

ODYSSEY OF A FELLOW TRAVELER

by **J. B. Matthews**

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To

Martin Dies *of Texas*

J. Parnell Thomas *of New Jersey*

Joe Starnes *of Alabama*

Noah Mason *of Illinois*

Harold Mosier *of Ohio*

THREE DEMOCRATS, TWO REPUBLICANS: FIVE AMERICANS

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INTRODUCTION

Hate is at flood tide in the world today, a hate born of the doctrine that man is arrayed against man in an irreconcilable conflict of classes. It is a hate more deep-rooted and terrible than that of international war.

The story of these pages is not intended to aggravate by ever so slight a degree this desperate malady of hate. Political principles and social theories must clash. It is one of the few inexorable necessities of man's life on this planet that they should do so. But hate beclouds understanding and weakens whatever case is darkened by its unseeing passion.

Most of us find it difficult to forego the emotional luxury of strong language. But epithets charged with intense feeling are dangerous substitutes for facts in the intellectual diet.

Communism may be viewed properly as a mental disease which menaces the world today, but if such a view be well founded it is all the more important that communism should be thoroughly, accurately, and calmly appraised.

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It cannot be denied that communists and their sympathizers object not only to a denunciation of communism but also to a calm and critical examination of its principles and practices. Strange as it may seem, communists denounce those who merely cite

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the things of which communists themselves openly boast in their own public statements. This phenomenon is so significant that it should be given concrete illustration.

Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party in the United States, once wrote of the position of his party in the "united front" in the following terms: "In the center, as the conscious moving and directive force of the united front in all its phases, stands the Communist Party. Our position in this respect is clear and unchallenged."¹ Unlike many communist statements, this one is not an exaggeration nor a distortion of the facts—facts supported by logic and events. If the Communist Party were unable to act "as the conscious moving and directive force of the united front in all its phases," it would have ceased long ago to expend the greater portion of its energies in initiating and building united front organizations. In the course of our narrative, it will become necessary again and again to refer to Browder's sober estimate of the position of the Communist Party in the united front. For the present, we only observe that any one who dares to apply Browder's statement to specific united front organizations, such as the World Youth Congress, the Friends of the Soviet Union, or the American League for Peace and Democracy, is denounced as a red-baiter not only by official communists and their official sympathizers but also by numerous so-called liberals among editors, cartoonists, high-ranking government officers, and college presidents.

Browder also noted that "representative strata of undifferentiated masses such as churches, Y. M. C. A.'s, small home-owners, small depositors, as well as

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definite middle-class groups, intellectuals and professions" are being "swept into the broadened stream of radicalization" and that the Communist Party has taken over the leadership of this movement of radicalization.² Let any one else make precisely this same observation in these identical words and, if his observation is not calculated plainly to serve the propaganda purposes of the Communist Party, he will find himself set down as the unfortunate victim of hysteria—even in the editorial columns of the most obviously capitalist newspapers! To attempt an accurate appraisal of the nature and extent of the Communist Party's influence, as a means of understanding our political drift, is, strange as it may seem to the uninitiated, mere red-baiting. To make the same attempt in the presence of a gathering of Communist Party functionaries or for purposes of recruiting Party members is just good political sense.

"We could recite," wrote Browder, "a thousand local examples of the successful application of the united front tactic, initiated by the Communist Party."³ There is not the slightest doubt about Browder's ability to recite a thousand such examples—or two thousand. But let any one else recite, outside the bounds of Communist Party purposes, twenty examples of the "successful application of the united front tactic, initiated by the Communist Party," or let him recite only one such example, and all the spurious liberals in the land will accuse him of finding a red under every bed.

In an address to the students of Union Theological Seminary, Browder said: "You may be interested in knowing that we have preachers, preachers active in churches, who are members of the Communist

Party.”⁴ It is not of record that any of the theological students who heard this remark challenged its factual accuracy. Nor is it conceivable that any newspaper editor indignantly demanded of Mr. Browder proof for his remarkable statement. The factual accuracy of the statement is too well known to all, but unless the statement is made by the proper persons under proper auspices and with proper Party intentions, it is received by surprisingly large sections of the press and public as just another sample of horrendous red-baiting.

In the *Party Organizer*, issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., John Williamson wrote of “the active participation and leading role our Party played in the great mass struggles at Goodyear, Firestone, Fisher Body, Republic and Youngstown Steel, as well as the active, and in many cases, leading role of the Communists in Ohio in organizing drives of the C. I. O. in these industries and many others.”⁵ When witnesses have testified before the National Labor Relations Board and the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee that the Communist Party has played “a leading role” in this or that strike, they have been met with the hackneyed charge of red-baiting or of introducing wholly irrelevant matter. As will be shown in my section on “Communists in the Trade Unions,” it is far from irrelevant, either from the standpoint of collective bargaining or from the standpoint of civil liberties, when the Communist Party plays “a leading role” in strike and union activities. It is, in fact, impossible to think of anything more relevant.

Of late, a spirited debate has been staged around the person of one Harry Bridges, leader of the gen-

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eral strike of 1934 in San Francisco and prominent C. I. O. chieftain of the longshoremen on the Pacific coast. Is Bridges a communist? Those who say yes are red-baiters; those who say no are progressives—at least some would have us believe so. The subject of the general strike of 1934 in San Francisco was discussed fully by Jack Stachel in the *Communist* of November, 1934. Stachel is the Communist Party's generalissimo on all trade union matters in the United States, and the *Communist* is the official monthly organ of the Communist Party in this country. Stachel and the *Communist* together are the *ne plus ultra* of authoritativeness! Here was what they had to say on the subject of the general strike in San Francisco: "The San Francisco strike proves that it is not only possible for the Communists to organize and lead struggles in the A. F. of L. unions but that it is possible to win the struggles."⁶ This leaves no doubt as to the claim of communist leadership in the San Francisco general strike. Regarding the place of Bridges in that leadership, Stachel wrote in the *Communist*, as follows: "What will happen . . . if the workers elect not only one Bridges, but hundreds of Bridges in the section and district leadership, not to speak of national leadership? There will be big struggles. The workers will become revolutionized."⁷ It would be difficult to think of a more explicit manner in which the Communist Party might announce that Bridges is a communist. Stachel's words can have no other meaning. Yet it is, apparently, reserved to Stachel and his fellow revolutionists to claim Bridges as a communist. Outside the revolutionary circle of communists, the claim becomes red-baiting.

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The very essence of a free society is the right of public criticism of public figures, institutions, and movements. The fact that communists resent with unequalled abusiveness all critical discussion of themselves—their principles and tactics—is striking evidence that they do not, in any fundamental sense, believe in a free society. We can hardly wonder at this. A political movement, so closely allied to a land where those who disagree with the reigning bureaucracy are answered with the firing squad, is naturally not disposed to enter into public discussion on a calm and factual basis with those who criticize it even in countries which are not yet under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Abuse and vituperation are the nearest approach to a firing squad which communists are able to employ against their critics in a country like the United States.

However much communists might prefer to be the only political group immune to all criticism and however much they may attempt to enforce this immunity with vituperation, it is important that the critics of communism employ the restraint of civilized emotions, a fine sense of balance, and perhaps above all their sense of humor while proceeding fearlessly to the work of criticism.



It is not the least of the communists' contributions to our political and social disorder that their reliance upon organized hate has called into being an opposition which is likewise based upon organized hate. Collectivist fire is fought with collectivist fire. The original totalitarianism of hate which is labeled Marxism-Leninism has given rise to another totali-

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tarianism of hate which differs from the original chiefly in its label. If at this late date any proof is required for the assertion that Marxism-Leninism relies upon organized hate, it is to be found, among other places, in Maxim Gorky's glorification of hate in his volume entitled *Proletarian Hatred*, enlightening excerpts from which have been published in the *Daily Worker*.⁸ The one and only sure method of avoiding a totalitarianism of any kind in the United States is to stop the further advance of communism in its tracks by an educational program equal in magnitude to the vast output of communist propaganda, and superior to it in factual persuasiveness. Unless this be accomplished in the present stage of our political life, there can be little doubt that America's answer to communism will be fascism or something so closely akin to it that the differences will not matter greatly. No one should entertain the slightest fear that communism will ever triumph in the United States. If the time ever comes when we are confronted with the alternatives of communism and fascism, there can be no doubt of America's choice. He who would defend America from the emergence of a fascist regime will do well to begin his work now by disseminating an understanding of the theory and practice of communism.

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The sufficient justification for the publication of my experiences and observations as a fellow traveler of the communists is to be found in my conviction that America may yet be spared the destruction of its free institutions by any form of totalitarian government. I have not the slightest inclination to exaggerate my past connections with the communists or

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my intimate knowledge of communist theory and practice. On the contrary, I regret profoundly that my training and comprehension in political and economic matters were too limited to spare me this public acknowledgment of a most distressing disillusionment and about-face.

Thousands have been more deeply involved in communist activities than I and have subsequently experienced a disillusionment similar to mine. On the surface, it may appear strange that many of them have not already given us the benefit of their political experiences. There are at least important educational values to be salvaged from the most bitter disillusionment. These values should be shared.

I think I know, however, why almost all disillusioned communists remain silent about their experiences. With good reason they do not relish the reactions to their story which are to be expected, oddly enough, in many quarters. They know exactly what to expect from the *Daily Worker*, the *New Republic*, and similar sheets. The response of these is stereotyped and predictable abuse. What the disillusioned wish to avoid, and in preference to it elect silence, is ridicule by notably capitalist journals whose power to discredit is vastly greater, by reason of their firmly established capitalist reputations, than any damage which might accrue from Brown's abusive distortions. Any degree of vituperation emanating from the *Daily Worker*, the *New Republic*, or similar sheets, receives limited public attention and is, indeed, a sort of flattery. The ridicule of these others is harder to explain and many disillusioned communists draw back from incurring it.

In addition to the many thousands who have, after

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a time, deserted communism, there are others who remain in the movement despite their disillusionment. From some of these I have received the warmest congratulations since my appearance as a witness before the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities. They have not yet severed all connections with the communist movement for one reason or another, "moral" or economic or both. Some are convinced that a W. P. A. livelihood or a Federal Theatre Project stipend depends on their good standing in communist headquarters. Others feel the strong "moral" pressure which operates to hold them in line. They lack the simple moral courage to face the charge of being quitters or renegades. The nethermost regions of the communist "hell" are reserved for the so-called renegades. Ordinary capitalists get off today with a regretful consignment to communist "purgatory" until such time as they are minded to become "progressives" and join the "angelic circle" of the People's Front.

Concerning other thousands of communists and fellow travelers, I have been asked frequently, of late, why they do not see the light and repudiate communism. The answer to this exceedingly difficult question is in many cases, I believe, that the issue of personal integrity has not yet arisen. The incessant round of activities which is expected of all fellow travelers and demanded of all Party members leaves little or no leisure for those reflective moods in which alone the issue of personal integrity is likely to arise. There is no time to stop and think, even if thinking were not discouraged. By that process which has come to be known as rationalization, men are able to do strange things to their minds. Step by step they

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call upon one justification after another to guard the inner citadel of personal sincerity. It thus turns out that communists as a group are as sincere as any other group in the population. Sincerity may be a dangerous state of mind. Men usually become communists and fascists by gradual stages of faulty thinking or inadequate understanding rather than by adding moral perversity to moral perversity. As for the great majority of these modern collectivists, it is both unsafe and unfair to charge them with anything more morally reprehensible than tragic mistakes in the adoption of their premises. On the other hand, it is the tragedy of all collectivisms that the most unscrupulous and most ruthless member is most likely to rise to the position of leadership, certainly when leadership means power. The organization of vast political power and its successful retention in a single hand is more likely than not to put a premium upon qualities which we commonly associate with the "big shots" of gangsterism.

In the pages which follow, I have incorporated various autobiographical details which may or may not have anything to do with my subsequent activities as a fellow traveler of the communists. They are not presented with any notion that they are so extraordinary as to prove interesting on their own account. On the contrary, well-meaning friends to whose judgment I am glad to defer have suggested that they form a necessary and informative background for the fellow traveler's portion of my narrative which alone could ever have given birth to the thought of an autobiography, even one as unconventional and unpretentious as this. Only in a very limited sense is it an autobiography at all. It is the

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story of how one American thinks he became, by gradual stages, a fellow traveler of the communists, some of the things which he learned during this political journey, and why he turned back eventually to reconstruct a political faith for which there is no better word than Americanism.

Inasmuch as it appears difficult enough for many Americans to believe even the best-documented statement about communism, I have adopted, with very few exceptions, the method of relating only those things for which there are original and indisputable sources in communist literature itself or for which I have in my possession adequate proof in the form of documents. Left-wingers generally are enamored of the conspiratorial life. Along with a few other psychological compensations, it provides the excitement in an otherwise dreary routine of committee meetings, parades, demonstrations, money raising, and incessant "comrading" of associates whom one dislikes fundamentally. In the practical interest of plausibility, however, I am convinced that it is wiser not to attempt to induct my readers into the fantastic world of conspiracy to which they may be total strangers.

¹ Earl Browder, *Communism in the United States* (New York: International Publishers, September, 1935), p. 244.

² *Ibid.*, p. 243.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 335

⁵ John Williamson, "Ohio Tackles Its Problems," *Party Organizer*, March, 1938, p. 1.

⁶ Jack Stachel, "Our Trade Union Policy," the *Communist*, November, 1934, p. 1101.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1104f.

⁸ The *Daily Worker* is the official newspaper of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

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According to the *Daily Worker*, I am a liar, strike-breaker, criminal, vigilante organizer, violent labor-baiter, hypocrite, and almost a murderer. With a pair of epithets more, I could qualify as a Trotskyist. To this prized catalogue of my virtues, Arthur Kallet contributes, also in the columns of the *Daily Worker*, an adventurer pure and simple. The *New Masses* says that I am a venomous man. For designation as a brilliant idiot, I have Earl Browder himself to thank. Mike Gold, with becoming restraint, lets me off as a distinguished American strike-buster. Heywood Broun walked up and bravely told me to my face that I was despicable, and then shuffled away dejectedly when I thanked him sincerely for his flattery. To all these comrades and fellow travelers I am grateful for their compliments, fully cognizant as I am of the inverted ethical code which guides such master epitheticians.

Whatever color of shame for my past comes over me, I feel when I read the files of the *Daily Worker* and the *New Masses* from the days when my name appeared so often with favorable mention in these comradely journals. I blush when I am reminded that Simon W. Gerson, recently appointed Assistant Borough President of Manhattan, heard me address twenty-two thousand comrades in Madison Square Garden and then wrote in the *Daily Worker* that

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“the crowd went wild at the mention of the need for the united front by Matthews” and that “it seemed that the very steel girders that arched across the roof would bend from the ear-splitting cheers that went up.”¹ I confess to some chagrin when I read in the *Daily Worker* of another occasion when I addressed a comrade-packed Garden and “made a trenchant attack upon the illusions of bourgeois democracy among the intelligentsia,”² or when I read that I “struck the keynote of the demonstration”³ of twenty thousand gathered in Union Square under the auspices of the International Labor Defense, or when I read that “J. B. Matthews, a leading revolutionary socialist . . . was greeted with thunderous cheers” by four thousand members of “Icor” in the New York Hippodrome.⁴ Toward my platform performances in those days, it can hardly be alleged that the comrades were lukewarm. Before me is a letter from the American League Against War and Fascism which says: “We know we are risking being thrown right out of your office and onto the cold and hard pavement outside! But we are willing to risk life and limb to clear up some of these pathetic pleas for J. B. Matthews. The latest one is from Newark for May 10th; very large attendance expected; protest meeting on Fleet Maneuvers. The application for speaker ends thiswise: ‘WE MUST HAVE J. B. MATTHEWS.’” The comrades would be happy to forget the stirring impressions which I made upon them. So would I; and that makes it unanimous. Soberly and as a matter of fact, however, I find it as easy to shut the comrades out of my thoughts as I do to forget the logarithms I learned in college—very easy, indeed. There are far too many satisfy-

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J. B. Matthews,
Washington, N.J.

Dear Mr. Matthews:

We know we are risking being thrown right out of your office and onto the cold and hard pavement outside! But we are willing to risk life and limb to clear up some of these pathetic pleas for J. B. Matthews. The latest one is from Newark for May 10th; very large attendance expected; protest meeting on Fleet Maneuvers. The application for speaker ends this wise: "WE MUST HAVE J. B. MATTHEWS."

Yours very sincerely,

Dorothy Chertak
Sneakers' Bureau

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ing things in life to dwell overmuch on communists.

Reminiscence is a pleasurable mood for me as it is for any one whose aggregate of satisfactions outweighs his regrets. It is a matter of no importance that we are not numbered with the great. It is enough that we have found life good. I like my past, despite an almost fatal case of pneumonia in childhood and an equally dangerous case of fellow traveling with the communists in later life.

I have traveled far and seen things, and, thanks to the endowment of an extraordinarily good memory, I can relive my pleasurable experiences as often as I choose. I have at my beck and call ten thousand satisfactions, small and great, which will come tripping from every quarter of the globe. I have no quarrel, therefore, with solitude; I prefer it to a lot of company. Escape into idle reminiscence is no bogeyman before whom I quake. The stern duty to be "socially effective" is one of the illusions from which I have been freed. To have no place or part in the crusades of our modern totalitarian knights is, for me at least, to be unchained.

Others have traveled in more elegance but not with more enthusiasm, have seen more battles but not more beauty, have met more of the great ones of earth but not more of the gracious. When I thumb through the album of my past, here are some of the pictures I find:

Tramping as a boy over the mountains of western Kentucky, encountering a "blind tiger" or a patch of delicious blue huckleberries.

Hiking after study hour at night to High Bridge where the waters of the Kentucky and the Dix, channeled by great cliffs, flow together.

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Pictures from each of the forty-eight states of this incomparably rich, beautifully varied, and free land of ours. By railway, boat, automobile, and airplane I have traversed its vast distances again and again, lecturing in all of its great centers of population and talking to students on more than two hundred campuses. In each of several years, I have journeyed more than twenty-five thousand miles through America.

Sitting with A. V. Williams Jackson, America's finest gentleman-scholar and my *guru*, and reading with him in the original Sanskrit from the *Rigveda* or the *Mahabharata*, or listening to him as he discoursed ramblingly upon Pali, Pahlavi, Mani, and the Inscription of Darius.

Years of study under Robert W. Rogers whose like the chestnut forest at Drew University shall never see again and under whom I was awarded a traveling fellowship to pursue advanced studies in the language of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah. What anathemas on the superficiality of American students this learned man could pronounce! A verbal violence which, paradoxically, remains a refreshing memory.

Chanting on the Arabian desert at sunrise the suras of the Koran which were taught me by William G. Shellabear, as noble an Englishman as ever served with the Royal Engineers, later a missionary-scholar, and finally a teacher whose knowledge of languages was phenomenal. Or reading with him a seventeenth century Malay recension of the Ramayana from the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Or collaborating with him in the translation of a hymnal into the Malay tongue.

Working over the textual puzzles of the Book of

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Job, the grandest book of all antiquity, with Fagnani in New York and Buettenwieser in Cincinnati.

Graham Wallas, gentle Fabian, my teacher in a course on the history of Jeremy Bentham and the Utilitarians, and also a never-to-be-forgotten friend in a moment of deep anxiety.

The feeling of complete fascination which the development of languages has always held for me and which I experienced at my introduction to Grimm's Law of Consonantal Change under the tutelage of Brandl of the University of Berlin.

Student days in the glamorous Vienna of yesterday, with residence at the School of Oriental Languages, perfect Sundays up to Melk on the Danube, coffee shops on the Ringstrasse, and grand opera heard more than once as the guest of the President of Austria in the box of the Hapsburgs.

Being a teacher and knowing the stimulation of opening up to others the treasures of the race's thought. I have no mean record as an instructor, having been on the faculties of forty-two colleges, universities, institutes, and summer schools in seventeen states and five foreign countries. I have no record of how many thousands of students have registered in my courses, but I cherish deeply the numberless expressions of their appreciation.

An afternoon with Rabindranath Tagore and C. F. Andrews in Geneva and finding in these two picturesque figures the personalization of all the rich culture of India from Gautama, Asoka, and Kalidasa to Keshab Chandra Sen and Tagore himself.

Visits on several occasions in Moscow with Vladimir Tchertkoff, for years the intimate of Tolstoy and more recently a lone patriarchal figure of dignity and

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serenity in the midst of a world of vulgar violence.

Strolling leisurely through Singapore's crowded streets as the countless throng moved by and dwelling upon the prophetic statesmanship of Sir Stamford Raffles who acquired for Britain the island of Singapore when it was lying uninhabited at the tip of the Malay peninsula.

The decks of a hundred ocean liners at midnight when the stars seem closer than ever they do on land. Liners on which I have traveled far enough to circle the globe seven times, and on which I have spent more than a year of my life.

The delight of standing reverently in St. Peter's, Sancta Sophia, St. Mark's, Notre Dame, or on top of Boro Budur: all architectural monuments to man's undying faith and aspiration.

The ruins of the chapel under the cliff at Antioch where was found the Chalice which now reposes in a vault in Wall Street.

Boys diving for coins tossed from the decks by tourists in the harbor of Honolulu or Hongkong. Lithe brown bodies moving with the grace of a swan.

Sailing at twilight on Japan's Inland Sea or standing speechless before a flaming sunset across the Corregidor at the entrance to Manila's harbor.

White nights through the infinite wooded islets of the archipelago on the northern arm of the Baltic, and the Southern Cross in Melanesia.

Tropical fruits—and king of them all, the *durian*, whose lovers (count me among them) swear it to be worth a journey half way 'round the earth.

Feasting with wealthy Chinese friends at their weddings and funerals. A Chinese feast with its in-

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numerable dishes is a sensuous institution the like of which is not found elsewhere on this planet.

Peaceful relaxation with friends on the heathered sand dunes of Holland, or animated conversation with *hajis* under the coconut trees of Java.

A revolution on the streets of Athens carried out less boisterously and not more violently than the celebration of a football victory.

The calm after a general strike in Barcelona, the noise of an Arab mart in Algiers, the peddlers at Port Said, and a camel train leaving Aden.

