labels. And this new pro-fascist movement, which speaks at the moment through the voices of Eastland and Jenner, is not only avowedly anti-labor and anti-Communist, but more blatantly anti-Negro and anti-Semitic.

The broad, though loosely organized democratic movement which brought about the censure and rebuffs to McCarthy in 1954, now faces a new challenge. The new anti-Constitution and nullification movement spearheaded by the Mississippi Confederates and the McCarthyite Copperheads must be throttled in its infancy! The Eastlands, McCarthys and Jenners must be driven from public life!

The Communist Party Is Indestructible

Another truth should by now be self-evident to all thoughtful Americans.

The American Communist Party cannot be destroyed. It is indestructible because the American working class is indestructible.

Many Americans today are beginning to re-examine the malignant policy of anti-Communism pursued by the Cadillac Administration, as well as by its predecessor. Some people, who originally helped shape that policy, no doubt find the reappraisal painful.

All the more reason then to applaud the honesty and the courage of various New Dealers, Socialist Party leaders, ADAers, and certain conservative labor spokesmen who, in self-preservation, have locked horns with the McCarthyites, and are learning from their own experience, and from their mistakes that the Bill of Rights is indivisible.

These people disagree with us Communists on many fundamental questions. But they have learned, as we have, that it is both dangerous and costly to permit differences in programs and social outlook to stand in the way of common action, to defend peace and civil liberty.

The anti-war, anti-fascist, and anti-monopoly struggle for the common welfare needs all who come to it, whenever and however they may come. A democratic coalition of the people necessarily involves wide differences of opinion on many issues.

We Communists respect the right of others to disagree with us. All we ask is an equal right to voice our beliefs and to try to convince others that our ideas have merit.

Free and honest debate and public discussion is the democratic method of enlightening public opinion and paves the way to

joint and parallel labor-democratic action.

We American Communists welcome any opportunity to submit all our views and policies to the test of public debate and approval in the open market-place of ideas.

We American Communists, who have a sound perspective and a generally correct orientation, admit that we have not had all the correct answers to every problem in the past, nor do we have a monopoly on wisdom today. We have, like others, made not a few mistakes. New experiences help to expose past mistakes, and life itself suggests fresh answers to old and new problems.

Our American Communist Party, guided by the socialist principles and scientific outlook, is going to take a new look at all problems confronting our nation and our people. We will re-examine these, as well as our 1954 Program, in the light of recent history and experience. We shall do this with particular concern to search out what is new in the political situation and trends, to see what is positive and negative in our work, and to learn from any wrong judgments, tactical mistakes or theoretical errors we may have made. In this connection, we should deepen and carry forward much farther the initial re-examination of our Party program which was begun at the National Party Conference in December, 1955.

In doing this, we start with a feeling of the greatest confidence in our own, truly American working-class party. With all its shortcomings, our Party—the vanguard Party of America's working people—has come through a long, hard struggle with flying colors. It has made many vital contributions and its staunchness and devotion to the interests of our country, our people, and our class are above challenge.

Independent Political Action

The fatal year of 1956 is here. From close-up, it looks somewhat different from the view some took of it in 1954.

For our part, we Communists shall work to defeat, at all costs, the Nixon-Dulles-Knowland, McCarthy-Eastland crew—the most rabid warmongers, pro-fascists, open-shoppers, and white supremacists. But this does not mean that the American Left, which in-

cludes the American Communist Party, is going to tail after the Donkey while riding herd on the Elephant.

In accord with the basically sound electoral orientation mapped out by the National Party conference in December, 1955, we Communists, in unison with an ever-widening circle of non-Communists, workers and progressives, are going to promote united and independent political action everywhere. This is in accord with our determination to help forge diverse political combinations and alliances, capable of checking and defeating the sworn opponents of Geneva, the saboteurs of the Constitution, and the most aggressive enemies of labor and the common welfare.

We realize that only through a policy of labor-democratic unity, coalition, and independent political action, based on a continuous struggle to promote popular mass movements around the key issues now confronting our people and nation, can we help influence the outcome of these crucial elections. Only thus can we help create conditions that will facilitate a new political alignment, a new climate favorable to the subsequent emergence of a mass, united-front party of organized workers, farmers, the Negro people, and other forward-looking Americans of every political affiliation.