The tin mines on the island of Billiton, rubber plantations on the island of Sumatra, vineyards on the island of Madeira, sugar plantations on the island of Cuba, the gardens on the island of Bermuda, myriad rice paddies on the island of Java, and tea plantations on the island of Ceylon: men everywhere creating wealth from the soil.

Wilhelmina's birthday with the Sultan of Sambas in the interior of Borneo, or watching uncountable chimpanzees jumping and chattering in the trees along the lazy tropical breadth of the Sambas river.

Climbing to the rim of the belching volcano, Bromo, in Java, the only human being within a radius of five miles.

Oberammergau and the Bavarian peasants before Hitler, Reinhardt's *Jederman* in front of the Dom in Salzburg, Straus's *Fledermaus* in Berlin: all among the recoverable moments of ten packed and adventurous years abroad.

When I reminisce on this world of scholars and beauty, I repeat that I like my past. The thing I dislike most about communism is, I believe, its twisted mind for which the highest values that I have

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glimpsed in both western and oriental culture are mere rubbish. I resent the intrusion of its habitual distortions of fact and its ugly philosophy of hatred into the world of A. V. Williams Jackson and Mont Blanc. I regret the ease with which it transformed my foolish and impatient idealism into its tool, but even from that I have a residue of knowledge which may have its own peculiar value.

¹ *Daily Worker*, Feb. 27, 1935, p. 4.

² *Ibid*, April 7, 1933, p. 4.

³ *Ibid*, April 15, 1933, p. 1.

⁴ *Ibid*, May 24, 1935, p. 1.

ANCESTRY

The Communist Party takes on and puts off ancestors with the ease of a Southern gentleman's lifting his hat.

At the tenth national convention of the Communist Party in New York this year, Earl Browder said:

Our program for socialism is organically linked up with, is a necessary outgrowth from, the traditional American democracy as founded by Thomas Jefferson, *whose political descendants we are.*¹ [Italics mine.]

Until the adoption of the new Party "line," Jefferson had not been admitted to the select company of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, and Browder. While he was still a member of the Communist Party, some years ago, Scott Nearing wrote:

Rebel spirits in Europe and the Americas had hailed the bourgeois revolutions in the United States in 1776 and in France in 1789 as the heralds of a new social order that would emancipate mankind from many of the ancient slaveries. *These revolutions really ushered in the plutocracy as the owners and rulers of the world.*² [Italics mine.]

Within the past year, the Communist Party has laid claim to George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, Walt Whitman, Paul Revere, John Greenleaf Whit-

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tier (whiskers included), Daniel Boone, and John Brown. There are, indeed, new fashions in expropriating the capitalist class! But, for small favors, we should be grateful, perhaps: the Party has left to us bourgeois folk, Sitting Bull and Rip Van Winkle.

In the recent presidential campaign, the Communist Party puffed Browder as "the Abraham Lincoln of 1936."

Back in 1934, I went to Youngstown, Ohio, to organize a branch of the American League Against War and Fascism. A professor from a local college, who had been drawn into the united front as a speaker for the occasion, had the temerity to suggest that we should appropriate the tradition of Thomas Jefferson in the work of the League. The professor was promptly informed by the Youngstown organizer of the Communist Party that the suggestion was counter-revolutionary—and informed in a tone and manner that threatened our united front on the spot. With an effort at my best diplomacy (for which I now blush), I arose and explained to the communist organizer that the professor really meant no harm, and to the professor that we should be tolerant of genealogical differences of opinion within our united front.

The new genealogy of the Communist Party dates from the time when Dimitroff, at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in 1935, told the delegates to go back to their respective countries and get themselves some new ancestors from among their national heroes. His exact words were: "Comrades, proletarian internationalism must, so to speak, 'acclimatize itself' in each country in order to sink deep roots in its native land."³ Browder came

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back to Yonkers and had the comrades look up some American history. It wasn't easy at first, and some historical slips were bound to be made, but the "acclimatizing" has now reached the point where the comrades can hardly tell the difference between the Sage of Yonkers and the Stalin of Monticello. Of course it's all a fiction designed to advance, as Dimitroff explained, the cause of proletarian internationalism, but one can imagine easily what Washington, Jefferson, Whitman, Whittier, Boone, and the rest would think and say of the fiction.

Daniel Boone's grave, high on the hill overlooking the Kentucky River at Frankfort, was one of the places I visited most often in boyhood. I can imagine Comrade Boone forsaking his solitude in the Kentucky wilderness for the solidarity of Union Square! Or sitting in a dirty office on 12th Street composing slogans for the tin can drive of the North American Committee to Worry About Other People's Exploited Workers!

If all of this sounds incredible, as so many communist manoeuvres do to ordinary Americans and some extraordinary Cabinet members, the reader may go to the original and indisputable source of it all in Dimitroff's book, *The United Front*, now on sale at communist bookstores. There Dimitroff relates how the Italian fascists have misappropriated Garibaldi, the French fascists Joan of Arc, and the American fascists Washington and Lincoln.⁴ Therefore, in effect says Dimitroff, communists must go out and do a little historical hijacking.

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Whether inherited from my American ancestors or not, I have enough of the spirit of dissent to

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challenge these communist historical hijackers. The reader may be familiar with the communists' boring-from-within tactics in trade unions and churches. That is not new. But this boring-from-within our tombs and traditions is the last word in effrontery. I am inclined to believe, however, that amusement rather than anger is the appropriate mood in which to register our protest against these grave-robbers of 1938. When the "line" changes again, as change it must, the Communist Party will give us back the "plutocratic" heroes of our "bourgeois revolution."

Even if there isn't much in the theory that psychological characteristics are transmitted in the blood stream through many successive generations, I at least derive a great deal of satisfaction from knowing that my forebears were dissenters, fighters for freedom, and men who were much given to heeding the call of the sea.

Nine generations is as far back as I can go along genealogical paths to find an ancestor whose name and circumstances are known. In the year 1678, seven years before the revocation by Louis XIV of the Edict of Nantes, my ancestor Thomas Lemont, a French Huguenot, left France and settled in Londonderry, Ireland. In the same year a son, Thomas Lemont II, was born to him.

Thomas Lemont II and his wife Mary were the parents of an adventurous son, John Lemont I. Before he was eighteen years of age, John fell in love with a Scottish girl, Elizabeth Mc Lanathan. One bright day when the winds were favorable a vessel set sail from Londonderry, with young John, age eighteen, aboard. He left behind him in Londonderry his mother and father and Elizabeth. When John

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reached the new world, he settled near what is now Bath, Maine. In his letters which have been handed down, he wrote to Elizabeth that he knew this land would please her well and that day by day he was felling the great trees of the forest and planning for their home. At last he was able to write to his mother and father: "Here is the money to take you and Elizabeth hither. Come speedily to the place where God has led us."

John Lemont I and Elizabeth Mc Lanathan were married on her arrival with his parents in Maine. Elizabeth bore five daughters and seven sons. Their third son was John Lemont II. The record says that "the crops grew well, the mill brought in much honest money, and many vessels were built for the coasting and West India trade." His father, Thomas, died on February 15, 1756, at the age of seventy-eight years, in Georgetown Parish (now Bath, Maine). Ten years later at the age of sixty-four years, John Lemont I died, survived by his wife Elizabeth and their twelve children.

John Lemont II was born August 22, 1743, in Georgetown Parish. He served as a sergeant with the English forces during the French War. He was in the battles of Ticonderoga and Crown Point and at the capture of Quebec by General Wolfe. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, he entered the American service as a lieutenant together with four of his brothers, and served under Colonel Samuel McCobb. He and at least two of his brothers, Benjamin and James, were promoted to Captains. As a Captain, John served under Colonel Gamaliel Bradford. Among the many battles in which he fought were White Plains and Saratoga, and he was present

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at the surrender of General Burgoyne. In 1788, he was commissioned Colonel by John Hancock, the Governor of Massachusetts. His wife was Mary Robinson Simonton whose first husband, Captain Simonton of Portland, Maine, was a successful sea captain and was lost at sea soon after her marriage to him. The third child of John Lemont II and Mary Robinson Simonton was John Lemont III.

John Lemont III was born on May 22, 1774, and died in South America from yellow fever on February 25, 1803. He was a successful shipmaster. While engaged in the West India trade, he and his brother Samuel were taken prisoners by the French and confined for some time in a West India prison. He was married to Sarah Donnell who survived him by sixty-one years and who lived to the age of ninety. Sarah's second husband was lost at sea. She then married John Brown of Litchfield, Maine.

Lavina Lemont was the only child of Captain John Lemont III and Sarah Donnell. Lavina was born on July 12, 1798, and died on February 14, 1871. In 1822, she married James Brown of Litchfield, who had become her step-brother through the marriage of her mother, Sarah Donnell, to his father, John Brown. Edward Brown, the son of Lavina Lemont and James Brown was my maternal grandfather. He was born in 1822.

Edward Brown's second marriage was to Margaret Brown, on November 26, 1868. The only child of this marriage was Fanny Welborn Brown, my mother. Margaret Brown was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, on March 19, 1829. With her parents, Peter and Thomson Brown, she came to America when she was not yet in her teens.

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From my grandfather, Edward Brown, who lived with us during my childhood, I heard tales of the seas which fascinated me even more than the exploits of Marco Polo. I think they awakened in me the lure of foreign shores. As a young man he had shipped on whaling voyages on the bark *President* and had cruised along the coasts of Africa and Brazil. Later he shipped as carpenter on board the ship *Humphrey Purinton* from Bath, Maine, for Mobile, Alabama. "From Mobile they sailed to Wales, England, and loaded with railroad iron for Portland, Maine, which port they reached in September, 1848, having been one year in getting the cargo of iron for use on the Kennebec and Portland R. R." In 1850, Edward Brown decided to seek his fortunes in the West. Subsequently, he wrote of what occurred, as follows: "The gold fever was raging and I had a severe attack, but my finances were slim. . . . Therefore I bought an emigrant ticket when I got to Cumberland, on the Baltimore and Ohio R. R. My ticket entitled me to a seat in a freight wagon, and as I had no overcoat, I concluded to walk to Brownsville, Pa., a distance of sixty miles." When he reached Mt. Vernon, Indiana, he abandoned his purpose to go to California and instead found work on a flat-boat plying the Ohio and the Mississippi as far as New Orleans. Later he settled in Mt. Vernon and became a building contractor. During the Civil War, he commanded a company of Union militia in General Hovey's Army. In 1882, he was appointed postmaster at Mt. Vernon.

Edward Brown's father, James, was the son of John Brown who was also a Revolutionary soldier. John was the son of Samuel who came to America from

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England in 1742. Samuel Brown was parish clerk in Georgetown Parish from 1753 until his death in 1771.

My paternal grandparents were Riley Matthews and Catharine Riddle Matthews of Osgood, North Carolina. My father, Burrell Jones Matthews, was born on January 16, 1860. When he was barely a year old, his father went off to war in the Army of the Confederacy and was listed among the missing at the War's end. A younger brother died in infancy, and his war-broken and dissipated mother died shortly after the War, leaving Burrell Jones, age six years, to make a living for himself without the assistance of relatives or social security in the war-prostrated South. From a laborer in the mines at the age of six he found his way eventually, at the age of twenty-eight, a Singer sewing machine salesman, to Mt. Vernon, Indiana, where he met and married the eighteen-year-old school teacher, Fanny Welborn Brown. I was the third of seven children of this marriage.

Even if Americanism could be inherited, we should also need to earn it as a personal possession before it could become a living force in individual experience and in public affairs. Seven generations of American ancestry were not enough, despite even their northern European derivation, to save me from heeding the appeals of a collectivism which is at war with every basic concept that has made America great. Among my ancestors, the last to arrive on these shores came when crossing the Atlantic was yet a hazard and a hardship, when embarkation was done with a prayer for safety and landing with a prayer of thanksgiving. Others who have come, under the quotas, since the

last white sail was lowered from transatlantic passenger liners, have earned their Americanism more easily than I.

Americanism is a living faith to which men have access without regard to creed or color or race.

¹ Earl Browder, *The Democratic Front* (New York: Workers Library Publishers, 1938), p. 88f.

² Scott Nearing, *Where Is Civilization Going?* (New York: Vanguard Press), p. 69.

³ Georgi Dimitroff, *The United Front* (New York: International Publishers, 1938), p. 80.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

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Whatever may be true of the extent to which psychological characteristics are transmitted in the blood stream from generation to generation, there can be no doubt regarding the importance, for life's later choices and inclinations, of the deeper impressions which belong to childhood's experience. Time and again in later years when taking those decisive steps which led me gradually leftward in political activity, I found myself moved by the remembrance of long-forgotten events which crept back into consciousness with little of their original vividness impaired. Whether they had always been lurking around in my subconsciousness, as ghosts from the past, awaiting the arrival of the moment when they might participate decisively in my political decisions, or whether I dug into that subconsciousness in search of justifications for decisions made in complete independence of my childhood experiences, I do not know with certainty.

I was born in Hopkinsville, Kentucky (known affectionately to its own citizens as Hoptown), a town of less than ten thousand inhabitants and chief market of the dark tobacco belt. The year was that marked by the accession of the last of the Romanoffs; and the month was that in which Marie François Sadi Carnot, President of France, was stabbed to death at Lyons. The day witnessed the beginning

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of preparations for the Chino-Japanese War which ended the suzerainty of the Manchus over Korea. Twenty-five years later, to the day, a treaty now tattered and torn but not with age, was signed in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles.

Not many years after my birth notice—I presume there was one as a matter of routine—appeared in the Hopkinsville newspaper, the town became the center of one of America's violent agricultural uprisings. The tobacco farmers rose up as masked "night riders" to battle against the foreign capital of the tobacco warehouses and buyers.

The picture of great warehouses in flames—less than two blocks from my home—with hundreds of hooded men galloping through the streets and some tying up policemen, firemen, and telephone operators was one which a boy would long remember with deep feeling. The editor of the local newspaper, who had written vigorously on behalf of law and order, barely escaped bodily harm by hiding in the coal bin of a nearby church. Shots were fired into the home of a clergyman who preached against violence. Farmers who clung to their individualism and refused to join the pool were flogged, and two or three who failed to understand their social obligation to collectivism were killed. It was real war, not a fabulous radio dramatization to terrorize addle-pated men who have lost the power, thanks to something or other, to distinguish between make-believe and reality.

We stopped our marble games after school in order to debate the issue of the "night riders." Some believed that warehouses should not be burned even if they did belong to big foreign interests, and that men should not be kidnapped and beaten even if they

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refused to join the tobacco farmers' pool. Some, on the other hand, believed that the cause of the farmers was so just that it should triumph even at the sacrifice of much property and a few lives. There were no local Marxist dialecticians—at least I think there were none—to interpret the conflict for us in terms of historical materialism. I doubt—although I may be in error on this point, too—that any committee was organized in New York to come down into the nation's "Economic Problem No. 1" and save us. I expect to learn more about such details as these when Robert Penn Warren brings out his Guggenheim Fellowship book on the Kentucky "night riders." (Robert Penn Warren's mother, before her marriage was my second or third grade school teacher in Hopkinsville.)

Like most of the citizens of Hopkinsville, who resented the violent invasion of their town by the "night riders," we were, in our home, definitely of the opinion that, however just were the farmers' grievances, their methods of redress were deplorable. The whole situation made the first indelible imprint of social conflict upon my mind.

When I was about five years old I had an encounter with the prevailing sex mores, which left me in a state of complete intellectual bewilderment. A boy who was several years my senior explained to me what he alleged to be the mystery of birth. Some years later I learned that his account was substantially accurate although couched in other than textbook language. I thought the matter merely interesting and proceeded to pass the newly acquired information on to my older sisters in the presence of the cook. The cook was horribly shocked and announced

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that my mother should be told what I had said. A doubt arose in my mind as to whether my older playmate had doublecrossed me. The cook appeared so very positive, and it seemed to me that she should know the facts of life. At any rate she told mother, and mother told father. Whereupon, without discussion, I was severely thrashed. I naturally thought that this settled the issue of the truth or falsity of my playmate's story. When I saw him next day, I indignantly informed him that he had lied to me about how babies were born. To complicate matters for me intellectually, he drew back his fist and loosened one of my front teeth. Then and there I decided to let the matter rest. I explained the dental trouble at home as the result of a fall. I had not had the benefit of my experience as a witness before the Dies Committee, and so I had not learned with that eventual finality that few men are warmly partisan to truth for its own sake. Having now experienced simultaneously the verbal thrashing of Earl Browder's *Daily Worker* and Frank Knox's *Chicago Daily News* over my effort to recite some of the elementary political facts of life—how communists are born—to a Congressional committee, I am struck with the thought of how early in life I was introduced to the real world—the world where "What is truth?" is a less important query than "Who wants to hear it?"

At the age of six, during my first week in school, I learned something of the inviolability and dignity of established authority. The principal of the school was a man who carried himself with the erectness of an army officer, and with a severity of countenance which matched it perfectly. In his otherwise dark hair, there was a patch of white, about the size of a

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quarter, which earned for him, among the boys at least, the nickname of cotton top. One morning on our way to school, we caught up with the principal. "There goes cotton top," some of the boys whispered. When we passed him, I responded to his stiff "good morning, boys," with a friendly "good morning, cotton top." What happened can be guessed easily. Stopping with the abruptness of one who has been ordered by a superior to halt, he commanded me to report to his office on my arrival at school. With consternation at his tone of voice, I fled home instead of proceeding to school. An hour later, however, I arrived at the principal's office in company with Hopkinsville's chief of police—my father. To my deep satisfaction, the matter was disposed of without resort to the bundle of hickory switches which stood in the corner of the principal's room. After receiving a grave caution not to repeat the offense, I apologized to the principal as sincerely as I had greeted him by his nickname on the street that morning. The episode did not hurt my standing with the boys. They credited me with the heroism of a young fool; and but for me the principal might never have known his nickname. . . . It was, I think, an early manifestation of a streak. Little incongruities—not to mention big ones—have always appealed to my sense of humor, or, should I say, have often tempted me to speak out of turn. The little white patches on the pretenses of the mighty have often invited scrutiny; and if communism is not the mightiest pretense of our day, then I do not know much about it. And who but a fool would desert the quiet and enjoyment of a beautiful hillside in New Jersey to which I retired several years ago in order to appear as a volun-

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teer witness before the Dies Committee, with a full knowledge of the penalties of derision from both communist and capitalist newspapers?

Among other enterprises, my father owned and operated several quarries where limestone was crushed into ballast for building and maintaining railroad beds. One of these was in Powell County in the mountains of eastern Kentucky. Thither we went to spend the three and a half months of our summer vacations.

Kentucky's picturesque Natural Bridge is located in Powell County not far from Glen Cairn, the site of the stone quarry and crusher. Until recent years, highways and, for that matter, anything that could be called roads, except by courtesy, had not penetrated into these mountains. Blind tigers and old-fashioned mountain feuds flourished at the turn of the century. The excitement of these was commingled with the Sunday excursions which brought hundreds of visitors from Cincinnati and Louisville on alternate Sundays, one-day outings at Natural Bridge for city folk.

The railroad which provided entrance from the Blue Grass to the mountains was much more than a soulless corporation. Along its route from Clay City to Jackson at least the trainmen and the mountain folk were close personal friends. During my first summer in the mountains, in 1900, I came to know Nick Daly and Frank Atchison, engineer and conductor, who made the round trip from Lexington to Jackson each day. Thirty-six years later I went back to Natural Bridge and Glen Cairn. At Clay City my car mired on the modern highway, and I waited for the train in order to continue the journey.

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I could scarcely believe my eyes when I saw Frank Atchison step from the coach with a light and rhythmic movement that I would recognize anywhere on earth. When I told him who I was, he asked: "Do you know who's in the engine cab?" Yes, it was Nick Daly. Forty and forty-five years respectively, they had been running that train. One generation had passed away; another had been born and grown to middle age. Two men seemed more enduring than the landscape itself. A sensation of incomprehensibility brought a lump to my throat when I saw them. Their very presence called back to life a thousand dead memories which I had buried under a quarter of a century of nomadism, of wandering geographically, intellectually, and spiritually over the face of the earth.

In the summer of 1900, I was one of the two water boys for the hundred Negro hands who quarried the white stone from the face of the mountain, broke it with mighty blows from their sledge hammers, and carted it to the waiting mouth of the crusher. My father had a queer notion that work—hard work—was good for a boy, even for a boy of six. I was proud of my job and the dollar I received in an envelope each Saturday night at the end of a sixty-six hour week. Two of us—mere infants—ministered through those long blistering summer days, under a southern sun, to the parched throats of a hundred blacks. When we tarried a minute too long in the shade at the spring, one of them was sure to start a swelling and imperative chorus of "water boy, where are you hiding now?" It was as though a persistent claque called endlessly for an encore until the six o'clock whistle signalled for the dropping of picks, shovels, hammers, and water buckets, and we hurried away

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to the swimming hole while the dynamiting crew prepared for the blasting. An hour before quitting time each day, Frank Atchison and Nick Daly brought their train down the valley from Jackson, its wheels and whistle singing merrily of an early respite from sun and sweat. We ran—the water boys—to wave to them, and they waved back. Of course I have learned since that it was an immoral business, this working of children; but, heaven be praised, it was not retroactively illegal.

On Saturday nights, there was revelry. Corn whiskey from some blind tiger nearby or bourbon brought from Lexington drowned the consciousness of aching muscles. The Negroes sang in harmony. Sometimes the night ended in a debauch of quarrelsomeness, and occasionally there was fighting, but these were not the rule.

In the early hours of one Sunday morning two of the Negroes quarreled over a woman. Their names were Josh and Ed. I do not remember which of them had the more valid claim to the woman. Josh was the drunker and that was the all-important fact of the quarrel. With the agility of a jungle animal, Ed leaped upon Josh's back and drove the long blade of his knife deep into the quivering yellow flesh of the mulatto. Josh staggered for a hundred yards from the Negroes' quarters up into the quarry, and died. Early Sunday morning I watched them lay his naked body upon rough boards and wash away the blood clots from eleven gaping slits. And that was how, at the age of six, I learned of murder. Ed was taken away to the county seat at Campton, where he was soon tried and acquitted. I heard them say, before the trial, that his acquittal was certain. They

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spoke of "nigger killing nigger" in such a way that I sensed vaguely the existence of an unwritten code to which this special kind of murder was not a very grave concern. The formal defense, however, had to do with protecting a woman's honor; and that was how I first learned about that.

Down the valley a mile or so, there was a little mountain school house where father organized a Sunday School and to which, through his arrangements, there came on alternate Sundays a Methodist circuit rider. Probably the severest thrashing I ever received—and thrashing was the word for it in anybody's language—was for snickering audibly in Sunday School when the circuit rider appeared one hot summer's day in white flannels. They were the first pair I had ever seen, and the thought that the parson had arrived absent-mindedly *sans culotte* struck me irresistibly. Father always followed the old-fashioned method of punishing with a severity that was exactly proportioned to his momentary anger. On this occasion I do not think that he was proceeding with deliberation to instil into my irreverent mind a due respect for all things religious, including the parson's attire. At any rate, the full fury of a paternal storm broke upon me the instant I reached home after the morning service was ended. I have a suspicion that my father's anger was compounded of a sincere regard for religious etiquette and a pride which was offended because his privately established church had not duly impressed his own son.

The excursion trains from Louisville and Cincinnati reached Natural Bridge shortly after the noon hour each Sunday. Early in his pastorate, the Methodist circuit rider must have learned that the whistle

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of the approaching train should be a signal for a hasty conclusion of his sermon and the doxology. The older boys and men in the congregation were gripped with restlessness when they heard the train miles away down the valley. They were eager to be out of the little school house and on hand when the train pulled in at Natural Bridge. Under the thinly veiled guise of excursionists, girls who combined holiday and business were always on the train.

One Sunday at Natural Bridge I saw two feudists stand face to face at arm's length and empty their pistols at each other. Every bullet took effect, but both men survived.

Year after year my summers were spent in the Kentucky mountains. There were lights as well as shadows. In fact, the pleasures of growing up so far exceeded the pains, that my youth does not appear to me to have been at all abnormal. I have dwelt upon the shadows only because they contributed an abundance of the raw material of experience which found its first interpretation in the prevailing theological doctrines of my environment. I knew nothing about the class struggle, conscious race prejudice, economic royalists, or maladjusted personalities. Everything dark was as simple as sin, and men needed only to repent and be saved in order to set everything right.

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During my college days, also in Kentucky, I embraced my first panacea. College life from 1910 to 1914 was not what it is now, certainly not in the Blue Grass of Kentucky. For one thing, we were told by such distinguished men as David Starr Jordan that the era of endless peace had dawned at last upon

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the world. In our naive way, most of us in America, whether college students or older, believed that war had vanished from among the age-old institutions of the human race. Despite this notable achievement, however, there yet remained the task of Christianizing the world. College students by the tens of thousands heard a slogan which reverberated on American campuses: the evangelization of the world in this generation. John R. Mott was the man who stirred our imaginations, who lifted our horizons beyond America. It was in all probability a species of religious imperialism, a logical concomitant of an America looking outward. Nevertheless, it struck some of us with the forceful appeal of the final crusade to remake the world. Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom of 1912 made an impression upon me, but it was slight and did not elicit from me any of the loyalties of a crusade. I resented the way in which the Baltimore Convention had turned down Champ Clark. My first real vision, therefore, was the evangelization of the world in this generation. In line with my religious upbringing, I am afraid that I envisioned the whole world's becoming something very much like a Kentucky Methodist meeting house, with its resounding hallelujahs. The crusade was conceived, so far as I was concerned, in deep ignorance of the outside world. I must say in passing, however, that I would rather see the world cut to that naive pattern than to see the success of these modern college sophisticates in the American Student Union who have compounded naiveté, crass materialism, and notions of sentimental slaughter, to produce the almost perfect imbecility of Moscow's crusade to remake the world.

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At any rate, I stood on the threshold of my majority with a panacea which, like all of its successors, was shortly to confront the stubborn facts of the world.

YEARS ABROAD

In college I majored in Greek and Latin, that is, so far as I had a formal major. Actually I spent the greater part of my time in extra-curricular activities—athletics, college publications, music, and debating and literary societies. My real education began in Java.

Java introduced me to ethnology, anthropology, the cultural pluralism of the race, the history and varied institutions of religions, and a serious study of languages. Java is richer, in every respect, than its smaller sister of *Insulinde*, Bali.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace found much of the material for their epoch-making studies in the Island of Java. "Java," wrote Wallace, "may fairly claim to be the finest tropical island in the world, and equally interesting to the tourist seeking after new and beautiful scenes; to the naturalist who desires to examine the variety and beauty of tropical nature; or to the moralist and the politician who want to solve the problem of how man may be best governed under new and varied conditions."

With a teeming population of more than forty millions inhabiting an area the size of the State of New York, Java is a veritable cultural palimpsest. Superimposed one upon the other are to be found the cultural layers of the succeeding civilizations of its

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conquerors. At the base, but protruding vitally into the everyday life of the present, is found a layer of pre-historic animism. In many aspects of life, animism is still a dominant force even after a millennium of the political ascendancy of hostile modes of thought. Hindu and Buddhist thinking and custom, often merged in a striking eclecticism, are still evident above the animistic level. Religiously speaking, Islam is theoretically supreme in all aspects of life and actually so in many. Numbering less than two per cent of the total population, the Chinese nevertheless represent the most commercially energetic element in the population. Finally, western culture, through the colonial rule of the Dutch, has come to bring its own many and varied contributions in economic, political, and social forms.

The earliest literary reference to Java is found in the Sanskrit epic *Ramayana* which dates from the third or fourth century B. C. The wealth of the island is mentioned in the passage which reads: "Yava-dvipa, adorned by seven kingdoms, the gold and silver island, rich in gold mines."

Another early reference to the island comes from the diary of the Chinese Buddhist traveler, Fa Hien, who, on his way by sea from India to China in the year 414 A.D., stopped in the island of Java. In a passage of extraordinary brevity, but one which speaks a volume, Fa Hien recorded:

Thus it was for more than ninety days until they reached a country called Yeh-p'o-t'i [Java], where there were plenty of heretics and Brahmans but not enough Buddhism to be worth mentioning. After having stopped in this country five months, Fa Hien again shipped on board another large merchant vessel which also carried over two hundred persons.

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It is clear from the records, as well as from the cultural deposits, that established trade routes between India and China existed near the beginning of the Christian era and that Java was the midway stop on these routes. The earliest permanent migrations to Java during the historical period were from India, and these migrations were responsible for the pronounced Sanskrit elements in Javanese culture.

It was not until the year 1294, however, that Hindu political development reached its height in the island. In that year the first king of Majapahit ascended the throne. He combined under one rule several smaller kingdoms which had been warring for supremacy in Java. A striking phenomenon is to be found in the fact that this first king, Kertarajasa Jayawarddhana by name, showed no religious partiality between Sivaism and Buddhism, religious faiths which were implacable enemies in India. The third ruler of the Majapahit dynasty of Java was a woman, Tribhuanottungadewi Jayawishnuwardhani, who extended the sway of Majapahit to include the islands of Bali, Lombok, Madura, Sumbawa, and parts of Celebes. A son was born to her in 1334 and she immediately abdicated in his favor, although she ruled in his stead until he reached the age of sixteen. Thereafter his reign lasted for thirty-nine years, and he brought the whole of the Malay Archipelago within his empire, including even the states of the Malay Peninsula. In 1478 Majapahit fell and a new Hindu kingdom, Mataram, arose within smaller boundaries. Political unity in the Malay Archipelago was at an end for all time.

After nearly three centuries of Hindu political supremacy in Java, Islam began its phenomenal

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spread throughout the Malay Archipelago. When the Europeans arrived at the end of the fifteenth century, they found Islam dominant both in state and in religion.

The passion for exploration which stirred men all over Europe toward the close of the fifteenth century was a significant fact for the history of Java. Spain and Portugal were then the dominant world powers. By the famous decree of Pope Alexander VI, staggering in its simplicity, Portugal received title to the Island of Java. In 1580 Spain seized Portugal and used her fleet as a part of the Armada which perished in the historic battle with the English. This marked the end of Portuguese claims in the East Indies, including Java, and the beginning of the rivalry between the Dutch and the English for the mastery of trade in the Archipelago.

In 1602 the Honorable Dutch East India Company was established with a charter which conferred upon it a monopoly of Dutch trade in the East Indies. With the exception of a period of five years during the Napoleonic wars, when England held Java, the Dutch have been in possession of Java ever since.

For vulcanologists, among others, Java is a paradise on earth. It has some forty-five craters, many of which are active simultaneously. Among these, the volcanoes Bromo, Smeroe, Selamat, and Merapi are the most majestic. In 1883 the volcano Krakatau, just off the west coast of Java, gave the world its greatest eruption of all time. As far back into history as the folklore of the people penetrates, the life of Java has been intertwined with its volcanoes. My favorite recreation during my six years of residence in Java was the climbing of its rambunctious fire-mountains.

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Java is renowned the world over for its remarkable temple remains from the Hindu period of its history. Foremost among these is the Boro Budur of which Alfred Russel Wallace wrote:

The amount of human labour and skill expended on the great Pyramid of Egypt sinks into insignificance when compared with that required to complete this sculptured hill-temple of Java.

There are scores of these temple shrines which are in a state of excellent preservation or satisfactory restoration. I have spent unforgettable moments on the terraces of these temples.

One of the most important results of my residence in Java was what its rich and varied intellectual experiences did to my first panacea. Hardly had I plunged into a study of its culture and languages when my vision of a world refashioned after the pattern of a Kentucky Methodist meeting house began to grow dim. I had gone to Java to teach. I received infinitely more than ever I imparted.

I went to Java to teach in one of the Chinese Nationalist schools, a number of which were established in the island by overseas Chinese patriots shortly after the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in 1911. The official religious viewpoint of these schools was Confucian, and all of us who taught in them were under contract not to voice religious sentiments in conflict with that view, not at least during school hours. I have taught in the educational institutions of four races—Chinese, Malay, white, and Negro—and, among them all, my Chinese students as a group stand out in my mind as the most conscientious in their efforts to learn and the most apt in acquiring learning.

TIONG HOA HWE KOAN

English Department

PUPIL'S RECORD.

Name Kho Su Nuee

Class Primary Month August 1915

Days present 60 absent 3 late 2

Reading	85
Spelling	80
Conversation	40
Writing	90
Dictation	87
Arithmetic	80
Grammar	
Geography	
Composition	
Extra subjects	

Average 77

Class standing..... J. B. Matthews
Teacher.

Parent or guardian.

A report card found among my papers

ODYSSEY OF A FELLOW TRAVELER

My teaching in the Chinese school left me the larger part of my time for language study. Three and a half months after my arrival in Java, I made my first public address in the Malay language. I began the day of my arrival in the island to strive for a thorough mastery of Malay. By the end of my first year, I was prepared to immerse myself in its prose and poetry. After two and a half years, I had completed my first translation, Henry Van Dyke's *Story of the Other Wise Man*. Shortly thereafter, I became the editor of a Malay paper. When I left Java, I had completed the work of editing the Methodist Hymnal in the Malay language, including one hundred two of my own translations. I can recall few moments of greater satisfaction in my life than that of the night I passed through a Malay village and paused outside a little bamboo church to listen to the singing of one of my translations, Cardinal Newman's *Lead Kindly Light*.

My residence in Java afforded me opportunity for extensive travel throughout the Orient as well as through many of the islands of the Malay Archipelago. It was clear, as long ago as twenty-three years, that the framework of nineteenth century European imperialism would not last far into the twentieth and that great political upheavals of the future would occur throughout Asia. Down to the last native village on the remote islands of the Malay Archipelago, not to mention the great centers of Oriental population, the World War was damaging irreparably the prestige of the white race and undermining European political ascendancy in Asia. Men everywhere talked of Japan as the only power to emerge a victor from the War. I was living at

YEARS ABROAD

the center of a long dormant but awakening Asia, with the result that politics in a world arena came alive for me.

During my six years of residence in Java and in subsequent years, I traveled in forty-four countries, including five brief visits to the Soviet Union. But this is a personal political odyssey and not a travelogue, and I have meant here to give only some intimation of the fact that Java was a transitional period in my life: the leaving behind of one naïve panacea rooted in the Kentucky mountains and the preparation for embracing yet other and equally naïve panaceas rooted in the universal political and social turmoil of my time.

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My introduction to radicalism was via the religion of the social gospel into which my earlier religious fundamentalism had been dissipated. This is not the place to attempt a critique of the social gospel. It is, perhaps, enough to observe that the social gospel has more to do with Rousseau than with religion, and that no panacea has ever ricocheted more gracefully, and with less of a stir, over the stubborn facts of human relationships than that of Rousseau.

I returned to America at a period when some of the leading theological seminaries had abandoned religion and taken up the social gospel instead, and when "religious education" was the special froth on the social gospel. Despite the fact that I spent the following years in graduate study of languages, I was exposed to the social gospel atmosphere of these theological seminaries. Along with my study of Arabic, Hebrew, Aramaic, Sanskrit, and Persian, I felt the need for a panacea, and, accordingly, I embraced the one nearest to hand.

Good Marxists, as a rule, do their utmost to cover up their Christian backgrounds—in cases where they had one. I have known them to go to amusing limits in order to invent a non-Christian past which would appear more consistent with the Marxist profession of faith. It does not seem to bother them to admit or even to boast that they were digged from the pit

PACIFIST

of capitalism. But to be compelled to acknowledge, under the pressure of being scoffed at by Marxists with a non-Christian background, that they were digged from the pit of Christianity, has its peculiarly poignant sting. Now that I have no Marxist reputation to defend against the accusation of a Christian past, I can freely admit that I was terribly in earnest about the Christian social gospel. For more than five years I worked at it tirelessly.

Interracialism and pacifism became the dominant features of my brand of the social gospel. Both, so far as I was concerned, were predicated entirely upon a religious basis.

On the political side, I advanced to the point of espousing the La Follette crusade of 1924. During that campaign, I held a teaching position on the faculty of a graduate college in Tennessee. Addressing political rallies from Knoxville to Memphis, I bore the chief burden of the speaking campaign in that state. I came perilously near difficulty with members of the board of trustees of the college in which I was teaching, over one of these speaking engagements. On a Sunday night I addressed a gathering of three thousand in the Pantages theatre in Memphis, and a Unitarian minister presided over the meeting. Next day, the Methodist preachers' meeting of Memphis adopted a resolution of censure for my activity and forwarded it to my board of trustees. I had, in the first place, desecrated the Lord's Day by making a political speech. I had also spoken in a theatre in a city where there was a Sunday-closing ordinance, and, to add insult to injury, I had been introduced by a Unitarian clergyman. There was also some hint of alarm at my political irregularity



La Follette--Wheeler
SPEAKING



GOODLETTSVILLE,

— FENN. —

Saturday Night
OCTOBER 18, 1924, 7:30

PROF. J. B. MATTHEWS
and Others, Will Speak!

You will miss a great meeting if you miss
this one. A Message to the Farmers!

LADIES ESPECIALLY INVITED!

PACIFIST

in supporting a candidate other than the Democratic nominee.

Work in the La Follette campaign brought me into close touch with the leaders of the American Federation of Labor in Tennessee, and for several years thereafter I spoke for them on numerous occasions, including their annual state conventions. At one of these conventions, I clashed with Major George L. Berry on the question of pacifism. The delegates were overwhelmingly on my side of the debate.

I addressed the Tennessee Legislature in favor of the child labor amendment, but I was something less than persuasive. The lawmakers proceeded to reject the amendment by the same vote with which the same men had passed the world-famous "monkey" bill—the anti-evolution statute which led to the Scopes' trial with the appearance of Clarence Darrow and William Jennings Bryan as opposing counsel. How far the fame of the state spread, I learned two years later when a Turkish official at Smyrna looked at my passport and remarked: "Oh, you are from the monkey state!"

For several years during my teaching career in Tennessee I took an advanced position on the question of race relations in the South. I had grown up in the South and, in general, I had inherited its traditions on the subject of race relations, but the social gospel seemed to me to call for bold and radical experimentation in eliminating race prejudice.

Around my experiments in race relations, there gathered a considerable group of southern white students, all of us imbued with the idea that the principles of Jesus called for an obliteration of race

PROGRAM FOR THE

Convention of the Tennessee Federation of Labor And the Railroad Brotherhoods Nashville, May 3, 1926

MEETS IN McADOO HALL AT 10 A. M.

Called to Order by—

ALBERT E. HILL, Chairman of Committee on Arrangements

Invocation by—

DR. W. ANGIE SMITH, Pastor Tulip Street M. E. Church

Addresses of Welcome—

E. E. WOODWARD, President Trades and Labor Council

HON. AUSTIN PEAY, Governor of Tennessee

HON. H. E. HOWSE, Mayor of Nashville

Response to Addresses—

H. V. REID, Chairman of Joint Committee of the Tennessee Federation
of Labor and Railroad Brotherhoods

Convention Called to Order by Chairman Reid.

Addresses by—

WILLIAM GREEN, President American Federation of Labor

~~Firemen.~~

D. B. ROBERTSON, President Brotherhood Locomotive Firemen and
Enginemen

W. B. PRENTER, President Brotherhood Locomotive Engineers.

W. G. LEE, President Brotherhood Railway Trainmen.

W. E. SHEPARD, President Order of Railway Conductors

WM. L. HUTCHESON, General President United Brotherhood Carpenters
and Joiners

DR. J. B. MATTHEWS, Scarritt College

K. D. MCKELLAR, United States Senator

MRS. AGNES G. STRONG, Grand Chief Ladies' Society B. L. F. of E.

The delegates will visit the O'Bryan Brothers Co. at 4 p.m.

Public meeting Tennessee War Memorial Building, 8 p.m.

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lines in social, economic, political, and cultural relations. We held this view with all the sacrificial earnestness of crusaders. We organized interracial forums. We opposed Jim Crow regulations. We met together, members of both races, on a plane of social equality. Our sole interest was in living our own lives according to our conception of the Christian social gospel. We did not seek publicity. Inevitably, however, rumors concerning our activities began to circulate, and we attracted far more attention than we desired or anticipated.

The most elementary modesty, if that were the only factor to be considered in this narrative, would make it impossible for me to include some of the widespread and highly favorable comments which my work elicited. But they are a part of the record, and, without respect to personal inclinations, therefore, I must indicate something of the measure of success which we had in impressing others with the courage and effectiveness of our crusade. The president of a Negro University, on whose faculty I later served, wrote:

I first came to know Mr. J. B. Matthews as a man who was fearlessly experimenting with truthful human relations in a difficult situation involving one of our major social problems. His writing and thinking command respect because they are the words of a man who tries to live, as he speaks, straightforwardly.

The responses from numerous members of my own race were even more emphatically approving, if possible. The editor of a church paper in the South wrote with respect to a series of addresses which I delivered in Raleigh, North Carolina, and

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in which I touched again and again on the impossibility of reconciling race prejudice with the principles of Jesus, as follows:

J. B. Matthews brought each day a message fresh from his communion with God, spoken out of a burning purpose to reveal the way of Jesus to his fellow workers assembled there. . . . Classical in thought, clear and definite in utterance, convincing, powerful in delivery, tender in appeal, drawing all men to the lifted Christ, the series made a contribution to the spiritual life of those who heard, a contribution which will deepen and broaden and intensify with the ripening influence of time.

These addresses were subsequently published by Doubleday, Doran & Company under the title *Christianity The Way*. Among numerous comments on the subject of race relations, I wrote the following:

No one who knows the situation could fail to be grateful for the progress that is being made in the relationships of the races, but there is still much hard work to be done before we can call those relationships Christian. It is a time for consecration rather than congratulation. Race prejudice scales upward from the low forms of lynching and barbarous convict-beating to those refined attitudes of condescension which do not tear the flesh but leave their scars upon the souls of men, especially upon the souls of those who indulge the attitudes.

At a summer institute in North Carolina, I gave a course on the social teachings of Jesus. Among numerous favorable comments on this course, I find the following were published in one of the church papers of the South:

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There is a charm about his personality, a fascination and forceful appeal in his speaking, that would have a compelling influence on his hearers even if he were only "saying his ABC's". . . He invited questioning, and was very patient in his explanations, especially with those questioners who did not agree with him in some of his positions.

No one could sit under his voice and not be impressed by his deep spirituality, the exaltation of Jesus in his own life, and his desire in helping us to make Jesus and his teachings supreme in our own lives—in our every day living.

During this period I served on the faculties of numerous institutes and short-term training schools. Everywhere I went I was crusading for better inter-racial relations and pacifism. I find that I taught in institutes and training schools at the following places:

- Fayette, Missouri, June, 1923.
- Fayette, Missouri, June, 1924.
- Durham, North Carolina, June, 1925.
- Ashland, Virginia, July, 1925.
- Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, August, 1925.
- Mount Sequoyah, Arkansas, August, 1925.
- Chattanooga, Tennessee, February, 1926.
- Tallahassee, Florida, April, 1926.
- Mobile, Alabama, April, 1926.
- Talledega, Alabama, June, 1926.
- Ashland, Virginia, June, 1926.
- Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, July, 1926.
- Dermott, Arkansas, October, 1926.
- New Orleans, Louisiana, November, 1926.
- Chattanooga, Tennessee, March, 1927.
- Mobile, Alabama, May, 1927.
- Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, June, 1927.
- Nashville, Tennessee, June, 1927.
- Silver Bay, New York, June, 1928.
- Charlottesville, Virginia, March, 1929.
- Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, June, 1929.

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Providence, Rhode Island, July, 1929.

Atlanta, Georgia, June, 1930.

Forest Park, Pennsylvania, June, 1930.

Toronto, Canada, June, 1930.

King's Mountain, North Carolina, May, 1931.

Honfleur, France, September, 1931.

King's Mountain, North Carolina, June, 1932.

It was inevitable, perhaps, that sharp criticism of my interracial activities would make its pressure felt with the board of trustees of the college on whose faculty I was regularly employed. As soon as this happened, I offered my resignation. I did not pursue a course of forcing my dismissal from the institution. That, as I understood the situation, would have been the Marxist but not the pacifist procedure. Accordingly, I sent a letter of resignation to the president of the college, in which, among other things, I wrote:

I do not think that Jesus ate with the social outcasts of his day for the purpose of shocking Pharisees, or getting a "kick" out of the unconventional, or educating the Pharisees and other socially respectable classes to do likewise. I think of his attitude as just *normally* human, and based upon his unbounded respect for personality.