But meanwhile, the crucial struggles of 1956 do not wait for November.

Congress is in session now. It should hear from an aroused people, from an articulate labor, farm, and Negro people's movement. The people's welfare must not be sacrificed further. Living standards, housing, health and education, civil rights and liberties, must not be kept in a deep freeze by those who would continue the cold war and the colossal arms budget!

There is already a strong popular sentiment for ousting the Cadillac Cabinet. But why wait until November to oust that arch war instigator, John Foster Dulles?

Certainly the murderers in Mississippi and the open shop and insurrectionist conspiracy organized by the self-styled Federation for Constitutional Government, should be stopped now!

Is it not high time to curb the powers of monopoly, especially of those ultra-rapacious and bloodthirsty trusts that now have their clutches on atomic energy, and seek to divert this great potential

force for promoting the general welfare to amassing super-profits and gambling with the peace of the world?

Is it not high time to demand that the ownership, production, and control of all nuclear energy, resources, and know-how be nationalized—with full safeguards for labor's right to organize, strike, and bargain collectively?

The Nature of the Communist Party

Judging from the press and other sources, we Communists are still an enigma to many of our fellow-Americans. Not understanding what makes us "tick," many are confused, and some still are deluded by the Big Lie that, because we are different, we are "un-American."

Nearly everybody admits that our Party attracts to it some of the best men and women, Negro and white, old and young—from every segment of America's working people and from every sphere of its cultural, scientific and professional life.

There is no doubt about it—the American Communist Party is different from all other political parties in the USA. We are different because we are an American working-class party, born and raised in struggle for all that advances labor's interests, and against all that harms labor. This makes us as different from the twin parties of Big Business as most of the unions of the AFL-CIO are different in their interests, structures and activity from that of the NAM and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

The Communist Party is also different because ours is the Party of Negro-white unity and equality. This makes us as different from the two major parties as the NAACP is different from the racists and those who tolerate racism.

That pro-fascist legislative monstrosity, the McCarran Act, falsely alleges that our Party is un-American because it seeks to "surrender" the United States to "foreign domination and control."

But the fact is that we are basically different from the twin parties of monopoly because we seek the very opposite. We seek the return to the American people of the sovereign power claimed for them in the Declaration of Independence, and stolen from them by the robber barons and their corporate descendants. We seek

not only to regain, but to extend the democratic sovereignty of the American people.

The American Communist Party differs from the existing major parties because it is the party of social progress. Our Party fights not only to defend the present interests and realize the immediate aspirations of labor and the common people—it also strives to safeguard their future, and advance their fundamental interests.

The Party and Socialism

Our American Communist Party has a glorious and bright vision of America's future. We see for our country a future free from war and the threat of war; a future without poverty, exploitation or oppression. We hold that the vision of such an America can become reality in the process of curbing the powers of monopoly, of forging a democratic coalition capable of electing a progressive government responsive to its will, and finally through effecting a socialist re-organization of American society that will bring about a fundamental social change in the ownership, management, and control of the basic machinery of production—and thereby make the working people of America the masters of their own house.

When, and how, Socialism shall be brought about is up to the majority of the American people. We Communists believe that ultimately some kind of workers and farmers government, based on a united and class-conscious working class and a militant alliance of labor, the Negro people and the toiling farmers, will effect the transition from capitalism to Socialism. Likewise, we are sure that this will be a truly American government. It will be headed by an American president and act through an American Congress which would be—for the first time in our nation's history—genuinely of, for, and by the people. And as for us Communists, we desire and advocate that this people's democracy shall be established by constitutional and democratic processes!

The way of those who learn from the experience of others is never as difficult as the way of those who pioneer. We Communists have no doubt that the American people can and will learn much from history, and from the experience of other peoples who preceded ours on the road to Socialism.

Even the Pope in his recent pronouncement on painless childbirth recognized that Soviet science has eased the way to human birth. Is it not a fact too that the Russian people, through their historic and self-sacrificing struggles to establish and build the world's first socialist state, have eased the way for all other peoples to give birth to Socialism—to effectuate their own national and social emancipation in accord with their own aspirations and national traditions, and in their own way and their own time?