I believe that personal relationships lie at the very heart of religion, constituting its ethical aspect. This is the true social gospel, as opposed to a so-called social gospel which thinks only of men in the mass. We touch the social order only as we touch other persons. I cannot in my present state of mind make my conduct "geographical." For six years I lived with people of color in the Orient on a basis void of all discrimination, social or otherwise. In my relationships with them any admissions on my part that geography would make a difference, would, I believe, have been fatal. . . .

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What I have said thus far applies chiefly to my own personal conduct. I do not demand that the constituency follow, nor would I call it disloyal to Christ if it does not understand its duty as I do mine. I believe in recognizing the social, economic, and psychological grounds of prejudice, and in the practice of unlimited patience in dispelling it by successive steps toward the full Christian position as I see it. . . .

I believe it proper for me at this time to place in your hands my resignation from the faculty to take effect at the end of the present school year.

Without any disposition toward punishing me, so far as I know, the board of trustees accepted my resignation. I felt neither ill-treated nor crucified. I was jobless but that seemed to me no consideration comparable to the gain of standing for what I believed. It was tough to have heavy responsibilities and to be jobless at the same time, but I harbored no regrets. Years later when I opposed communists on grounds similar to those which cost me my faculty position, I was taunted, to my back, by arch-conservatives who mistakenly believed and said that my anti-communist stand was in line with the interests of my pocket-book. The left-wing, of course, has no monopoly on crude and cynical materialism, and some conservatives who throughout their drab existence have never felt the stirring passion of following an ideal into penury will never be able to understand the motives and choices of a crusader. As spiritual brothers-in-materialism, they are among the ablest allies of the communists. Of course, as I shall try to make clear, idealistic crusaders are about as useless to human progress as crass materialists of either the right or the left.

When I left my position on the faculty of this

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southern college, the students who were receiving advanced degrees that year wrote me, as follows:

No doubt you realize what an almost impossible task it is to put into writing one's appreciation of another, yet we want to attempt the almost impossible.

The class of '27 feels very deeply their indebtedness to you for many things. You have been, to many of us, a constant source of inspiration. You have been a constant challenge to us to search deeper for truths, to understand more fully the world in which we live, and ever to live true to the convictions that are ours. You have demanded the best there is in us at all times.

And from the first year post-graduate students came the following letter:

We are grateful to you for the way you have shared your real self with us. In these few months we have caught a glimpse of some of the eternal truths of the universe. . . . The challenge of your life has struck sympathetic chords in our lives and we are trying to realize our highest ideals. Nothing can symbolize our gratefulness to you for that Christian ideal which you so perfectly manifest.

All of the foregoing hyperbolic sentiments were, and still are, deeply appreciated. They represented some of the inevitable applause from very sincere idealists. I am guilty, perhaps, of gross immodesty in publishing them, but they point up a phenomenon which interests me greatly. There is scarcely any limit to the approval which one may receive as a result of breaking with traditions—even approval bordering on hero-worship. But to break with the communists! Ah, that's a very different matter. Then the brickbats come thick and fast—naturally enough

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the brickbats of slander from the communists themselves, but *not* so naturally the brickbats of ridicule and suspicion from the general run of right-wingers. The phenomenon interests me as some indication of the incredibly subtle influence of communists over conservatives. In its fashion, it should go a long way toward explaining why communists assume that conservatives are, above all things, stupid. It should also throw some light on how a relatively small minority of left-wingers may eventually create a social tension which is bound to snap with extreme violence, precisely as it has done in one European country after another.

My experience in the academic world with the knotty problem of race relations led me somewhat more to the left. A position of anti-capitalism began slowly to form in my mind, and the issue of pacifism assumed a dominant place in my crusading.

During the World War, I had plumped hard for Wilson's slogans about saving democracy and the war to end war. Along with thousands of my generation, I suffered an early post-War disillusionment with respect to the liberalism that had cloaked the Allies' conduct of the War. Pacifism seemed to be the answer to the Wilsonian tragedy, and it became, therefore, a new panacea for me.

When the first World Youth Peace Congress convened in Holland more than ten years ago, I obtained a delegate's card although I was somewhat above the age of most of the delegates. I arrived at the Congress anticipating nothing more than the rôle of a silent participant.

Among the five hundred delegates from all over the world, there were nineteen communists and, as

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usual, they were vociferous enough to give the impression of constituting a much larger proportion of the gathering. They had had nothing to do with the organizing of the Congress, and it was not, therefore, a united front in the usual sense of the word. They came with instructions to break up the gathering, and they set about the business of trying to do so at the first session.

When it seemed that a hopeless impasse had been reached, I made a proposal which met with widespread approval among the delegates. Immediately there arose a clamor that I assume the chairmanship of the Congress. Handling those nineteen communist delegates and preventing them from disrupting the Congress completely was as difficult a job in diplomacy as I ever expect to be called upon to undertake.

After I had returned to the United States that summer, the secretary of the British Federation of Youth wrote me, as follows:

I want to add a personal note of thanks to you for your wonderful leadership at the Congress. Perhaps you do not realize to how great an extent the success of the Congress (and I feel that it was in a very real sense a success) must be attributed to you.

A young professor from an Indiana university who was a delegate to the Congress wrote an article in which he said:

The commission was presided over by Professor J. B. Matthews . . . whose major field of study is Sanskrit and oriental languages. His major field of interest, however, is in keeping in touch with young people as they search for the best things in life. It is faint praise to say that he was the most popular man in the con-

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gress. Our highest wish for the academic world is that it may be blessed with a host of his type.

In the summer of 1929, Paul Jones left the secretaryship of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, largest pacifist organization in the United States, and I was invited to become one of its two executive secretaries. A few hours later on the same day, I received an invitation to take the chair of Hebrew in an eastern university. I have speculated often on what a difference it might have made in my subsequent activities if the telegram offering me the chair of Hebrew had arrived a few hours earlier.

For four and a half years I was one of the executive secretaries of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. In that position I traveled and lectured extensively. I also engaged in numerous radical activities of a socialist and pacifist complexion. As I look back upon that work, it seems that I had a finger in almost everything radical. Concerning one of my annual reports, the national chairman of the Fellowship wrote me:

That is a wonderful report of yours, monumental, in fact. I wonder how you have been able to get so much into twelve months. As a member of the F. O. R. and its Council I want to thank you for the great service you have rendered and the fine spirit you have expressed.

I just want to say this, so that you will realize that when I have sent you minor criticisms they have been merely that I want your great work to be still more effective.

A professor at Teachers College, Columbia University, who was also a member of the Council of the Fellowship, wrote me:

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I have read your report with the greatest possible enthusiasm. How you manage to do so many things that need doing and escape doing other things that should be neglected by all of us, I do not see! Your report is an amazing document.

In some quarters, there was a misconception regarding the political connections of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. It was radical, but not in any sense connected with the Communist Party. Its fundamental tenet of pacifism clashed with a basic hostility of the communists toward pacifism.

During the political campaign of 1932, I conducted a poll of the membership of the Fellowship of Reconciliation on its preferences for the various presidential candidates. In an article which I contributed to the *World Tomorrow*, there appears the following tabulation of the results of that poll:

Thomas	1284, or 75.1%
Hoover	348, or 20.4%
Roosevelt	49, or 2.9%
Foster	28, or 1.6%

The few votes which Roosevelt, the Democratic candidate, and Foster, the Communist candidate, received indicated, as I wrote in my article, that pacifists were not "deluded by the claims of liberalism now being made in behalf of Roosevelt," and further that communism had an even smaller appeal to them.

Another poll of the Fellowship of Reconciliation made in the following year indicated that sixty per cent of the membership was definitely anti-capitalist.

In the fall of 1933, the membership of the Fellowship became embroiled in a debate on what pacifists should do in the event of a hypothetical class war. The issue boiled down to whether or not pacifists

FOR RELEASE FRIDAY MAY 22nd 1931

J. B. MATTHEWS, Chairman
Joint Demonstration Committee
383 Bible House, New York City
Telephone: Stuyvesant 9-0675

MARCHERS WILL "PICKET" THE AIR DEMONSTRATION SATURDAY

Bringing to a close International Good-will Week on Saturday afternoon, New Yorkers will witness not only the most stupendous army air manoeuvres of all history but also a good-will, anti-air-manoeuvres and general disarmament parade along Fourth Avenue from Cooper Union to 26th Street.

The parade will form at noon at Cooper Union and will proceed with banners protesting against the monstrous abuse of good-will week by the most gigantic army air propaganda of our history.

The parade is not designed to reveal the true proportions of the peace sentiment of New York, but to dramatize the presence of an "idea" that stands irrevocably opposed to armaments and war preparations.

The following groups are acting as sponsors of the demonstration:

Bronx Free Fellowship
Committee On Militarism in Education
Conference for Progressive Labor Action
Fellowship of Reconciliation
New History Society
Pioneer Youth of America
Union Church of Palisade, N. J.
War Resisters' League
Women's Peace Society
World Peace Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church
Young People's Socialist League
Youth Peace Federation

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should support the working class despite its resort to armed force. In this discussion, I took the position that we could not fail to support the cause of the workers no matter what tactics they used in securing "the abolition of capitalism." As a result of my position, I was let out of the secretaryship, and again I was jobless over a crusade which commanded my allegiance. Of course, the Fellowship was absolutely right in refusing to reappoint me as one of its administrators.

As a result of my testimony before the Dies Committee, some have erroneously concluded that my chief, if not exclusive, radical activities were in the united front movement of the Communist Party. The truth is that I had other and more numerous contacts with non-communist radical, labor, and anti-war groups. A tabulation of these connections will indicate something of the scope of my activities during that period. After the name of each organization, I have shown my connection with it. In the following chapter of this odyssey, I shall discuss my membership in the Socialist Party, but in the tabulation which follows I shall anticipate that discussion by including organizations which had official or semi-official connections with the Socialist Party or which were socialist in their general complexion:

Anti-War Organizations

World Youth Peace Congress, chairman
American Committee of the World Youth Peace Congress, chairman
Fellowship of Reconciliation, executive secretary
International Youth Leaders Conference, chairman
Joint Peace Council (International), treasurer
Pacifist Action Committee, secretary

Office: Döblengasse 2/26
VIENNA VII. (Amstör)

President in the United States,
I. B. MATTHEWS,
381 Bible House, Astor Place
New York, N. Y.

JOINT PEACE COUNCIL

(An Advisory Committee)

CAMPAIGN AGAINST MILITARY TRAINING AND CONSCRIPTION



Associated Organizations:

Friends International Service Council
International Agricultural Bureau
International Cooperative Women's Guild
International Fellowship of Democracies
International Union of Anarchist
Revolutionaries and Clergymen
Peace Committee of the Society of
Friends
The Students' International
Women's International League for Peace
and Freedom

Campaign in the United States
conducted by
THE COMMITTEE ON MILITARISM
IN EDUCATION
387 Bible House, Astor Place
New York, N. Y.

December 10, 1930

Dear Friend:

Ten thousand letters and copies of the "Manifesto Against Con-
scription and Military Training of Youth" have already been sent to the
press in more than fifty countries. In the NEW YORK TIMES of Sunday,
October 12th this Manifesto, together with the list of distinguished
signers, was given prominent space.

This campaign is an activity carried on by the cooperation of
eight prominent international peace organizations (listed above). For
a long time persons have asked: Why do not the peace organizations co-
operate more effectively? Here is an answer to that question in the
formation of the JOINT PEACE COUNCIL for this urgently needed campaign
against conscription and military training. Mr. Fenner Brookway, Mem-
ber of Parliament, is chairman of the Council.

The campaign has started well. Will you help us carry it for-
ward throughout the world? Thirty million men are still under arms af-
ter all the disillusionment of war and twelve years of peace effort.
We must unite in creating public opinion against this stupendous waste
which is a constant threat to further waste and destruction.

"Military training is training of mind and body in the tech-
nique of killing. It is education for war. It is the perpetuation of
the war mentality. It prevents the development of the will to Peace.
The older generation commits a grave crime against the younger genera-
tion when in schools, universities, official and private organizations,
it educates youth, often under the pretext of physical training, in the
science of war." Thus spoke many of the world's foremost citizens in
this Manifesto of the JOINT PEACE COUNCIL.

This Manifesto is an important human document. Perhaps you
can post it where it will attract attention. Will you not also send us
your contribution, as large as possible, so that the work of education
against this "crime" of older men may be pushed with all possible speed?

Sincerely yours,

JBM:AR

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International Fellowship of Reconciliation, delegate
Interorganizational Council on Disarmament, council member
Green International, member
Peace Patriots, member
United Youth Conference Against War, speaker
National Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, speaker
National Council for the Prevention of War, speaker
The Fellowship of Youth for Peace, speaker
The War Resisters' League, speaker
Pennsylvania Committee for Total Disarmament, speaker
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, speaker
Emergency Peace Committee, executive committee
Conference on Churches and World Peace, delegate
Joint Demonstration Committee, chairman
New York Conference Against War, executive committee

Race Relations

American League for India's Freedom, executive committee
Committee on Economic and Racial Justice, executive committee
National Interracial Conference, delegate
National Urban League, speaker
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, member
Committee on Race Relations (Quakers), speaker
Crisis, contributor

Labor

National Religion and Labor Foundation, national committee
Public Committee on Power Utilities and Labor, advisory committee
New York Committee for Progressive Miners' Relief, committeeman

PACIFIST

National Committee Against Labor Racketeering,
national committee
New Deal Citizens Group, Local No. 3, I.B.E.W.,
chairman
Brookwood Labor College, speaker
United Shoe and Leather Workers' Union, speaker
Brotherhood of Brooklyn Edison Employees, speaker
Conference for Progressive Labor Action, member

Socialist

Socialist Party, member
Revolutionary Policy Committee, chairman
Revolutionary Policy Publishing Association, chair-
man
The Militants of the Socialist Party, member
Young Circle League, speaker
Eugene V. Debs' Club, speaker
Revolt, associate editor
League for Industrial Democracy, board of directors
Student Outlook, associate editor
New Leader, contributor
America for All, contributor
World Tomorrow, contributor

Unemployment

Joint Committee on Unemployment, executive com-
mittee
Washington Conference on Unemployment, delegate
Unemployed Union of Western Queens, executive
committee
Unemployed Leagues, speaker
Association of the Unemployed, speaker

Miscellaneous Radical

International Relief Association, national committee
Reconciliation Trips, speaker
Communist Party Opposition, speaker
Pioneer Youth of America, speaker
People's Lobby, member

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American Civil Liberties Union, member
Open Road, leader of tour to Russia
Discussion Group, secretary
Progressive Friends of Longwood, member
New America, speaker
Labor Age, contributor
Revolutionary Age, contributor
Labor Action, contributor

SOCIALIST

My pacifism gradually shifted from a religious to a political basis. The pacifist movement was and is predominantly anti-capitalist and socialist.

My reasoning with respect to the necessary political basis of pacifism was similar to that of many other pacifists. In the *World Tomorrow*, I wrote:

The recognition of capitalism as a war system is rapidly spreading through the ranks of those who are working for peace. Many of those who first approached modern social problems through the peace movement have come to see that capitalism with its competitive nationalism and imperialism can no more establish an enduring peace than greed can be transformed into generosity. Specific wars may be averted under capitalism, but war itself will be ended only with the establishment of a commonwealth of socialist nations which have organized their economic life around the principle of production for use instead of for profit.

There is at least one big hole in this argument through which a factual behemoth may walk with ease. Socialism (or any other form of collectivism) is essentially a war system in itself. A constant mobilization of the mass mind, of material resources, and of military force is necessary to the maintenance of a system of collectivism. The totalitarian states have taught us this, and for that particular lesson

ODYSSEY OF A FELLOW TRAVELER

we should be duly grateful. The argument that *socialism* would end war was nothing but the old illusion of a *war* to end war, in a new dress. Nevertheless, it seemed to me to be a valid argument ten years ago.

My red card shows that I joined the Socialist Party in Manhattan on November 6, 1929. I joined the Party for no other reason than that most of my pacifist associates belonged and I shared with them the viewpoint which I expressed in the article in the *World Tomorrow*. James Oneal, editor of the *New Leader*, and other socialists, however, profess to believe now, looking at my joining in retrospect, that I brought with me a sinister motive into the Party. After my appearance before the Dies Committee, Oneal wrote in the *New Leader*:

Not since the early days of force Anarchism in Europe when the fiery Michael Bakunin planted conspiratory groups in the Labor and Socialist movement and plotted to so implicate persons and public officials in his conspiracies that their reputations would be compromised, has a story been told like the one related by J. B. Matthews before the Dies Congressional Committee in Washington for the past ten days. . . . Matthews was a sinister figure in the old Socialist Party before he and others of his kind wrecked it. . . . We always suspected his motives in the old party organization and charges were brought against him as a Communist by the Old Guard. Quietly joining it in Queens County, for some months he said little and did little to warrant suspicion. Later he began to show his colors. . . . We knew that Matthews was either a Communist or a provocative agent but which he was we were uncertain.

All of which is very, very funny, and should make "the fiery Michael Bakunin" turn over in his grave.

STOP WAR!

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BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC

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SUNDAY AFTERNOON

FEBRUARY 7th, 3 P. M.

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MORRIS HILLQUIT

B. C. VLADECK

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Fight the Threat of War Now!

War Won't Cure Hard Times!

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ODYSSEY OF A FELLOW TRAVELER

Communists and socialists have difficulty in understanding the obvious; they incline toward suspicions of conspiracy. My conduct in the Socialist Party was obvious, if anything.

Very early in my membership in the Socialist Party I ran into intrigues, petty and grandiose. These incessant schemings were, on the surface, conducted around great socialist issues. Underneath, I am certain that they were simply a very human situation in which young careerists plotted to displace an entrenched Party bureaucracy and in which the bureaucracy plotted in dead earnestness to prevent the young careerists from getting the chairmanship of this committee or the leadership of that demonstration. Many were the times that I myself declined the leadership of one move or another which was aimed at despoiling the Party bureaucracy. I was not interested in petty intrigues for the control of what was so patently a pitifully weak political party. I am not conscious of ever having coveted power, but I know that I never grasped for the hallucination of power.

I would be fascinated if I could take the credit, or any of the credit, for having wrecked the old Socialist Party and reduced its respective splinters to their present magnificent futility. I must, however, in faithfulness to the record plead not guilty.

The schemes of the young careerists in the Socialist Party did not stop at winning a few committee chairmanships from the old guard bureaucracy. They contemplated the shelving of the Leader himself, Norman Thomas. For one thing, Thomas was not revolutionary enough; and furthermore, it was said to be a bad thing for socialism to become a one-man

STOP **THE NEXT WAR!**

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FEBRUARY 6
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NORMAN THOMAS, Socialist Leader
MARY W. HILLYER,
League for Industrial Democracy
J. B. MATTHEWS,
Fellowship of Reconciliation
RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE,
Free Synagogue
McALISTER COLEMAN, Author
REINHOLD NIEBUHR,
Editor, World Tomorrow
JULIUS UMANSKY,
Young Peoples Socialist League

HEYWOOD BROWN,
War Resisters League
EDWARD MURROW,
National Student Federation of America
ROGER BALDWIN,
American Civil Liberties Union
B. CHARNEY VLADECK,
Jewish Daily Forward
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SUNDAY AFTERNOON 3 P. M.

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ODYSSEY OF A FELLOW TRAVELER

show. The perennial candidacy of Thomas was evidence, said the young socialists, of the poverty of the Party. At one point in the scheme to displace Thomas, I was urged to qualify myself (by amenability to Party discipline) for the emptiness which his removal would create. The plan left me uninterested. Some of the young comrades were indiscreet enough to put these things into writing, and by the merest accident I kept their letters. When it was clear that I had no interest in the proposition, Roy Burt was selected as the comrade eventually to displace Thomas. That was almost five years ago, and apparently it has been no easy matter to break the Thomas precedent.

My first difficulty in the Socialist Party arose over a speech on Russia which I made at a conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in 1931. In that speech which was designed to be a challenge to pacifists to outdo the communists in their zeal for re-making the world and thereby to bring about changes through non-violent methods, I failed to mention the fact that there were tens of thousands of socialists in the prisons of the Soviet Union. This speech was not brought to the attention of the Socialist Party bureaucracy until the summer of 1932, but when they did get around to noticing it, I was ordered to appear before the discipline committee of the Party. On the same night, Heywood Broun was on the carpet before the discipline committee for writing in his column in the *World-Telegram* that he had joined in the demonstration parade for Al Smith at the Chicago Democratic Convention. Broun's case was settled amicably and speedily when he explained that he marched only metaphorically. I was warned to

The New York Conference Against War

ROOM 1101
112 EAST 19TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

A League 4-5865

Today the world is threatened with war. Imperialist ambitions, increased economic tension and strain within nations as well as between nations; the recrudescence of race hatreds; the glutting of world markets as the peoples starve; the increase in military preparedness in all countries - bring ever nearer the danger of war.

The troops of Mussolini, Hitler and the Little Entente form a ring of steel about Austria.

The agents of the ambitious Nazis have filtered into every Chancellery of Europe from the Baltic to the Aegean.

In the Far East the movements of Japanese and Soviet troops fill the world with constant rumors of clashes which may be the signal for war.

And in the jungles of the Chaco, open war has been raging, with the established instrumentalities of peace - the World Courts and disarmament pacts - powerless.

Our own country is staggering under the greatest military and naval budget since 1919. Even within the Recovery program, battleships are being built as "public works", the C.C.C., are placed under military control and attempts to regulate industry have put the country on a basis which would make for rapid mobilization in case of war - as Speaker Rainey recently pointed out to a delegation in Washington.

War can only be prevented if those who are opposed to it unite with all their strength in a common program to fight against it. Workers, organized and unorganized, liberal, professional, peace, church and student groups must adopt a program and effectively carry it through if they are honest in their hatred of war and destruction.

We call upon your organization officially to enter the New York Conference Against War, which will meet Friday afternoon, April 8th at the Town Hall to work out a program for action. Will you at once endorse and join this Conference and elect to it delegates? There must be at least 1500 delegates from the hundreds of organizations in New York which are opposed to war. The time is short yet the need is urgent. Fill out and send in at once the enclosed blank. Each organization joining the conference is to pay \$3.00 to defray its share of the expenses. The fee for each delegate is 25¢. The enclosed blank carries the details of representation to which you are entitled.