And, regardless how some may differ with this historical conclusion, is it not a fact that American-Soviet friendship, that peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition between the socialist USSR and capitalist America—which we American Communists zealously advocate—is in the best national interests of our people? Has not history proved—and proved again and again, as FDR once stressed—that friendly and peaceful relations between the world's two greatest powers are vital to our own national security and to the cause of world peace?

I realize that I have touched here on some problems of a highly controversial nature. But I think full and frank discussion of both the immediate and the long-range views and aims of the American Communist Party can only facilitate greater understanding, and promote greater cooperation, among all proponents of peace and progress.

The Confidence of Communists

As the past eventful years have proved, time and again, America needs its advanced working-class party—the Communist Party! It sorely needs the united action of Communists and non-Communists! For without this, there can be no durable labor-democratic coalitions, no victorious struggle for peace, equality, freedom and economic security.

Of course, this state of affairs places a heavy responsibility on us. As Americans, as Communists, we strive to prove equal to the challenge.

We American Communists are going to redouble our efforts to strengthen our ranks and our ties with the men and women of labor,

to enhance our Party's contribution to the common cause, especially by resolutely fostering common action with all who seek to surmount the dangers confronting our nation, and to utilize the new and more favorable opportunities now unfolding to promote life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in a world at peace.

Come what may, we, the descendants of Thomas Jefferson and Frederick Douglass, of William Sylvis, Eugene V. Debs and Charles E. Ruthenberg—and guided by the liberating social science of Marxism, which like all true science is universal, is not the product nor the property of any one nation or people—we American Communists face the future with supreme confidence in our fellow workers, in the democratic spirit of our country, in the forward march of progressive humanity!

Speech by JOHN GATES

How different the country and world is now from five years ago! For one thing, to paraphrase the hit song, the country is five years older and deeper in debt. When we went to jail in July 1951, there were wars going on in Korea and Indochina. Today those wars are over.

The last five years witnessed the rise and decline of McCarthyism. There has taken place the merger of the CIO and AFL, a major and decisive event which will enormously strengthen the working class and increase its influence in the affairs of the nation.

The Supreme Court was compelled to hand down historic decisions against jimsrow in education. The desperate counter-offensive of the Dixiecrats only highlights the fact that the achievement of democracy in the South is now on the order of the day. There is no doubt of it—compared with 1951—the country is on the road back from the swamp of McCarthyism and war.

Much as going to jail hurt us, I do not think I exaggerate when I say it hurt America more. Our country has had to pay a heavy price for permitting the Communists to be deprived of their constitutional rights. Our release from jail and return to work is a healthy sign—a good thing for America. Do I need to add that the immediate release of all other Smith Act victims, and an end to all further Smith Act prosecutions would help America still more in her recovery from McCarthyism.

McCarthy has been knocked down, but McCarthyism is far from being counted out. One of the most ominous signs that McCarthyism is not dead, is the activity of the Eastland Committee.

The real outrage of the Eastland so-called Internal Security Committee is that it is headed by the No. 1 subversive in America, by a man who is defying the laws he has sworn to uphold, an avowed enemy of democracy, the public leader and organizer of the Dixiecrat conspiracy that incites to murder, and is resisting by violence the efforts of the nation to extend to the South the democracy that exists in the rest of the country.

Eastland has no right even to sit in the Senate in view of the fact that he has been elected by virtue of the disfranchisement of 500,000 eligible Negro voters in Mississippi and most of the poor whites as well. If McCarthy was censured by a reluctant Senate, Eastland deserves not only to be expelled but prosecuted for his incitement to murder and lawlessness and his leadership of a dangerous and treasonable conspiracy against the nation.

Today the central menace to the nation is the Dixiecrat conspiracy. Never since the armed rebellion of the Slavocracy against the United States has our country faced such a danger from within. Just as our nation discovered a hundred years ago that it could make no further progress until the Slave Power was defeated and chattel slavery abolished, so today the nation can not move ahead, can make no basic advance toward the expansion of democracy and the elimination of poverty until Democracy is achieved in the South.

What does our country need today? What does progress mean? We need to raise the incomes of workers and farmers in order to reduce poverty and insecurity. We need to build millions of homes. We need to build thousands of new schools and raise teachers' salaries. We need hundreds of new hospitals and a tremendous expansion of health services. We need a flood control program to eliminate the annual catastrophes which cost so much in lives and property.