This Call has been sent to all the organizations which we believe can find a common basis for action.

Yours for a Common Struggle Against War,

JACK APROS
BENT ANDRESEN
NOSWELL P. BARNES
JOSEPH BASKIN
KATHERINE D. BLAKE
LEROY BOWMAN
EDWARD CASSIDY
EDMUND CHAFFER
FANNIA COHN
HAROLD DRAPER
DAVID DUBINSKY
JOHN LOVINSKY ELLIOTT
MARY FORD
MARY FOX
JULIUS DEABER
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HELEN HALL
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JULIUS HOCHMAN
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
LAWRENCE T. HOSIE
JAMES H. HUBERTH
JESSIE WALLACE MUGHAM
ANDREW J. KENNEDY
HARRY W. LAIDLER
LEON ROSSES LAND
JOSEPH F. LASH
DAVID LASSER
ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ
HERBERT MAHLER
J. B. MATTHEWS
KENNETH MEIKLEJOHN

MARGUERITE MITLER
REINHOLD MIEBURN
FRANK OLMSTEAD
JAMES ONEAL
RUTH OSMAN
WILLIAM PICKENS
JOHN NERWIN SAYRE
ETHEL SCHACHNER
LOUIS SPEDAL
TUCKER P. SMITH
SANFORD SOLENDER
NORMAN THOMAS
OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD
R. CHARNEY VLADICK
ABRAHAM WELSHFIELD
MAX LARITZKY

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include some reference to the imprisoned socialists in Russia whenever I made a speech on communism.

In the following year, I made a speech under the united front auspices of the Communist Party in Madison Square Garden. For this act I was formally charged by the Socialist Party with "conduct unbecoming a member of the Party." Once again I found myself in the company of Heywood Broun who received a letter from the Socialist Party threatening him with disciplinary action if he persisted in speaking under Communist Party united front auspices. Broun resigned from the Socialist Party. My case was brought to trial and I was reprimanded with a warning that if I engaged in further activities of the sort I would face more serious penalties.

Two months later I became chairman of one of the Communist Party's united fronts, the organizing committee for the first United States Congress Against War. The League for Industrial Democracy, of which Norman Thomas was director, was officially participating in the same united front. I had the authorization of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, of which I was an executive secretary, to enter this united front. In view of the fact that Norman Thomas himself was involved in the situation and in view of the uncertainty of my own dual position as a member of the Socialist Party and as executive secretary of the F. O. R., no disciplinary action was taken against me immediately by the Socialist Party. Eight months later, however, the Socialist Party of New York mustered its courage and brought charges against me. My sentence was one year's suspension from the Party. James Oneal was in error when he wrote in the *New Leader* recently that charges were brought

League for Industrial Democracy

Speakers

1934 - 1935



Fascism - War - Revolution! Which Way America?

NORMAN THOMAS

JENNIE LEE

ELLEN WILKINSON

J. B. MATTHEWS

ROY BURT

HARRY W. LAIDLER

Write to: League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th St., New York City

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against me "as a Communist by the Old Guard." There were six specific charges, the first of which was for speaking at a dinner of the Lovestonites. The second was for allowing my name to be used as a sponsor for a conference of the Friends of the Soviet Union. I can readily understand that the Socialist Party comrades were puzzled over trying to classify me as a communist tool. The Lovestonites and the Stalinites were the most bitter of enemies, and still are. But here I was in the position of speaking under the auspices of both Lovestonites and Stalinites. If I had been acting under the secret instructions of either group it is perfectly clear that that group would not have permitted me to speak under the auspices of the other. The fact was simply what it appeared to be on the surface, and nothing more: I believed wholeheartedly in the united front of all radical groups and accepted their invitations without regard to the bitter enmities which separated them. This was so obvious that even Norman Thomas understood it at the time. On the day following my suspension from the Socialist Party, Thomas invited me to become a "special lecturer" for the League for Industrial Democracy, and I was immediately listed as such on the letterhead and in the literature of the L. I. D. But even Thomas professes to believe now that I was acting as an under-cover worker for the Communist Party.

It is quite true that I had moved considerably farther left since joining the Socialist Party, and that I belonged to the group of militants who were working for the adoption of a more revolutionary position by the Party itself, but all of this was in the open and well-known in Party circles. The worst

SOCIALIST

charge that the record will sustain against me is that I was an individualistic bull in a collectivistic china shop. And, oh how precious and fragile are the vessels of all left-wing party doctrine. Even the parties slip and break them, the Socialist as well as the Communist.

Take, for example, the left-wing parties' "line" on the subject of John L. Lewis. Throughout the period of my membership in the Socialist Party, I was taught to believe that there was one betrayer of labor whose guilt was unwashable, and his name was Lewis. But in 1935, one of the members of the national executive committee of the Socialist Party wrote, in the *Modern Monthly*, that "the radical movement is delicately adjusting itself to a different evaluation of Lewis, whose history within the United Mine Workers of America has been far from creditable." I have before me an illuminating example of how the Socialist Party "delicately" adjusted itself to Lewis. This example consists of three documents, all published within a period of about three weeks. The first was an article on Norman Thomas written by Robert Morss Lovett for the *New Republic*. Commenting on Thomas' bravery, Lovett wrote:

When the mining counties of Illinois were under the bloody terror of John L. Lewis and the Peabody Coal Company, Norman Thomas went in to hold meetings where none had been allowed for years.

A few days later, the socialists published a campaign pamphlet urging Thomas for the presidency. The article by Lovett was published at the beginning of this pamphlet. But it offered a new version of the passage which I have just quoted:

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When the mining counties of Illinois were under the bloody terror, Norman Thomas held meetings where none had been allowed for years.

No dots to indicate a deletion! The Illinois terror had become anonymous. A few days later still, the friends of Norman Thomas gave him a birthday dinner. In the announcement of the dinner, sent out by Reinhold Niebuhr, Lovett's article was re-published. But this time the entire sentence was deleted, and still no dots! Braving even the *anonymous* terror of Illinois, had ceased to be usable evidence of Thomas' courage. The "delicate adjustment" of the Socialist Party to John L. Lewis was complete. The socialists, like the communists, had decided to get on the coattails of Mr. Lewis.

Following my suspension from the Socialist Party, a group of revolutionary socialists organized themselves into what they called the Revolutionary Policy Committee. I was made chairman of the group. At the Detroit convention of the Party in 1934, it appeared to me that the Revolutionary Policy Committee was working for an outright split in the Socialist Party. When I was fully convinced of this, I publicly denounced the group. That should have been final evidence of my desire to be fundamentally loyal to the Party to which I belonged. Denouncing the Committee of which I was chairman would have been much too subtle for me if I had been acting as an under-cover worker for any outside group. And subtlety in politics was never one of my skills.

While I believe it important to distinguish for specific purposes between the various leftist groups, socialists, communists, and other anti-capitalists, I cannot doubt that the final result of the significant

Revolutionary Age

JAY LOVESTONE
EDITOR
B. D. WOLFE
ASSOC. EDITOR

OFFICIAL ORGAN
OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY U. S. A. (Majority Group)
63 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK

WILL HERBERG
MANAGING EDITOR
ALEX BAIL
MANAGER

July 2nd, 1931.

Dear Comrade Thalheimer:

Comrade J.B. Matthews, whom I am herewith introducing, is a conscious Communist sympathizer, and a friend of our group. He is very much interested in the situation in Germany, particularly in the conditions in the Communist and labor movement.

I'd appreciate it very much if you would arrange to spend a little time with Comrade Matthews and exchange opinions, information and impressions with him. I have just seen Comrade Matthews before his leaving so he's pretty much up to the minute on affairs here.

As ever,

Jay Lovestone

Outside of books, I learned most about Communism from Lovestone. The Browderites will probably say that's the reason I learned it so poorly.

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growth of any one of them or any combination of them will be disastrous to the free institutions of America. In a most important respect—their ultimate influence upon our liberties—they may well be lumped together as a disease of the age.

IN THE UNITED FRONT

The winter of 1932 found me prepared to become a full-fledged fellow traveler. America was at the depths of the depression, and I had read myself into the acceptance of the view that everything was working out according to the Marxist schedule. I marvelled at what appeared to me to be the prophetic insight of Karl Marx who at his table in the London Museum had formulated the rules according to which the game of history is played. He had, beyond cavil, performed the supreme intellectual feat of all time. Because his prophecy was based, as I thought, upon cases tirelessly assembled, it was scientific and not mystical, scientific and therefore incontrovertible. The age-old quest of the human mind for an answer to the riddles of social organization was at an end. The grail had been found. Added wisdom, finding the answers to *all* the questions, proletarian purity: these would come with the complete mastery of Marx, and for this mastery I had acquired all the books. Marx had predicted infallibly; why not let him prescribe infallibly? I was on the side of history where I could look across and view with sincere pity the floundering liberals and the obstructing capitalists. History would crush them like a juggernaut.

During the summer of 1932 I was in the Soviet Union—my fifth visit in as many years. I traveled from one end of the Ukraine to the other. I heard

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whisperings about a great famine through what was once known as the "bread basket of Europe." I even saw with my own eyes such appalling sights of poverty as would move the coldest heart: thousands of men and women fighting like wild animals to board the trains, women separated from their children in the mad struggle and screaming hysterically long after the train had left their offspring behind. One of the girls in the party which I was conducting spoke Russian. She said it was famine but I was incredulous. I explained it on the spot as the economic and cultural backwardness which was a legacy from Czardom and which the second Five Year Plan would liquidate. Furthermore it was oriental, and I strove to comfort my questioning traveling companions with the assurance that one must go, as I had done, to India really to see rags and hunger. Comparisons with America were unfair, even intellectually dishonest: this was the orthodox answer to every scene of misery or horror. Of course there was no famine! My will was set to believe there was no famine. In this grim determination I was assisted by the best non-Marxist American newspaper men who were reporting for the American press that there was no famine. Three years later when Harry Lang, staff member of the Jewish *Daily Forward*, wrote a series of articles for the Hearst newspapers in which he told of the terrible sufferings from the famine in the Ukraine, the editors of the *Daily Worker* called me and asked me to issue a denial of Lang's stories and to denounce his betrayal of the working class. Without reading Lang's articles, I complied with the request, and my statement was published on the first page of the *Daily Worker*¹ along with similar denun-

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ciations of Lang by Reinhold Niebuhr, James Waterman Wise, and Margaret Lamont. I had no more thought of lying than of flying, and I have no doubt that the same was true of the others who responded to the request of the editors of the *Daily Worker*. Good Marxist intentions did not make my statement factually correct, however. In one way or another all of us were fellow travelers ready to help the Communist Party in its predicament. Not one of us was a member of the Party—a circumstance which in some circles gave weight to our words. In my own mind there was the dominant thought that the Soviet Union was “the fatherland of the working class,” the great Marxist fulfillment of history. How, therefore, could it have a famine which would take its toll of lives by the million, even though I had seen the evidences of it with my own eyes? How Stalin’s bureaucrats, who later admitted the fact of the famine, must have laughed with cynical contempt at our naiveté. Three million dead of hunger, but no North American Committee to Aid the Ukrainian Starving, no Mass Demonstration at Madison Square Garden to Save the Ukraine from Stalin’s Terror! Verily, when Marxist theory comes in the door, facts go out the window. Marxism a scientific answer to the riddles of social organization? What a colossal piece of self-deception!

If the completely antithetical substitute for science may properly be labeled scientific, then and only then may Marxism be called scientific! Science is the alias under which Marxists practice their particular brand of voodooism. I mean, of course, Marxism as a whole, its *Weltanschauung* and not its occasional researches in libraries for the *a priori* purpose of

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buttressing its faith with carefully selected facts.

Marxism is, to date, the best device for dispensing with knowledge. It is a political Baedeker for making travel superfluous, a *vade mecum* with all the answers. At a distance of ten thousand miles, Lenin could write the definitive work on American agriculture, and Harry Gannes could produce a volume on China telling us what's what and why in that vast country. All that is needed is to apply a half dozen universally valid dogmas to any scene no matter how distant. Find what you want to find, and the rest is unimportant. The rapturous incantation of slogans manufactured from the stuff of the dogmas makes intellectual effort a waste of time. It would, however, be a grave mistake for any non-Marxist to fail to recognize that there are facts which give the *color* of validity to Marxist dogmas. Misplaced emphasis on one set of facts and the omission of another set, together with a sprinkling of invented "facts," will appear to establish that validity completely.

And yet Marxism as a scientific proposition commanded my wholehearted allegiance in the winter of 1932 just as it does that of tens of thousands of other Americans today. As a novice in Marxism, I deplored the fact that Marxists were divided into warring sects more bitter in their attitudes toward each other than they were toward the class enemy, capitalism. There is no hatred or suspicion like that of one leftist group for another. There is nothing extraordinary, from the standpoint of leftist history, about the mass execution of communists by communists in the Soviet Union today. The disputations among the leftist groups in the United States are thoroughly murderous in spirit. It remains only for

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the authority of the State to fall into the hands of one of them to set that particular authority-possessing group on the course of exterminating all the others. I was well acquainted with the history of the warring sects of Christendom, but I had never found anything in the history of religious strife to compare with the animosity of leftist rivalries. In this deplorable state of affairs, I decided to devote my energies to the united front—not a united front of manoeuvre on behalf of one leftist group against another but a solid and genuine rapprochement among all Marxists. There is no other key to an understanding of my political conduct during the several years that followed. I believed that the triumph of Marxism depended in large measure upon the achievement of genuine unity among Marxists. This may have been a stupid notion possible only to one of immense political ignorance but it was hardly sinister from the standpoint of the movement. I had friends and set about to make more among all leftist groups—Socialists, Stalinists, Lovestonites, Musteites, Trotskyists, and even the I. W. W. and the Socialist Labor Party. I spoke at meetings under the auspices of all of these groups. The catholicity of my radicalism is in the record beyond dispute. I made more speeches for the Socialist Party and its candidates for office in more widely scattered parts of the United States than any other member of that party, excepting only Norman Thomas. On one occasion, Thomas acknowledged publicly that I was second only to him in this respect. I engaged actively in a score of the united front organizations of the Stalinists, making hundreds of speeches on their behalf in all parts of the country. One day I demonstrated or spoke for

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the Lovestoneites and the next day for the Musteites. I wrote for the *New Leader* (Socialist Party), *America for All* (Socialist Party), *The World Tomorrow* (socialist viewpoint), *Fight* (communist united front), *Soviet Russia Today* (communist united front), the *Daily Worker* (Communist Party), the *New Masses* (Communist Party), *Revolutionary Age* (Lovestoneite or Communist Party Opposition), *Labor Age* (Musteite or Conference for Progressive Labor Action), *Labor Action* (Musteite), and *Revolt* (League for Industrial Democracy or socialist).² I considered some of these leftist groups to be better Marxists than others, but I believed that all would be more effectively Marxist if acting in unity than if divided in violent disputation. The one thing which seemed to me more important than all others in the leftist world was to substitute symphony for the existing cacophony.

I had become not only a Marxist but a confirmed exponent of the united front. Not one of the existing leftist groups exerted more than a microscopic influence in the American scene. Norman Thomas polled almost a million votes in the election of 1932, but these reflected a widespread belief that he personally was an ornament to the social conscience of America rather than the influence of the party of which he was the leader. Among all the leftist groups, the Communist Party alone was energetically working for the united front. It did not matter to me at the time that the Communist Party's conception of the united front was radically different from my own. Its united front activities seemed to be the place to spend my own efforts to help the pitifully weak leftist groups to combine their resources in order to make

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a real Marxist impression upon the American scene.

I became, during the next three years, officially or otherwise active in more than a score of the organizations which the Communist Party set up for the purpose of putting the leaven of revolution into American public opinion.

Student Congress Against War

The first of my experiences with the communists in a united front was the Student Congress Against War, held at the University of Chicago, December 28-29, 1932. I was officially associated with this united front as a member of its National Committee. Others on the National Committee were Henri Barbusse, George S. Counts, Leo Gallagher, Donald Henderson, H. W. L. Dana, Corliss Lamont, Scott Nearing, Margaret Schlauch, Frederick L. Schumann, and Robert Morss Lovett. Earl Browder, Scott Nearing, Joseph Freeman, Jane Addams, Upton Close, and I were the speakers at the Congress.

The Student Congress Against War was a direct outgrowth of the Amsterdam World Congress Against War which had been held August 27-29, 1932. The Amsterdam World Congress must receive further attention when we come to the history of the American League Against War and Fascism. At this point, it is not necessary to say more than that it was initiated and controlled by the Communist International—a fact which has not, to my knowledge, ever been challenged.

No one disputed the fact that the Student Congress Against War was a communist united front gathering. The National Student League organized the Student Congress, and the NSL was everywhere known as the

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Communist Party's agency on American campuses. Students of other political persuasions than communism, such as socialists, Lovestonites, pacifists, and so-called liberals, participated in the Chicago Congress, but there was no serious difficulty in obtaining the adoption of a set of resolutions which conformed completely to the "line" of the Communist Party, including an endorsement of the Amsterdam movement. We must not forget Browder's words: "In the center, as the conscious moving and directive force of the united front in all its phases, stands the Communist Party. Our position in this respect is clear and unchallenged."

In the *Student Outlook*, organ of the Student League for Industrial Democracy, Ben Fischer wrote: "The tenor of the Chicago conference can be gathered from the enthusiasm that greeted J. B. Matthews' challenge to Jane Addams, that he was not opposed to a war that would end capitalism, after the heroic old lady of Hull House had appealed to the Congress against all violence."³ The *New York Times* reported my clash with Miss Addams as follows: "J. B. Matthews . . . advocated the idea that distinction should be made between imperialistic and non-imperialistic wars. Mr. Matthews said war had always been justifiable in the overthrow of tyrants . . . Miss Addams pleaded that the students unite in a fight against class wars."⁴ Both the communist and socialist students rose to their feet to applaud with enthusiasm my statement of the Marxist position on war.

The National Student League

After the Chicago meeting of the Student Congress Against War, I was much in demand as a speaker for

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the National Student League. Scarcely an important meeting of the NSL was held in the vicinity of New York during the following year at which I was not listed as one of the principal speakers. In a *Daily Worker* announcement of an NSL demonstration near the Cuban Consulate to be followed by a march to the Sub-treasury building on Wall Street, I was listed as the principal speaker.⁵ On several occasions Heywood Broun and I were the speakers for the NSL at the City College of New York. At a demonstration of the National Student League at Columbia University, Reinhold Niebuhr, Robert W. Dunn, and I were the speakers.⁶

Active in the National Student League were Donald Henderson, its secretary, Edmund Stevens, Adam Lapin, Joseph Starobin, Joseph Cohen, Nathaniel Weyl, and John Donovan. Donovan was among the many communists who later went to Washington to take jobs in the New Deal Administration. He was unceremoniously discharged by General Hugh Johnson when he stirred up a row in the NRA.

On page 1 of the *Daily Worker* of May 16, 1933, William Browder and I are listed as the speakers at a Columbia University demonstration on behalf of Donald Henderson. According to this same news story, there was a casket labelled "Academic Freedom" placed at the feet of the statue of Alma Mater, and Nicholas Murray Butler, president of the University, was liquidated in effigy. The *Daily Worker* reported that "John Donovan raised the effigy high over his head while he denounced Dr. Butler's policies" and then "with an expression of supreme disgust and contempt he slammed the effigy to the ground, smashing it in pieces."

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In the spring of 1933, Columbia University refused to renew, for the following academic year, its teaching contract with Donald Henderson who had been an instructor in economics in the University. For a number of weeks the National Student League conducted open air protest meetings in front of Columbia University, at which we endeavored to make Henderson's "dismissal" into an issue of academic freedom. The University charged Henderson with the neglect of his classes. Privately, Henderson admitted the charge and explained to me that it was the Communist Party's plan to invest him with the stature of an academic martyr and thereby obtain for him a kind of publicity which would be useful in a larger Party service which was then contemplated for him.

American Student Union

It is important at this point that I should depart from a chronological order of events in order to explain what became of the National Student League. In the fall of 1935, the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy (socialist in its complexion) were merged to form the present American Student Union.

For several years the communists of the NSL had urged the socialists of the SLID to form with them an organic union of leftist students. The socialists, long experienced with the tactics of the communists, had rejected all overtures for an amalgamation. Joseph P. Lash, who was then secretary of the Student League for Industrial Democracy, minced no words about the communists' proposal for organic unity. Highly instructive are Lash's words in the light of his present leadership of the American Student

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Union. In the *Student Outlook* of November-December, 1934, he wrote:

The Student L. I. D. is firmly convinced that young Communists will hesitate at nothing to build the Communist movement which in their hearts is equivalent with the social revolution. The Student L. I. D., although it wishes fervently for the unification of all who are united in their desire for a workers' world, is convinced that the Young Communists in the National Student League envision amalgamation as a god-given opportunity to smash the influence of the Socialist movement and socialist ideas in the student field. The National Convention of the Student L. I. D. meeting in December will doubtless again consider the offer of amalgamation made by the National Student League. You will pardon us, *comrades*, if we then decide to decline.⁷

Lash also reminded the young communist students that "Stalin robbed banks." In the course of the following year, however, Lash abandoned his determination to resist the amalgamation of the two student groups, and the matter came for a vote before the Board of Directors of the League for Industrial Democracy in the middle of September, 1935.

I was a member of the LID's Board of Directors and was present at the meeting at which the amalgamation was voted. After discussion of the matter at some length, the individual members of the Board cast their votes openly. I cast mine *for* the merger. When I stated that I was voting yes, Norman Thomas remarked: "Though he slay me yet will I trust him." I was engaged at the time in fighting the communists in a so-called strike at Consumers' Research, and Thomas' remark was an acknowledgement of the communist leadership in that strike. Despite the fight

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I was having with the communists at Consumers' Research, I still believed, as a convinced Marxist, in the united front of all leftist groups and accordingly I voted for the establishment of the American Student Union.

Since the achievement of this merger, Joseph Lash has resigned from the Socialist Party, and the American Student Union of which he is the executive secretary has become the sort of communist united front of which he wrote so clearly in the *Student Outlook*. Again we are reminded of Browder's statement that "in the center, as the conscious moving and directive force of the united front in all its phases, stands the Communist Party."

The outstanding event of the American Student Union each year is the annual "anti-war strike" on college campuses—an event in which more than 150,000 students have participated on a single occasion. In the spring of 1935, before the formation of the Student Union, I was the principal speaker for the "anti-war strike" on the campus of the University of Virginia at Charlottesville. There I found that the affair was entirely under the direction of the student members of the Communist Party.

The American Student Union held its most recent annual meeting at Vassar College at the end of 1937. At this gathering the Union formally abandoned its commitment to the so-called Oxford Pledge, the pacifist's oath. It also endorsed the principle of so-called collective security, the principle on which the Communist Party, as well as the Anglophiles, has relied to involve the United States in war on behalf of the Soviet Union. As long as the Communist Party anticipated that the United States would, if it went to

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war at all, be on the side against the Soviet Union, it favored students taking the Oxford Pledge against bearing arms in any war in which the United States should become engaged. When it became convinced that the United States would probably go to war on the same side as the Soviet Union, it denounced the Oxford Pledge, and the American Student Union, responsive to every change in the Communist Party's "line," followed suit. This the Student Union did under the leadership of Lash who had once reminded the communists that "Stalin robbed banks" and that they would, if they achieved an amalgamation of the radical student organizations, "smash socialist ideas in the student field." Sure enough the socialist students opposed the communist program at the Vassar meeting last December and were duly "smashed" as Lash had predicted. Writing in the *Daily Worker*, Harry Raymond said of the Vassar meeting of the American Student Union: "The Young Socialists fought to the last for a complete isolationist program but voted for such points as the boycott with the Young Communists and the other advocates of an effective plan."⁸ It is important to note that the program adopted at Vassar is described by Harry Raymond as that of "the Young Communists and other advocates of an effective plan." In a later issue of the *Daily Worker*, Lash himself thanked this communist newspaper for its "full and impartial coverage" of the Vassar meeting of the Student Union.⁹

American Youth Congress

Closely associated with the American Student Union and deriving much of its impetus and direction from it, is the American Youth Congress. Ac-

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According to the official version of its history, the idea for an American youth congress was conceived four years ago by one Viola Ilma who was alleged to have brought back fascist sympathies from a trip to Europe. In one of its pamphlets, entitled "*Youngville, U. S. A.*", the American Youth Congress has the following to say about Miss Ilma: "She invited representatives from national youth organizations, reaching all the way from the Boy Scouts to the Young Communist League. Her arrangements were remarkably efficient and all-inclusive. And that was her mistake."¹⁰ The fact was that because Miss Ilma was so all-inclusive in her invitations, the Young Communist League in concert with left-wing socialists captured her organization in its infancy and threw her out. This is made clear in Wolf Michal's Report to the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International. Writing of this capture, Wolf Michal said: "Thanks to the joint participation and work of the young American comrades with the Socialist and other non-fascist youth at the Youth Congress . . . our Young Communist League of the United States helped to bring about the unity of several non-fascist organizations with a membership of over a million."¹¹ Addressing himself to the members of the Young Communist International gathered in Moscow, Wolf Michal said further: "This is an example of how to *influence* the masses of youth instead of commanding them in a bureaucratic way. Not all our Leagues have understood how to employ such forms of mass work in practice."¹² What could be plainer than this claim that the Young Communist League used *influence* [italics are Michal's] instead

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of bureaucratic commands to achieve its purposes with the American Youth Congress?

The words of O. Kuusinen addressed to the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International are equally plain. Speaking of the American Youth Congress, Kuusinen said:

Our American comrades achieved a great success at this youth congress . . . the congress was transformed into a great united front congress of the radical youth. And when, somewhat later, a second general youth congress was held, our young comrades already enjoyed a position of authority at it. This authoritative position was due to the confidence which they had gained by their new mass policy, and also to the fact that they had learned to approach and conduct the work in the right way.¹³

Kuusinen said further: "The comrades of the Young Communist League of the United States have learned that it is essential to enter the *big youth organizations* led by the *bourgeoisie*. . . . In the course of not quite a year the Young Communist League in the United States has succeeded in creating 175 fractions in these mass organizations."¹⁴ And finally, Kuusinen said: "The Communists alone have been able to foster in the right way the radicalization of the youth in the ranks of the bourgeois organizations."¹⁵ At this point it is important to state that the communists use these so-called fractions which they organize within such groups as churches, the Y. W. C. A., and trade unions to elect communist delegates to united front gatherings. Ostensibly a delegate may be an ordinary member of a trade union or the Y. W. C. A., but actually the delegate is a communist or, better yet, a fellow traveler in a bourgeois disguise.

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Whatever more needed to be said was voiced by Earl Browder this year when, speaking of the "rise of the American Youth Congress," he observed: "We can be very proud of our Young Communist League that it has from the beginning, small as it is, been a living force in the broad youth movement," with the task of "educating the youth of America in Marxism-Leninism, and in the program and spirit of our Party."¹⁶

The communists are far more clever than certain college presidents who could be named.

The American Youth Congress is an excellent example of the methods and purposes of the Communist Party's united front. Among the organizations which have been persuaded to endorse the Youth Congress and to participate in its communist-guided work, we find numerous groups of Christian young people, such as the National Council of Methodist Youth and the Christian Youth Conference of North America. Ostensibly these Christian organizations are associated with a youth movement which is dedicated to peace as one of its major goals. Actually they are being made the innocent dupes of a carefully contrived manoeuvre. By peace, as the communists understand it and work for it, is meant a breathing spell during which the world revolution of the proletariat is prepared. Wolf Michal, in his Report from which I have quoted already, declares that the American Youth Congress fights for peace because, among other things, "*it means that the world proletariat is given still more time to rally its forces for the final overthrow of capitalism.*"¹⁷ [Italics mine.] Or peace, in the disguise of collective security, may be nothing more than agitation for war. In either case, what the

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Communist Party understands by peace is not what the ordinary person understands by the word. To the communists, peace is an alias under which to prepare for class war *or* to agitate for international war on behalf of the Soviet Union.

It is entirely unnecessary to deal in surmises or guesses with regard to the communist leadership in the American Youth Congress. Nor is it necessary for us red-baiters to formulate accusations of communist leadership; we need only to quote the communists themselves who have affirmed it over and over again. If that host of assorted liberals, college presidents, newspaper editors, and churchmen, who rush into print to deny this communist leadership, has a quarrel with anyone, it is first of all a quarrel with the communist leaders themselves who claim to be building a revolutionary youth movement through the device of the Youth Congress. A final quotation from O. Kuusinen, who discussed the American Youth Congress at some length before the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, must suffice for the present. "We need," declared Kuusinen, "a revolutionary youth movement at least ten times as broad as our parties. . . . That this is entirely possible in many countries is shown by the achievements of our French and American young comrades."¹⁸ If these words mean anything, they mean that the communists claim to have achieved success in building "a revolutionary youth movement at least ten times as broad as" the Communist Party, and they have done this in America through the American Youth Congress. Furthermore they have done it with the assistance, slight though it may be, of a Methodist Bishop, a United States Senator, three

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National Board members of the Y. W. C. A., two presidents of women's colleges, and the Governors of two states. If these distinguished American citizens do not believe that they have performed this function for the Communist Party, their quarrel, I repeat, is with the communist leaders who have publicly acknowledged their service to this American "revolutionary youth movement at least ten times as broad as" the Party. Comrade Kuusinen obligingly informed these American citizens and the world what the Communist International proposes to do with this "revolutionary youth movement" which they have helped to create. "We want," he said, "to attack our class enemies in the rear, when they start the war against the Soviet Union. But how can we do so if the majority of the toiling youth follow not us, but, for instance, the Catholic priests or the liberal chameleons?"¹⁹ How is the American Youth Congress to be used "to attack the Communist Party's class enemies in the rear?" Kuusinen is as bluntly forthright about the matter as it is possible to be. The American Youth Congress, he said, is to come to the aid of "the Soviet country, the fatherland of the workers of all countries . . . by transforming the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie."²⁰ All these words were uttered in 1935 and are a part of what is sometimes called the new "line" of the Communist International. They are, furthermore, published in pamphlet form by the Communist Party and are currently on sale at its bookstores. The *New Republic* brushes all this aside as "the position that the Communists took twenty years ago,"²¹ but that is a better commentary on the reliability of the *New Republic* than it is on contemporary communist

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strategy. It is hardly conceivable that even one of the editors of the *New Republic* believes that the Communist International abandoned its revolutionary position twenty years ago—or three years ago—but if there is one such, he should be reminded of the words of Manuilsky concerning present-day communist tactics. In his pamphlet on the work of the Seventh Congress (1935), Manuilsky wrote: "Tactics, generally, may change, but the general line of the Communist International, the course it is steering for the proletarian revolution . . . remains unchanged. . . . Only downright scoundrels . . . and hopeless idiots can think that by means of the United Front tactics Communism is capitulating to social democracy."²² Dimitroff also had some unkind things to say about these "downright scoundrels" and "hopeless idiots" (the words are not mine, please). In his keynote speech at the Seventh World Congress, Dimitroff said:

There are wisecracs who will sense in all this a digression from our basic positions, some sort of turn to the Right of the straight line of Bolshevism. Well, in my country, Bulgaria, they say that a hungry chicken always dreams of millet. Let those political chickens think so.²³

It is deplorable enough when American citizens, youth or older persons, are committed to the building of a revolutionary movement for "transforming imperialist war into civil war against the bourgeoisie," but the position has its own Marxian logic and is sincerely held by convinced revolutionists. For the "hopeless idiots" or "political chickens" who aid and abet the building of a "revolutionary youth movement" in this country without having the slightest

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comprehension of what they are doing, one may have profound pity but no logical defense.

World Youth Congress

In August, 1938, the American Youth Congress was host to the World Youth Congress on the campus of Vassar College. This World Youth Congress was nothing more nor less than one of these united front manoeuvres dedicated to forwarding the aims of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. Anyone who denies this is either the unfortunate victim of deceit or a wilful deceiver.

In a statement purporting to reply to the charge of communist influence in the World Youth Congress, the American Youth Congress officials asked rhetorically: "Will the single delegate of the Young Communist League of the United States outweigh all the other 49 American delegates?"²⁴ This statement couched in the form of a rhetorical question was obviously intended to lead the reader to believe that the *only* communist delegate in the American representation was there in his capacity as a member of the Young Communist League—a lone communist among 49 non-communists. The statement was wholly false in its implication and its authors knew it to be false, and it should speak volumes concerning the character of the American Youth Congress in whose name it was issued. The statement, however, confronts us with a typical united front tactic of the communists. Last winter, for example, the Communist Party, *as such*, withdrew officially from the American League for Peace and Democracy. Earl Browder, in addressing the League on the subject of the Communist Party's withdrawal, said:

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I do not think it necessary for me to say that this does not mean the withdrawal of Communists from active participation and support of the League. . . . We will do our part more energetically than ever before. . . . I myself am not only a fraternal delegate from the Communist Party but also am an official delegate from the International Workers' Order, a fraternal organization of 135,000 people and in that capacity I want to take my part in this Congress and the work of the League hereafter.²⁵

The International Workers' Order is one of the largest of the many communist united front groups. Browder *out* of the American League for Peace and Democracy as a delegate from the Communist Party and, at the same time, Browder *in* the American League as a delegate from the International Workers' Order add up to a situation in which there has been no change other than a purely tactical one.

This same International Workers' Order had a delegate at the World Youth Congress. So did the National Negro Congress, the Youth Committee to Aid Spain, the United Office and Professional Workers, the American Youth Congress, the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, the American Student Union, the American League for Peace and Democracy, the American Friends of the Chinese People, the Workers Alliance, the International Fur Workers' Union, and the Southern Negro Youth Congress.²⁶ Here we have twelve organizations in addition to the Young Communist League, all of which are widely known to be communist united front outfits or organizations under the complete domination of the Communist Party. At the World Youth Congress, each of these organizations had a communist delegate; whether a

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Party member or a fellow traveler makes not the slightest difference. But these were not all. The Report of the Congress lists 61 members of the delegation from the United States, and of these not less than 35 followed the leadership of the communists, as sympathizers, fellow travelers, or Party members. In this group of communists I am not counting the Anglophiles who are allied at present with the communists in the espousal of the doctrine of collective security. The communists want the United States to pull Soviet chestnuts out of the fire of war, and the Anglophiles want the United States to pull British imperialist chestnuts out of the same fire.

My testimony before the Dies Committee in which I stated that the World Youth Congress was a communist united front manoeuvre was based upon my extensive and intimate knowledge of the whole united front movement, upon my knowledge of the personnel of the organizers of the Congress with a number of whom I have worked in communist united fronts, and upon my personal knowledge of the communist views of many of the delegates. In my testimony, I said nothing whatever about the Congress speakers' political views and nothing whatever about the Congress's endorsing the Loyalist Government of Spain. My testimony is a matter of record, and it should, therefore, be impossible for any hostile critic to get away with distortions of it. Nevertheless, left-wing critics are boldly reckless. The *Christian Century*, in an editorial captioned "Was the Youth Congress 'Communist Controlled'?", had the following to say: "The ground on which Mr. Matthews bases his accusation . . . is twofold: first, speakers of the communist persuasion had a place on the plat-

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form; and second, the congress gave many tokens of a prevailing sentiment in sympathy with loyalist Spain."²⁷ There is not a word in my testimony or anywhere else in anything that I have said or written which supports, either directly or by implication, this statement of the *Christian Century*. From beginning to end, it is pure invention. Ordinary persons who saw this editorial in the *Christian Century* should be excused for assuming that the editor of a Christian publication would quote exactly or paraphrase carefully in ascribing words to one who is criticized. But the ordinary person is, unfortunately, a stranger to left-wing ethics, a code in which any invention is held to be fair when the truth will not suffice to make a point.

I would not want it understood in anything which I have said about the leaders of the American Youth Congress, the editors of the *New Republic*, or the editors of the *Christian Century* that their statements, demonstrably misleading as they are from the standpoint of ordinary ethics, involve any departure from *right* as it is understood in their own codes. The problem is very much the same as it was with those who practiced suttee in India or head-hunting in Borneo. It is not only permissible under the leftist code to indulge in misstatement, but, on occasion, it is virtuous. We may reject the code, just as we do that which permits suttee or head-hunting, but we should understand that it has arguable premises. It is a code of *war ethics* under which there has never been any regard for the niceties of accurate statement with respect to the enemy.

To revert to the "single delegate of the Young Communist League of the United States" who, the

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leaders of the American Youth Congress implied in their question, would not be able to outweigh the other 49 American delegates, it must be pointed out that all the American delegates might have been communists or fellow travelers and the truth or falsity of the leaders' statement would not have been affected in the slightest. All that they said was that there was only *one* communist delegate from an admittedly communist organization. They said nothing about the dozen or more communist united front or communist-controlled organizations which had delegates in the Congress. Inasmuch as there are many more than fifty such communist-controlled organizations in this country, the entire American delegation might have been communist, and the leaders could still have said that there was only *one* communist—from an acknowledged communist group. When it is strategic to deny it, communists never admit that a particular united front belongs to them or that a particular fellow traveler or even Party member is one of their number.

I must emphasize the fact that it is a deliberate tactic of the communists and their sympathizers to point to the absence of a majority of Communist Party members in a united front organization or in a labor union as proof that it is not controlled by communists. This is done only for deceiving the public, however. The actual communist theory which is basic to its work has always presupposed that it was entirely unnecessary to have a majority of communists in any organization or movement in order to control it or to influence it in a desired direction. The theory holds that the tail can and does, in fact, wag the dog, when the tail consists of a group of

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highly disciplined communists. The Communist Party itself has never aimed at becoming a majority party. In fact it has always opposed the idea of its becoming large enough to count in its Party membership a majority of either the voting citizens or even of the so-called working class. This is known as the "vanguard theory," by which is meant that the Communist Party aspires to be only the "general staff" of the proletarian revolution.²⁸ It is as meaningless to argue, as communists and their sympathizers do for public consumption, that the American League for Peace and Democracy and the World Youth Congress are not communist organizations because they are not composed of a majority of Communist Party members as it would be to argue that the Soviet Union is not controlled by the Communist Party because the Party in Russia numbers only about two per cent of the population.

The words of Earl Browder on this subject are, I repeat, clear beyond any disputing their meaning and they give the lie to all denials of communistic character which are based upon the absence of a communist majority. *"In the center,"* says Browder, *"as the conscious moving and directive force of the united front movement in all its phases, stands the Communist Party. Our position in this respect is clear and unchallenged."* [Italics mine.]

At the closing session of the World Youth Congress during the climax of signing the "Vassar Peace Pact," the delegates sang the "Marseillaise" with such fervor. The chorus of the "Marseillaise" runs:

To arms, comrades, form your battalions!
March, march, till impure blood
Overflows our ditches.

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Since the establishment of the *Front Populaire* in France several years ago, the Communist Party of France has taken over the "Marseillaise" and given it a place among its revolutionary songs along with the "International." Two years ago, I went to a communist demonstration outside the city of Paris and heard fifty thousand French communists make the welkin ring with their lusty singing of the "Marseillaise" as well as the "International." Before the Communist International decided that its sections in the various countries should appropriate their respective national traditions, both the "Star Spangled Banner" and the "Marseillaise" were looked upon by the comrades as expressing counter-revolutionary sentiments. All that is changed now—at least for the time being. Little doubt may be entertained that the "Marseillaise" accurately reflected the bellicose sentiments of a majority of the delegates at Vassar.

One left-wing group always knows when another left-wing outfit is in control of a gathering or an organization. They are schooled in the finer left-wing political distinctions which escape the notice or the comprehension of the non-revolutionist. Writing in the *Socialist Appeal* (Trotskyist), Hal Draper has the following to say:

The "Second World Youth Congress," recently held at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., with about 500 delegates from 54 countries, gives a composite picture of a caricatured League of Nations Assembly and a typical Stalinist "innocent" congress . . . the dominant tone was given by the Stalinist line of collective war which was put across.²⁹

The *Socialist Call* (official organ of the Socialist Party) calls the method of adopting the "Vassar

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Peace Pact" a *vicious maneuver*. Writing in the *Call*, Judah Drob describes the method, as follows:

The Pact was an out and out avowal of collective coercive action by the democratic imperialists, against the fascist imperialist powers. It was sprung on the Congress at the last minute, and the moral pressure of the crowd and the ignorance of the contents of the pact were used to make the heads of most of the national delegations sign it.³⁰

Drob has described a typical communist manoeuvre. It was all directed from behind the scenes by master tacticians. In all my experience with hundreds of communist meetings, committees, congresses, and united fronts, I have never known one instance in which the communists lost complete control of the situation.

My qualifications for discussing the World Youth Congress are not based upon any direct personal connection with the gathering. On the other hand, my experience in the united front movement generally has qualified me to recognize communist manoeuvres when I see them, and, furthermore, I have been personally and directly connected with at least nineteen of the organizations which had delegates at Vassar.

In any discussion of the communist united front in the United States today, the American Youth Congress must be given an outstanding place. Earl Browder is, of course, eminently right when he says: "Who wins the youth wins the future of America."³¹ Browder thinks the Communist Party has been remarkably successful, to date, in progressing toward this objective. "The Young Communist League, with the assistance of the Party," he says, "has from the

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beginning played an important part in building the Youth Congress movement and formulating its program and activities."³² The evidence is all on Browder's side in this claim, and it is against those who for sundry reasons deny it.

Unemployed Councils

Prior to the formation of the Workers Alliance of America, the Communist Party maintained its own rigidly controlled groups for the unemployed, which were known as the Unemployed Councils. Under the auspices of these Councils, a "hunger march" on Washington was staged in 1933. I worked with them on sundry matters of arranging the march upon the nation's capital. In the *Story of the Fellowship of Reconciliation*, John Nevin Sayre wrote:

In Washington, D. C., when the whole town was agitated by the coming of the hunger marchers, Mary Klaphaak and J. B. Matthews telephoned to Fellowship members and Quakers to secure hospitality in their homes for the women and children who might need it. They also went to the hunger marchers with some food and did what they could to watch out against police violence.³³

I was likewise frequently a speaker for the Unemployed Leagues, supported by left-wing socialists, which were subsequently merged with the Unemployed Councils to form the Workers Alliance of America. In particular, I spoke a number of times at the Greenwich Village Unemployed League of which David Lasser was in charge.

At the United States Congress Against War, I strongly urged the merger of these two organizations for the unemployed and personally brought David

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Lasser and Herbert Benjamin, their two leaders, together on the platform of the Congress. Herbert Benjamin, national secretary of the Workers Alliance, is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, and David Lasser has, since the formation of the Alliance, become either a Communist Party member or a faithful fellow traveler.

Max Salzman, Communist Party organizer in Missouri, was correct when he said: "We support the Workers Alliance. We work with it. We are responsible for it. We created it." The Workers Alliance, like the American Student Union, was organized as a result of the initiative of the Communist Party.

Communist Party Mass Meeting on Fascism

On April 5, 1933, the Communist Party held a mass meeting in Madison Square Garden. The communists had finally come to the realization that their policy in Germany had been a complete failure and that the Nazis were firmly in possession of power. This Madison Square Garden mass meeting was their first large anti-Nazi rally. Efforts were made to turn it into a united front affair, but Roger Baldwin and I appeared to be the full extent to which they were able to carry the united front into effect on this occasion. We appeared so often in that role that Baldwin and I came to be known as the "united front twins." Congressmen, Bishops, and college presidents were not so plentiful as fellow travelers in those days. Among other things, I said in my speech:

Essentially, fascism is capitalism turned nudist. Bourgeois democracy is a fig leaf to hide the naked realities

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of the capitalist system. But just as soon as revolutionary action is threatened from the working class the fig leaf is thrown aside. Workers do not destroy democratic institutions; capitalists take care of that in due time. Bourgeois democracy creates the illusion that there is fundamental freedom for all. There may be a measure of freedom for the working class to agitate and organize under the institution of bourgeois democracy, but it is not an instrument of fundamental social change from capitalism to socialism. . . . I wish to distinguish sharply between dictatorships, on the basis of purpose. A dictatorship which aims to maintain at all costs the privileges and power of the capitalist class is one thing. The dictatorship of the proletariat is an entirely different thing.

When I reached that point in my speech, the twenty-two thousand comrades in the Garden broke into tumultuous applause. There were cheers, hand-clapping, singing of the "International," and marching. The band played its loudest. I had never before received such an ovation. It lasted almost ten minutes. I liked it. It was, in fact, thrilling.