What stands in the way of doing all this?—the need for which everyone agrees upon. Politically the main obstacle is the GOP-Dixiecrat coalition which dominates Congress. No matter which Party wins the Presidential election, no matter which Party wins control of Congress, the reality is that the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition controls Congress and blocks all legislation for social progress. This reactionary alliance could not exist if it were not for the lack of democracy in the South. If the Negroes and poor whites in the South could vote, the Eastlands would be voted out of power and men voted in more responsive to the needs of the people.

Why is it that the workers of our country who are numerically by far the largest force in our society do not enjoy the influence corresponding to its numbers? The answer is that millions of workers remain unorganized, especially in the South, a fact which reduces the power of labor as a whole, tends to drag down the

standard of living of all, to the sub-standard levels of the South, and is a constant source of anti-labor and anti-democratic legislation.

For Labor to move in the direction of achieving its full strength and potential, its chief and central objective, without which it can make no basic progress, must be to unionize the largely unorganized workers of the South. To achieve this Labor must fight to establish democracy in the South because the lack of it prevents organization. This means unity of Negro and white workers on the basis of equal rights for both.

We Communists proclaim that we stand ready to defend the U.S. Government, whether it be the Eisenhower Administration or any other administration in any and all measures it will take to protect the nation and enforce the Constitution against the Dixiecrat conspiracy, just as the Communists in the Civil War epoch supported Lincoln and defended the nation against slavery and disunion.

Unfortunately, the tragic truth is that the government is taking no measures to defend the nation against the Dixiecrats. The executive and legislative branches of the federal government are doing nothing to enforce the Constitution nor the decisions of the Supreme Court.

A hundred years ago, the fight against the Slave power was led by the rising industrialist class. The capitalists of that day, in order to win political power for themselves and to clear the road for their expansion, were compelled to fight a victorious war against the slaveowners and abolish chattel slavery. This was a great democratic victory and opened the road for the progress of the labor movement and Negro people as well.

Following the Civil War the federal government intervened with its full strength in the South to insure that the defeated slaveowners would not return to power and threaten the Union again, and to guarantee democratic rights for the farmers and workers of the South, Negro and white. This was known as the period of Reconstruction, the only era of democracy the South has ever known. Whatever democratic liberties are enjoyed by the South today, whatever democratic institutions exist, such as the public schools, were established by the common people of the South, Negro and

white, during the Reconstruction era.

As capitalism in the North consolidated its victory and expanded and became Big Business it began to fear the unity of the farmers and workers, and the unity of Negro and white, more than it did the defeated plantation owners. In 1876 the federal government broke its alliance with the people of the South and entered into an alliance with the old slave-owners, restoring them to power in the South but under the leadership and domination of Northern Big Business. This alliance has persisted until the present day.

Why does the government refuse today to defend America against the Dixiecrat conspiracy? The Eisenhower Administration is owned lock, stock and barrel by the giant trusts, monopolies and banks who have a direct stake in the lack of democracy in the South. Every one is familiar with the dominant role in the Cadillac Cabinet of the General Motors Corporation. General Motors is controlled by the DuPonts whose vast chemical empire, which takes in the chemical, textile, lumber industries and vast tracts of land, is based in the South.

Walter Reuther, at the merger convention of the CIO and AFL, singled out the DuPont empire as the main target of labor's new organizing drive. The non-union depressed living standards of the South are the source of gigantic profits to the monopolies such as DuPont, U.S. Steel, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and the A. & P., which are among the largest landowners in the South. Small wonder they do not want democracy in the South. Democracy would result in union organization and a substantial reduction in their profits. For Big Business, property rights come before human rights, profits before democracy.

The monopolies and the Cadillac Cabinet don't want democracy in the South because they know it would lead to the end of the GOP Dixiecrat coalition in Congress. This would seriously undermine their control of Congress and open the road to the passage of social legislation and reductions of the arms budget.

It is not to the monopolies and the administration they control that the nation can look for the drastic measures that are needed to protect the country against the menace of the modern secessionists and traitors. Today it is on the workers and farmers, on the Negro people, on the democratic-minded small businessmen, on the

professional and white collar groups of both North and South that the nation must rely. These are the forces in society that have no stake in Southern economic political backwardness and oppression and who have everything to gain by their elimination.