The *Daily Worker*, two days later, reported that I "made a trenchant attack upon the illusions of bourgeois democracy prevalent among the intelligentsia."⁸⁴

International Labor Defense

In the middle of April, 1933, Union Square in New York was filled with twenty thousand communists and fellow travelers who had gathered at the call of the International Labor Defense to protest on behalf of the Scottsboro boys. Roger Baldwin, Donald Henderson, and I were among the speakers. The *Daily Worker*, reporting the meeting, said that I "struck the keynote of the demonstration."⁸⁵

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Former Representative Vito Marcantonio, who is again a candidate for election to the House of Representatives, is national president of the International Labor Defense and a member of its legal advisory committee. This particular communist united front has been especially distinguished by its ability to command the services of members of the Congress of the United States. Earlier this year, the International Labor Defense had the help of Congressmen Bernard and O'Connell in its clash with Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City.

Stanley High, writing in the *Saturday Evening Post*, says that the International Labor Defense "is described by Socialists as 'the legal department of the Communist Party'."³⁶ That is indeed true, but in the case of this particular communist organization it is unnecessary to rely upon the testimony of socialists to establish its communist character. The *Daily Worker* itself, than which there is no higher or more reliable authority on such matters, calls "the International Red Aid, the parent body of the International Labor Defense."³⁷ Furthermore, a majority of its national officers, as listed on its letterhead, are well-known communists.

Also on the legal advisory committee of the International Labor Defense is found the name of Abraham Lincoln Wirin who until not long ago was a member of the legal staff of the National Labor Relations Board.

Free Tom Mooney Congress

From April 30 to May 2, 1933, there was held in the city of Chicago a meeting known as the Free Tom Mooney Congress. It was called as a united

The Comrades professed to believe that my mere presence in Chicago would enormously strengthen the united action of the working class.

27. MAY 1933

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Commercial Cables All America Cables

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NL	NIGHT LETTER
NM	NIGHT MESSAGE
LD	DEFERRED CABLE
NLY	NIGHT CABLE LETTER
WLY	WEEK END CABLE LETTER
	RADIOGRAM

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↓ B. MATHEWS=

2929 BROADWAY OR 72 WEST. 93 ST.

LEADING CONGRESS COMMITTEE MEMBERS UNANIMOUSLY AGREE FURTHER UNITED ACTION OF WORKING CLASS WOULD BE ENORMOUSLY STRENGTHENED BY YOUR PRESENCE HERE STOP CONGRESS OPENS TWO OCLOCK TOMORROW LASTING THREE DAYS WITH VAST STADIUM MASS MEETING MONDAY EVENING=

SCOTT MOONEY MOLDERS DEFENCE COMMITTEE

ONE EIGHTY WEST ADAMS. 519P



acceptance your Telegrams to Postal Telegraph

IN THE UNITED FRONT

front gathering and was completely under the domination of the Communist Party. I had made no plans to attend this Congress, but on April 29 I received the following telegram from Chicago:

Leading congress committee members unanimously agree further united action of working class would be enormously strengthened by your presence here stop congress opens two o'clock tomorrow lasting three days with vast stadium massmeeting Monday evening

Signed Scott
Mooney Molders Defense Committee

The signature on the telegram is that of Louis B. Scott who was the personal representative of Tom Mooney. It is hardly necessary for me to say that the language of the telegram was a gross exaggeration and that the communists who were responsible for sending it would undoubtedly hasten to admit as much today. Nevertheless, it is instructive as indicating how effective the communists once thought my united front efforts were. On receipt of the telegram, I left immediately for Chicago where I participated in the Congress as a speaker at the "vast stadium massmeeting" and as a member of the presiding committee.³⁸ Other members of the presiding committee included Clarence Hathaway, Robert Minor, William L. Patterson, Robert Morss Lovett, Roger Baldwin, and A. J. Muste.

National Tom Mooney Council of Action

Following the Chicago Congress, a permanent organization was set up under the name of the National Tom Mooney Council of Action. I was a member of the national committee. On May 15, the following officers of the Council were elected:³⁹

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Charles Bloma, Chairman
A. J. Muste, Vice-chairman
William L. Patterson, Vice-chairman
J. B. Matthews, Corresponding Secretary
Robert Minor, Organization Secretary
Frank Palmer, Publicity Secretary
Roger Baldwin, Treasurer

National Scottsboro Committee of Action

Among the members of the executive committee of the National Scottsboro Committee of Action, as listed in the *Daily Worker*, were Roger Baldwin, J. B. Matthews, Heywood Broun, and Joshua Kunitz.⁴⁰

In my testimony before the Dies Committee, I stated that Heywood Broun and I, who were both members of the Socialist Party at the time, were threatened with disciplinary action in the Socialist Party for our participation in this communist united front. I also said that Broun called me aside one day at a socialist meeting and informed me that he was resigning from the Party in order to have greater freedom to work with the communists. My notes from the time indicate that this conversation between Broun and me took place in the Rand School about 8:30 P. M. on April 28, 1933. In my testimony, I commented that from that time forward Broun had more and more consistently followed the Communist Party "line" in his speaking and writing.

Broun took the stand following my testimony and, under oath, stated that he had not told me anything of the sort. I also testified under oath. Either Broun or I had a serious lapse of memory. At the time of my appearance before the Dies Committee, I did not recall that Broun had written of his resignation from

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the Socialist Party in his column in the Scripps-Howard newspapers. I have since found that he wrote in his column, the day after he told me of his forthcoming resignation, that "in getting out of the Socialist Party one should leave by the door to the left."⁴¹ That much is plain enough. "I would hate," wrote Broun further, "to have anybody think that I quit because the party was too radical for me." He went on in this column to say that he "was about to be fired" for "speaking at a meeting held under communist auspices" and that the meeting was for the Scottsboro defendants at the Bronx Coliseum. That he left the Socialist Party, therefore, in order to be more free to work with the communists, he himself has put in the record of the Scripps-Howard newspapers.

It is still possible, however, that he did not tell me of his intention to resign or his reason for doing so. But he states in his column from which I am quoting that Julius Gerber, executive secretary of the Socialist Party, reminded him, in a letter threatening disciplinary action, "that one comrade had already been brought up on charges for a similar offense." I was the "comrade" to whom Gerber referred and whom Broun mentioned in his column. On April 12, 1933, at a meeting of the executive committee of the Socialist Party charges were preferred against me for speaking at the Mass Meeting of the Communist Party in Madison Square Garden on April 5. On April 28, the very day that Broun spoke to me, the executive committee of the Socialist Party decided to bring me to trial for my action. Inasmuch as I was seeing a great deal of Broun in those days at various communist united front meetings, it appears

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probable that he would tell me of his intended resignation from the Socialist Party and of his reasons for resigning. We were similarly engaged on behalf of communist united fronts, and we were similarly under fire in the Socialist Party. I leave it to the reader to judge between my sworn testimony and Broun's sworn denial.

Whether Broun has or has not more and more consistently followed the "line" of the Communist Party since his resignation from the Socialist Party, any one may ascertain for himself by reading his column. It may, of course, be the sheerest coincidence that Broun and the Communist Party have seen eye to eye so often and have shifted their viewpoints simultaneously. In the *Daily Worker* of March 26, 1935, Broun is quoted as calling President Roosevelt "Labor's Public Enemy No. 1," at a meeting held in St. Nicholas Arena in New York.⁴² Two days later, on March 28, 1935, William Dunne appeared before the Committee on Education and Labor of the United States Senate, as official spokesman for the Communist Party, and declared: "The Roosevelt administration today is the focus point for American fascist reaction." Dunne was denouncing the pending National Labor Relations Act. He concluded his statement by proposing the "overthrow" of the United States government and the establishment of "the dictatorship of the working class, headed by the Communist Party."⁴³ Anyone will note the striking similarity between calling President Roosevelt "Labor's Public Enemy No. 1" and calling the Roosevelt Administration "the focus point for American fascist reaction." The views of Broun and the Communist Party are still remarkably alike on the subject of the Roose-

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velt Administration although both are even more remarkably different from what they were in March, 1935. The communist "line" is a sort of game in which Stalin says "thumbs up," Stalin says "thumbs down," and Stalin says "wiggle-waggle." The comrades and the fellow travelers do their best to give prompt compliance with Stalin's commands. Broun may not be playing, but his ideological thumb seems to be up or down or wiggle-wagging in perfect synchronization with Browder's. Perhaps Broun is just a kibitzing fellow traveler, not really in the game but merely peering over Browder's shoulder.

National Committee to Aid the Victims of German Fascism

This organization was affiliated with the international communist organization known as the Workers' International Relief. When the National Committee was set up in the spring of 1933, I was made its treasurer. I also spoke for it on a number of occasions.

Concerning the National Committee to Aid the Victims of German Fascism, Earl Browder has published two comments which apply, in principle, with equal force to other communist united fronts. "This committee," wrote Browder, "has been allowed to drift along and spend most of the little money that it has collected for the expenses of the collection."⁴⁴

On several occasions, I tried as treasurer of the organization to obtain an accounting of funds raised and expended, but without success.

A competent stenographer who was not a communist, who was employed by this communist united front, came to me to complain that she was being paid a salary of only five dollars a week. I advised

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her to resign. Investigation would reveal that such callous exploitation of labor is not uncommon in these organizations which exist ostensibly to advance the living standards of workers. In the case of the underpaid stenographer, what we needed obviously was a national committee to aid the victims of the National Committee to Aid the Victims of German Fascism.

The other comment of Browder to which I refer is quite enlightening. "On this anti-fascist committee," wrote Browder, "we placed Muste as chairman . . . merely as a 'united front' decoration."⁴⁵ Technically, of course, Muste was elected chairman by the united front committee itself, but Browder is correct when he says that "we," meaning the Communist Party, placed him in that position. When I testified before the Dies Committee that Browder and his colleagues chose me to head the American League Against War and Fascism, I, too, like Browder, was going behind the technical fact that I was elected chairman of the League by the continuation committee of the U. S. Congress Against War. In a publicity story released by the American League following my testimony, it was stated that my testimony on this point was "quite false."⁴⁶ Anyone familiar with the operations of the communist united front knows that no one is ever "elected" by the united front committee to head a united front organization unless he is first "chosen by Browder and his colleagues."

It is also noteworthy that Browder says that Muste was placed in the chairmanship merely as "a decoration." There are today literally several thousands of more or less prominent citizens, including high

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government officials, who as dupes, stooges, and decoys are readily lending their names as decorations for these manoeuvres of the Communist Party.

Early in May, 1933, the New York District Attorney's office raided the headquarters of the National Committee to Aid the Victims of German Fascism. In a letter of protest against the raid, sent to District Attorney Thomas C. T. Crain over my signature and that of the other officers of the organization, we noted that "well known citizens such as George Soule of the *New Republic*, Heywood Broun of the *New York World-Telegram*, Roger Baldwin and others are included in this committee."⁴⁷

Later in the summer of 1933, I resigned from the Committee to Aid the Victims when Alfred Wagenknecht sent out a letter to Socialist Party branches asking them to ignore their leaders and to join our united front. This was the tactic known as "the united front from below." Norman Thomas brought the letter to my attention, and I resigned immediately.

International Committee to Aid the Victims of German Fascism

According to the *Daily Worker* of May 10, 1933, the following persons were American representatives on the International Committee to Aid the Victims of German Fascism: A. J. Muste, J. B. Matthews, George Soule, John Dos Passos, H. W. L. Dana, and Alfred Wagenknecht.⁴⁸ I confess that I do not recall ever having heard of this International Committee until I read this statement in the *Daily Worker*, more than five years after the event. There is nothing extraordinary about communists using the names of persons without their permission.

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Federated Press

For two years I held a press card from the Federated Press. There is no secret about the communist connections of this press service. For many years, Frank L. Palmer has run it, and he has also been prominent in numerous other communist united fronts.

Teachers' Anti-War Conference

From a united front publication, I take the following report:

The anti-war movement amongst New York City teachers was initiated by the Teachers' Anti-War Conference that met on May 19th in the Community Church. 250 teachers from public and private schools and universities in and around New York participated. After hearing addresses by J. B. Matthews and Arthur Garfield Hays, the conference adopted the Amsterdam pledge, and elected a permanent committee to guide the anti-war struggle in the New York schools.⁴⁹

In the course of my activities in the united front, I met many New York City teachers who were communists or fellow travelers.

Anti-Imperialist League

For a number of years, the Anti-Imperialist League was the Communist Party's approximate equivalent of the present American League for Peace and Democracy although it never exerted the extensive influence of the latter.

In the spring of 1933, a demonstration under the joint auspices of the Anti-Imperialist League and the American Committee for the Struggle Against War was held at one of New York's piers on the occasion of the landing of a distinguished Japanese

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diplomat, Yosuke Matsuoka. William Simons (later the Communist Party's organizer in Omaha, Nebraska) was the secretary of the Anti-Imperialist League. He and I were the speakers at this demonstration. Simons insisted before the demonstration that we make every effort to provoke and defy the police with a view to compelling our arrest by them. Simons himself went through with his suggestion, and when the police ordered us to disperse, he was clubbed and arrested. I was knocked from the chair on which I was standing while trying to make a speech in the midst of the general confusion.

The New York *World-Telegram* reported the incident, as follows:

A second man arrested by the 150 police at the scene of debarkation was William Simons, secretary of the Anti-Imperialist League, of 80 East 11th Street, who gave four cops a tussle when they tried to halt a harangue delivered atop a box car. Simons was dragged down minus coat and shirt.⁵⁰

I emphasize this incident especially as it is typical of the communist tactic of provocation. It is the rule on all such occasions to make it as difficult as possible for the police to avoid arresting the demonstrators. Arrest and imprisonment, preferably with a little clubbing thrown in for good measure, are held to be proof of the brutality of the capitalist class and evidence of the inevitable violence of the class struggle. It is held essential in all communist labor connections with employers to use this provocative tactic to the limit, first in making demands that are almost certain to be impossible of acceptance by the employer—including the invention of grievances where

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none in fact exist—and then in the use of all possible provocative violence against the employer with a view to placing him in an unfavorable light with the public when he takes measures to protect his life and property. These things are elementary in the labor union tactics of communists and are as well known to the labor administrators of the federal government as to anyone. On no other subject have the communists written more voluminously and clearly than on this subject of their labor union tactics.

I was a member of the Anti-Imperialist League's delegation to Cuba in November and December, 1933. The other members of the delegation were Harry Gannes, columnist of the *Daily Worker*; Alfred Runge, Workers Ex-Service Men's League; Henry Shepard, Trade Union Unity League; and Walter Rellis, National Student League. We had numerous meetings with the leaders and members of the Communist Party of Cuba. The *Daily Worker* of November 9, 1933, said: "The delegation plans to arrange numerous mass demonstrations in Havana and other cities" and is taking "banners, letters and other expressions of warm revolutionary greetings and solidarity." Actively, but secretly, cooperating with this delegation was Dr. Antonio Guiteras who at the time was holding three cabinet posts in the government headed by Ramon Grau San Martin. Guiteras was later killed by the troops of Batista in the course of plotting a revolutionary overthrow of the present Cuban regime. Once Guiteras met our delegation after midnight and gave us a pass to travel through the island although martial law was in force at the time. Subsequently we were arrested when we

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reached the center of the island, and ordered by the militia to return to Havana.

American Friends of the Chinese People

The first public meeting of the American Friends of the Chinese People was held in Irving Plaza, New York, on June 1, 1933. The *Daily Worker* announced: "Among the prominent speakers will be J. B. Matthews, William Simons of the Anti-Imperialist League, Winifred Chappell, Li Wei, and C. A. Hathaway."⁵¹ Winifred Chappell was for many years the secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service and was widely known as a communist. C. A. Hathaway has long been the editor of the *Daily Worker*.

I have personal knowledge of the fact that the American Friends of the Chinese People, too, is one of the Communist Party's united front disguises. In his recent article in the *Saturday Evening Post*, Dr. Stanley High describes this organization as "authentically non-Communist."⁵² This is incorrect. Dr. High's error was undoubtedly accidental, but it indicates something of the difficulty to be experienced by the novice who tries to identify the many united fronts of the Communist Party. Dr. High errs throughout his widely read article by understatement of the relationship of the united fronts to the Communist Party. He says, for example, that the American League for Peace and Democracy "is not officially Communist," and that the American Student Union "is not organically Communist." No united front disguise of the Communist Party is ever "officially" or "organically" Communist. Far more

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accurate than Dr. High is Earl Browder who says: "In the center, as the conscious moving and directive force of the united front movement in all its phases, stands the Communist Party."

Maxwell Stewart, one of the editors of the *Nation*, is now the national chairman of the American Friends of the Chinese People. Its publication is *China Today*.

The American Committee for the Struggle Against War

The American Committee for the Struggle Against War was the forerunner of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Early in January, 1933, I addressed a mass meeting of the American Committee, which was held at the Battery in New York. Malcolm Cowley, one of the editors of the *New Republic*, was chairman. About five thousand persons were on hand for the demonstration. Its special attention was directed to the Japanese seizure of Manchuria. Other speakers were Margaret Schlauch of New York University, Joseph Cohen of the National Student League, Molly Samuel of the United Council of Working Class Women, and Carl Brodsky of the Communist Party. The *Daily Worker* quoted me as having said that "capitalism and war are the twin scourges today, and peace can only be established with the triumph of the working class."⁵³

In May, 1933, I became a member of the national committee of this united front. The organization's publication announced my adherence and that of Dorothy Detzer, secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, under the headline "American Committee Gains Important

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Members," and stated that "personal adherence to the Amsterdam movement, not the official support of the organizations with which Miss Detzer and Mr. Matthews are connected, is indicated by this action."⁵⁴ Malcolm Cowley was the national chairman of the Committee.

At this point it is necessary to take notice of the formation of the World Committee Against War, better known in united front circles as the Amsterdam movement.

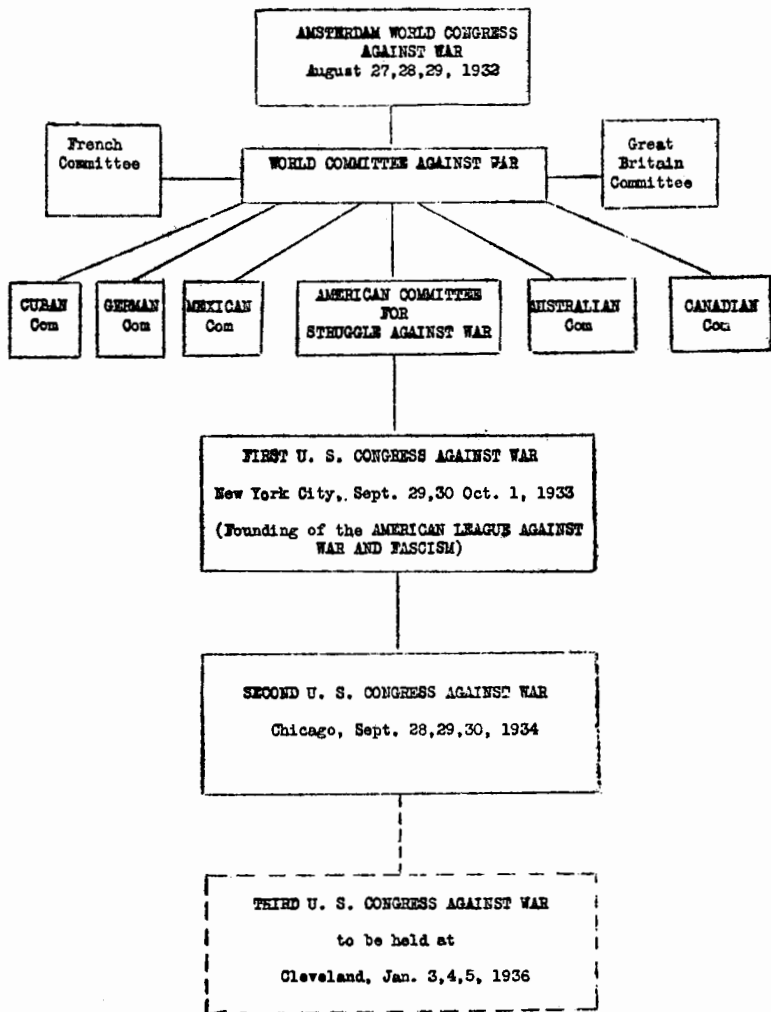
The World Congress Against War was held in Amsterdam in August, 1932, under the chairmanship of the distinguished French communist, Henri Barbusse. It was called at the instance of the Communist International which had become alarmed over the trends toward war. Japan's conquest of Manchuria had thoroughly aroused Stalin's fears of a united attack by the capitalist powers upon the Soviet Union. Barbusse's new united front might well have been called the World Committee to Pull Stalin's Chestnuts Out of the Fire.

The World Congress was overwhelmingly Stalinist in its complexion. It could hardly have been otherwise. The Communist International ordered that it should be an application—an urgent one—of the united-front-from-below tactic, which meant that rank and file social democrats, pacifists, and liberals should receive warm invitations to attend, with insults to their leaders appended. In other words, the left-wing political babies of the world should be weaned from the breast of counter-revolution and reared to ideological maturity under the foster parentage of Stalin. The scheme worked poorly, as it always did. Of the 2,196 delegates present at Amster-

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dam, 830 were *avowed* communists and most of the remainder were communists or fellow travelers disguised as delegates from the Anti-Imperialist League, the Friends of the Soviet Union, or the World Committee to Aid the Victims of Something or Other.

The Manifesto issued by the Amsterdam Congress was "written" in Moscow. Scarcely anybody anywhere was fooled. It declared that "all capitalist powers treat the Soviet Union as a common enemy which they are attempting to undermine and overthrow."⁵⁵ The Congress called for "a program of struggle against the growing threat to Soviet Russia," and for the sabotage of "the manufacture and transport of war munitions against the Chinese people and the Soviet Union." It was assumed by Stalin in those days that the United States would, *if* it entered the coming imperialist war, be among the capitalist powers determined to destroy the Soviet Union. That is what I told the Dies Committee. I did not say that Stalin "fully expected" war between the Soviet Union and the United States in 1932. Nevertheless, despite the fact that my testimony is on record where it cannot be challenged successfully, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* invented testimony and put it into my mouth. According to a *Post-Dispatch* editorial, "J. B. Matthews . . . said the Communists, in 1932, 'fully expected an American-Soviet war'."⁵⁶ By thus falsifying my testimony, it was easy for the *Post-Dispatch* to poke fun at it by saying, "this must be news to Moscow." The average American citizen would be shocked to know to what extent the journalistic standards of the *Daily Worker* are now found in substantial "capitalist" newspapers, thanks chiefly to



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the energetic work of comrades and fellow travelers in the American Newspaper Guild.