The monopolies and Dixiecrats are the common enemy of the working people of our land, Negro and white, who make up the vast majority of the population. The great need of our times is the creation of a great anti-Dixiecrat, anti-monopoly people's alliance. The central task is to destroy the power of the Dixiecrats in the South by establishing political democracy, the right to vote, and the right to organize. This will undermine the power of monopoly in the nation as a whole and open the floodgates to economic, political and social progress.

The nation must compel the federal government to enforce the Constitution in the South. The Dixiecrats and White Citizens Councils represent only a minority in the South. It is not true that the white population in the South is a solid mass of reaction and follows the lead of the Eastlands.

In the ranks of southern labor, the churches, the public school systems, women's organizations, there are growing and significant numbers of white people who are beginning to understand that lack of democracy for Negroes means a backward South, keeps their own living standards down and impedes general progress. The Negro people as a whole and these white masses in the South can be relied upon to support the nation and the federal authorities in the enforcement of the U.S. Constitution.

We have often been called Fifth Amendment Communists. We feel honored to be called that. We are also First Amendment Communists. We are 13th, 14th and 15th Amendment Communists. In short, we are Constitutional Communists, pledged to defend and uphold and strengthen the democratic laws and institutions the American people have won in 180 years of democratic and revolutionary struggles against the forces of reaction.

Today the trusts and monopolies no longer rely on and enforce the Constitution their once revolutionary capitalist forebears brought into being. The Bill of Rights has become an obstacle to their continued rule and domination and they do not hesitate to trample it down and tear it to shreds whenever they see fit. It

is now the working class that is the foremost champion of the Constitution.

We Communists, as the party of the working people, stand for the enforcement of the Constitution. Let the Republicans and Democrats say the same! I have yet to hear a Republican or Democratic candidate for President stand up and say that if he is elected he will enforce to the hilt the 1st and 13th and 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution. We challenge them to do so. Until they do, let them not claim that they are the patriots and we the subversives. For 80 years they have failed and refused to enforce the Constitution. For 80 years they have violated the Constitution. Let the American people compel them to live up to it or move forward to enforce it themselves.

We favor and support the American workers and farmers taking the Constitutional and peaceful path towards the establishment of an American people's government that will move to curb the power of the monopolies and then to end that power altogether. We say again as we have many times that there is no way for this to happen until a majority of American voters are convinced of its necessity and act to bring it about.

We repudiate again as we have many times, the lie that we seek the forcible overthrow of the U.S. government. Let the monopolists proclaim that they would not stand in the way of a majority will for socialism. Let them pledge not to use force to thwart the will of the majority—especially since they do not hesitate to use violence in just a simple matter of a strike for higher wages. Only recently, troops were called out in Indiana to break strikes. Just the other day, a striker was killed on the picket line in the Westinghouse strike in Columbus, Ohio.

Let the Dixiecrats say they will not use force to thwart the democratic will—let them say that if they dare. No one will believe them because the whole world knows that the people of the South want simple democracy, the right to vote, and the only thing that prevents it is the force and violence the old slaveowners and now the Dixiecrats have been using for hundreds of years. And the Chase National Bank Attorney General of the United States, sworn to uphold the law, does absolutely nothing.

We Communists have often been accused of opposition to all

U.S. governments. What nonsense! We are not anarchists. We favor the eventual establishment in our country of an American workers and farmers government that will operate American industries and agriculture for the use of the people and not for the profit of a handful of bankers and industrialists.

But American socialism is not yet the majority will. Until it becomes so, we are ready to support any administration which acts on behalf of the true national welfare. We did so in the past when we supported the Roosevelt policies of the New Deal, opposition to fascism and peaceful co-existence with the rest of the world. And we will not hesitate to do so again in the future when the need and opportunity arises.

What kind of government would we support?

One that would carry out policies that the majority of Americans want and are in their interests. One that would do three things:

- 1) Take measures to reduce poverty;
- 2) Take measures to reduce world tensions and armaments;
- 3) Take measures to enforce the U.S. Constitution on civil rights and civil liberties.

We will support any government which moves in such a direction, and support all popular movements for such a program in whole or in part.

We will unite with all Americans to clear the path to national progress and a better America by establishing democracy in the South.

What America needs is not the cold war but the war against poverty, to reduce poverty by reducing world tensions and ending the arms race, to enforce the U.S. Constitution for all Americans.

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