The World Congress Against War set up the World Committee Against War, with Henri Barbusse as chairman. The American League Against War and Fascism said in its first *Organization Hand Book* (1935) that "the movement started at the World Congress was carried on!" and that "the delegates from the various countries went home and began immediately to lay the groundwork for national congresses." In the same *Organization Hand Book*, the American League traces its descent directly from the Amsterdam Congress. (See chart on next page.)

National Organizing Committee for the First United States Congress Against War

The American Committee for the Struggle Against War was a little slow in carrying out Moscow's plan for a United States Congress Against War, but in June, 1933, it got the business under way.

I was the logical choice to head the proposed National Organizing Committee for the First United States Congress Against War. From the foregoing pages it should be clear that I was the *inevitable* choice. Browder and his colleagues assured me that there was not even a second choice under consideration. During the previous five months, I had participated actively and enthusiastically in fifteen communist front organizations. The record is in the *Daily Worker*, which the comrades can hardly refute. I had been *officially* connected with eight of these fifteen united fronts, and had spoken or worked tirelessly for the others. No other person in the United States had such an impressive united front record.

UNITED STATES CONGRESS AGAINST WAR

11 BEACON STREET—ROOM 331
BOSTON, MASS.
TELEPHONE LAFAYETTE 9378

Officers
National Organizing Committee

Chairman

J. B. MATTHEWS—Fellowship of Reconciliation

Secretary

DONALD HENDERSON—American Committee for
Struggle Against War

Treasurer

ANNIE E. GRAY—Women's Peace Society

Letterhead of the Boston branch, where Albert Mallinger, the local Communist Party organizer, ran the American League Against War and Fascism.

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Consequently, at a meeting in the New School for Social Research in New York, the National Organizing Committee was formally set up and I was elected chairman unanimously, on the motion of Donald Henderson.

The first task which I set for myself was that of persuading the Socialist Party to enter the new united front. Socialists generally were well aware, through much experience, of the nature and purposes of all communist united fronts. Nevertheless, the national executive committee of the Socialist Party, meeting in Reading, Pennsylvania, accepted my personal invitation to make one more try at a united front with the communists. For several weeks thereafter it appeared that a united-front-from-above (as communist jargon expressed it) had been achieved. I was elated, but such an achievement ran contrary to one of the basic purposes of the communist united front which aimed at separating the so-called rank and file of the Socialist Party from its own chosen leaders. The *Communist*, official monthly organ of the Communist Party, had but recently declared that "the highest moment of the united front is when the social democratic masses will turn against their leaders."⁵⁷ On the very day that I succeeded in gaining the adherence of the Socialist Party to the united front, Earl Browder was saying in his report to the Extraordinary Party Conference of the communists: "The united front is not a peace pact with the reformists Have you forgotten that precisely the reason why we make the united front with them is because we have got to take their followers away from them?"⁵⁸ It was clear that some of the Communist Party functionaries were taking the new united front

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at face value, having lost sight of the fact that it was merely a manoeuvre. "Have you forgotten?" Browder asked them. At any rate, here were the leaders of the Socialist Party actively participating in a communist united front! The situation was intolerable from the standpoint of the prevailing communist united front theory. Something would have to be done about it. Immediately, the *Daily Worker*, official newspaper of the Communist Party, began a series of articles in which the Socialist Party's leaders were vilified with the best communist baiting.⁵⁹ The articles had as their calculated purpose, so Henderson admitted to me, the driving of the Socialist Party's *leaders* out of the united front by insults. The aim of the Communist Party was to have the rank and file socialists repudiate their own leaders for disrupting a promising united front. The *Daily Worker's* insults were effective, and the Socialist Party withdrew from the National Organizing Committee. The rank and file socialists, however, did not live up to communist expectations. They did not repudiate their leaders.

Edward Levinson, later on the staff of the *New York Post*, was in charge of the Socialist Party's negotiations with the communists on the question of the Socialist Party's participation in the united front in this instance. The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party had appointed a committee of three to handle the delicate matter, but one of the members, Harry W. Laidler, was out of the city, and the other member, Julius Gerber, was inactive through incredulity about the possibility of a genuine united front with communists. Levinson's was the chief responsibility for deciding whether to stay

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in the National Organizing Committee or to get out. At the time, I criticized Levinson bitterly for his decision to withdraw the Socialist Party. I did not, in the least degree, share the communists' theory of the united front as a manoeuvre for destroying other organizations. I believed, however, in my naive Marxist way that, given unlimited patience, we could create a genuine united front of all leftists, that we could even win the communists over to such an honest unity if we persisted despite all insults.

Parenthetically, I must say that I myself did not read the *Daily Worker* in those days. I had not seen the *Daily's* articles which offended Levinson and did not see them until a few days before writing these words. I made a habit, while engaging in united front activities, of avoiding the *Daily Worker*. I did not wish to run the risk of having my faith in the possibilities of the united front shattered. In the three years of my work in the united front I did not see more than a half dozen issues of this communist paper. I did not even know there was such a person as Harry Gannes, famous *Daily Worker* columnist, until he and I got on the boat to go to Cuba as members of the Anti-Imperialist League's delegation, and that was several months after the events of which I am now writing.

Clarence Hathaway, who ranks second to Browder only in the American Communist Party, also had something revealing to say about the Communist International's new drive for the united-front-from-below in the summer of 1933—the period of the preliminary work in setting up the American League Against War and Fascism. In the *Daily Worker*, he

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summed up the position of the Communist International, as follows:

It makes this proposal in the sense of calling the bluff of the reformist leaders, with the viewpoint of exposing these treacherous mis-leaders as the opponents of united action, as the enemies of the workers. . . . In this way, the masses will become convinced of the anti-working class character of these bodies and of their leadership. They will be won for the Communist policies, and for the Communist Party.⁶⁰

Norman Thomas, William Green, John L. Lewis, and other so-called reformist leaders were to be invited into the new united front of the communists, but only for the purpose of calling their bluff, of exposing them as treacherous, of alienating their rank and file members from them, and of winning these alienated masses to the Communist Party. The new scheme in operation today, which has the same ultimate objective of building the Communist Party out of the wreckage of trade unions and other organizations, works infinitely better.

In very few cases was it possible to enroll A. F. of L. members in the new united front. In those days, five years ago, the communists were still practising "dual unionism." They had set up their own red unions under an international body with headquarters in Moscow. Among these red unions which were participating in the newly formed National Organizing Committee were the National Textile Workers Union, the National Mine Workers Union, the Marine Workers Industrial Union, and the Needle Trade Workers Industrial Union. Some of these were largely "paper" unions without any significant membership, but as long as they existed they were

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“dual unions.” Their presence in our united front was all the proof that A. F. of L. unions generally needed to prove the communist control of the organization. There were, however, a few A. F. of L. unions in which communists were effectively boring. Although they constituted an insignificant numerical minority in these unions, the “planted” communists were instructed by the Party to introduce resolutions of affiliation with the National Organizing Committee. A number of these resolutions were adopted although the union membership generally had no idea of what it was doing. Like many other organizations, it is comparatively easy to commit the heedless membership of a trade union to almost any resolution that an enthusiastic member offers.

When I complained repeatedly to Donald Henderson that we were making such slight progress in enrolling A. F. of L. unions, he reminded me that my work was to enroll the members of middle-class organizations and that the Communist Party would take care of the trade unions. He assured me that the Communists already had several strategic men in important plants and industries where they would be in a position to sabotage vital processes in the event of war—just in case the United States should become involved in a war *against* the Soviet Union. In this connection, Henderson was especially boastful of a revolutionary nucleus in submarine plants in Connecticut and of the work of Harry Bridges in the shipping industry on the West Coast. They were, Henderson claimed, secretly allied with the American League.

Earl Browder himself left no doubt upon the question of the function of such middle class persons as

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myself, namely, that we were to let the Communist Party itself take care of organizing the American League's work among the trade unionists. In his report to the Central Committee of the Communist Party, in 1934, Browder wrote:

These elements [the middle class] are valuable; their contribution to the League has been considerable, but they will themselves be the first to admit that the most important work of the League—rooting it among the workers in the basic and war industries—cannot be done by them, but only the trade unions and workers' organizations, and first of all by the Communists.⁶¹

On the letterhead of the National Organizing Committee for the First United States Congress Against War, appear the following names of its supporting organizations:

American Committee for Struggle Against War
A. F. of L. Trade Union Committee for Unemployment Insurance and Relief
Anti-Imperialist League of the United States
Bonus Expeditionary Force, Rank and File of America
Communist Party of the U. S. A.
Conference for Progressive Labor Action
Farmers National Committee of Action
Farmers Union Cooperative Marketing Association
Fellowship of Reconciliation
Finnish Workers' Federation
Friends of the Soviet Union
"Icor" Association for Jewish Colonization in U. S. S. R.
Intercollegiate Council, League for Industrial Democracy
International Committee for Political Prisoners
International Labor Defense
International Workers Order

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John Reed Clubs of the United States
Labor Sports Union
League for Industrial Democracy
League of Professional Groups
League of Struggle for Negro Rights
Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union, I. W. W.
Marine Workers Industrial Union
National Committee to Aid the Victims of German
Fascism
National Farmers Holiday Association
National Lithuanian Youth Federation
National Miners' Union
National Student Committee for Struggle Against War
National Student League
Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union
Ohio Unemployed League
Pennsylvania Committee for Total Disarmament
Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union
Trade Union Unity League
Unemployed Councils, National Committee
United Farmers League
United Farmers Protective Association
Veterans' National Rank and File Committee
War Resisters League
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Workers and Farmers Cooperative Unity Alliance
Workers Ex-Servicemen's League
Workers International Relief
World Peaceways, Inc.
Women's Peace Society
Workers Unemployed Union, I. W. W.
Young Communist League
Young Pioneers of America
Youth Section, American Committee for Struggle
Against War.⁶²

There are forty nine organizations listed here. Thirty-two of these were communist united front organizations, in addition to the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. Only the remaining

ODYSSEY OF A FELLOW TRAVELER

fifteen were in any way independent of the Communist Party. Twenty-three of these organizations are no longer in existence.

Upon these forty-nine groups and some others which were communist in about the same proportion depended the activity for enrolling delegates to the first United States Congress Against War. Not one of the non-communist groups was especially enthusiastic in forming delegations.

Late in the summer of 1933, the communists, acting on instructions from Moscow, added fascism to their "scares." It may shock the average person to learn that the Communist International, in the early months of Hitler's triumph in Germany, officially viewed fascism as a sort of unwitting ally of communism in their common goal of democracy's destruction. This will certainly not make sense to that large group of "hopeless idiots" (as Manuilsky called them) or "political chickens" (as Dimitroff dubbed them) who are now clustered around the Communist Party's spurious "defense of democracy." The blame for this lies, however, with the "hopeless idiots" rather than with the Communist Party. The latter made its position perfectly clear in its official publication, the *Communist International*. It declared:

The establishment of an open fascist dictatorship, by destroying all the democratic illusions among the masses and liberating them from the influence of social-democracy, accelerates the rate of Germany's development towards proletarian dictatorship.

Nothing could be clearer than that. In August, 1931, when the Nazis called for a plebiscite in Prussia with a view to overturning the social democratic govern-

IN THE UNITED FRONT

ment, the Communist International ordered the communists of Germany to vote with the nazis! That's history. I landed in Berlin after an airplane trip from Moscow the day after the plebiscite. Under a pseudonym I wrote in Lovestone's *Revolutionary Age*:

Yesterday was the historic occasion of the Prussian plebiscite. Tonight, the papers announce its failure, generally interpreted as the result of non-cooperation by voting communists. Why a last minute decision to vote with the "Right" was made, was obviously far from clear to the millions of voting "Lefts." While it was probably an ill-advised decision, the central parties are taking too much encouragement out of the failure of the plebiscite. Their papers tonight are interpreting it as evidence of their own strength and prospects for a new lease on life.⁶⁸

The next time the reader hears communists or communist sympathizers throwing a spasm about fascism or talking about rallying all progressive forces for the defense of democracy, why not ask them about the great and communist-welcomed work of the nazis in "destroying all the democratic illusions among the masses" and the way in which the Communist International worked with the nazis toward this end in Germany?

United States Congress Against War

At the end of September, 1933, a dingy old hall, known as the St. Nicholas Arena, in New York, housed the first United States Congress Against War. I presided over most of the sessions of the Congress.

Two thousand six hundred and sixteen delegates were registered at the Congress. They were overwhelmingly pro-Stalinist, due to the fact that only

U. S. CONGRESS AGAINST WAR

FRIDAY, SEPT. 29.

8 P. M.

MASS RECEPTION OPENING SESSION

"We have been depending on statesmen and diplomats to preserve the peace of the world. We can do so no longer. The time has come when we must act ourselves."

GUEST SPEAKER: **HENRI BARBUSSE** Author of "UNDER FIRE". Secretary, World Committee for Struggle Against War and Fascism

Devere Allen

Harriet Stanton Blatch

Earl Browder



William N. Jones

A. J. Muste

William Pickens

SAME SPEAKERS AT BOTH MEETINGS

MECCA TEMPLE, 135 West 55th Street **REINHOLD NIEBUHR**, Chairman

ST. NICHOLAS ARENA, 69 West 66th Street **J. B. MATTHEWS**, Chairman

OPENING OF MEETINGS BY **DONALD HENDERSON**

Secretary, Arrangements Committee, U. S. Congress Against War

CONGRESS SESSIONS—SEPT. 30-OCT. 1
IN ST. NICHOLAS ARENA

DELEGATES REGISTER ALL DAY FRIDAY
IN ST. NICHOLAS ARENA

ADMISSION :
25c — 35c

RESERVED SEATS
ONE DOLLAR

**BUILD A MASS CONGRESS
AGAINST WAR!**

ELECT DELEGATES!

TICKET STATIONS:

U. S. CONGRESS AGAINST WAR, 104 FIFTH AVE., Room 1610
WORKERS BOOKSHOP, 50 East Thirteenth Street
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, 112 E. 19th Street



IN THE UNITED FRONT

the Communist Party among all the participating groups had really shown any enthusiasm for the affair. Almost from the first moment of the first session of the Congress, it was evident, as Browder later told the Executive Committee of the Communist International, that the Communist Party was securely entrenched in the leadership.

When time came to select a "presiding committee" for the Congress, a member of the Lovestone group of non-Stalinist communists presented the name of Jay Lovestone to the gathering. Lovestone had once held the position now occupied by Earl Browder in the American Communist Party, but he had been removed from the general secretaryship and expelled from the Party by the direct intervention of Moscow. When the congress heard his name, pandemonium broke loose. There was a literal riot which involved a large section of the hall. My pleas for order went unheeded and for the most part unheard even with a public address system in operation. I made the mistake of inviting Earl Browder to the speakers' stand to ask for the restoration of order. His first words were a direct incitation to further rioting against the Lovestoneites. The next day, the *Daily Worker* euphemistically declared that Browder's "first words were overwhelmed in a mighty storm of approving applause." A new way of describing general disorder and fisticuffs! In the inner circle of the presiding committee that night, the non-Communist-Party leaders served an ultimatum on Browder which forced him to choose between allowing a Lovestoneite to sit on the presiding committee or to face the complete breakdown of the united front. Browder yielded, but there was a face-saving device whereby

IN THE UNITED FRONT

one of Lovestone's lieutenants, C. S. Zimmerman, head of Local 22 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, was seated instead of Lovestone himself. This arrangement was opposed as a subterfuge (which it was) by only one non-Stalinist member of the arrangements committee, namely Joseph P. Lash who has since become the thoroughly regular pro-Stalinist head of the American Student Union.

Without the knowledge of the organizing committee, Browder planned for the dramatic moment of the Congress which was to be the unannounced appearance on the speakers' stand of a fully uniformed soldier from the United States Army. A few days before the Congress, Browder called Mary Fox of the League for Industrial Democracy and me to his office on 12th street and let us in on the secret. Those were days before the Communist Party had put on the mask of one hundred per cent American patriotism, and it then made no bones about having an insurrectionary "fraction" of the Party within the United States Army. Careful plans were made by the Communist Party to insure against the soldier's arrest and against his being photographed by news photographers who were present. Comrades were placed in readiness to block all the aisles of the hall in which the Congress was meeting in the event of an attempted arrest by secret service men, and committees were deputized to take care of all news photographers with instructions to smash their cameras if they insisted on making "shots" of the soldier as he addressed the Congress. James W. Ford, vice-presidential candidate of the Communist Party, took my place in the

ODYSSEY OF A FELLOW TRAVELER

chair to introduce the soldier. Whether or not the man in the uniform was a bona fide member of the United States Army, I have no way of knowing. At any rate, his appearance on the platform duly electrified the assembled communists who were in those days frankly committed to the revolutionary overthrow of the American government and just as frankly tampering with the armed forces of the land to that end. "We also had a delegate from the United States Army," Browder subsequently told the Executive Committee of the Communist International when he appeared before it in Moscow.⁶⁴ As one of its unalterable principles, the Communist Party believes that it must create widespread disloyalty in the armed forces of a country in order to carry through a successful proletarian revolution. The soldier at the congress of the American League was hailed as a symbol of the revolutionary moment when enlisted men dishonoring their solemn oaths would turn their weapons against their officers and the government.

The United States Congress Against War adopted a manifesto, the ten-point program of which reads as follows:

1. To work towards the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions and all other materials essential to the conduct of war, through mass demonstrations, picketing and strikes.

2. To expose everywhere the extensive preparations for war being carried on under the guise of aiding National Recovery.

3. To demand the transfer of all war funds to relief of the unemployed and the replacement of all such devices as the Civilian Conservation Camps, by a federal system of social insurance paid for by the government and employers.

IN THE UNITED FRONT

4. To oppose the policies of American imperialism in the Far East, in Latin America, especially now in Cuba, and throughout the world; to support the struggles of all colonial peoples against the imperialist policies of exploitation and armed suppression.

5. To support the peace policies of the Soviet Union, for total and universal disarmament which today with the support of masses in all countries constitute the clearest and most effective opposition to war throughout the world; to oppose all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union, whether these take the form of misrepresentation and false propaganda, diplomatic maneuvering or intervention by imperialist governments.

6. To oppose all developments leading to fascism in this country and abroad, and especially in Germany; to oppose the increasingly widespread use of the armed forces against the workers, farmers and the special terrorizing and suppression of Negroes in their attempts to maintain a decent standard of living; to oppose the growing encroachments upon the civil liberties of these groups as a growing fascization of our so-called "democratic" government.

7. To win the armed forces to the support of this program.

8. To enlist for our program the women in industry and in the home; and to enlist the youth, especially those who, by the crisis, have been deprived of training in the industries and are therefore more susceptible to fascist and war propaganda.

9. To give effective international support to all workers and anti-war fighters against their own imperialist governments.

10. To form committees of action against war and fascism in every important center and industry, particularly in the basic war industries; to secure the support for this program of all organizations seeking to prevent war, paying special attention to labor, veteran, unemployed and farmer organizations.

It was recognized at the outset and at all times subse-

ODYSSEY OF A FELLOW TRAVELER

quently that only so-called imperialist war was to be opposed by the members of the American League as such. Other kinds of war were admissible. The question frequently arose in our meetings as to the attitude of the American League toward a war by certain powers upon the Soviet Union. The answer was always two-fold: if the United States joined in an attack upon the Soviet Union, the American League's first and only loyalty was to the Soviet Union and to the end of fulfilling this loyalty efforts would be made to cripple the basic industries of the United States and bring about this country's defeat, including mutiny in the army; if, on the other hand, the United States should side with the Soviet Union, then the American League would wholeheartedly support the United States, and the war would not be called an imperialist war but rather class war on an international scale.

Outright pacifists who abjured all wars, including class war, were to be exposed and fought. In the November, 1933, issue of the *Communist* there appears immediately after the Manifesto and Program of the American League, the following excerpt from a resolution of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International:

This duty implies above all a determined political and ideological fight *against pacifism*. . . . The masses must be patiently enlightened as to their error and urged to join the revolutionary united front in the struggle against war. But the pacifist swindlers must be relentlessly exposed and combated.⁶⁵

Recently the American League for Peace and Democracy held a parade in New York. Harry Elmer Barnes, newspaper columnist, was among the parade's

IN THE UNITED FRONT

marshals who were invited to make speeches for the occasion. Apparently Mr. Barnes went too far in his pacifism and suggested that the United States should stay out of war, even a war in defense of the Soviet Union! When the officials of the American League saw an advance copy of his speech, Mr. Barnes was promptly notified that he would not be allowed to act as a marshal in the parade or to make a speech. The most pathetic thing about this incident was Barnes' statement to the press that he had not known that "the holy war boys" had got hold of the American League. There is hardly any excuse for any moderately informed adult in the United States who says that he thought the American League was a peace organization! From its very inception down to the present moment (and this bears constant reiteration), the American League has been, in effect, a part of an international communist conspiracy to involve the United States in a contemplated war on the side of the Soviet Union, or, failing in that objective, to cripple the United States through mutiny in the Army and the stoppage of basic industries and to inaugurate class war and revolution here. It must not be forgotten that Lenin wrote a letter to American workers in which he said: "The American workers will not follow the bourgeoisie. They will be with us for civil war against the bourgeoisie."⁶⁶ The Communist Party of the United States has not yet repudiated Lenin or this statement of his. The Barnes incident should make it perfectly plain, even to certain high government officials in Washington, just what the objectives of the American League really are. Similar incidents occurred in the beginning of the American League and have recurred since.



AMERICAN LEAGUE

AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

(FOUNDED AT THE U. S. CONGRESS AGAINST WAR)

104 FIFTH AVENUE—ROOM 1610

NEW YORK CITY

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-7314

CHAIRMAN:

J. S. MATTHEWS

TREASURER:

ANNIE E. GRAY

SECRETARY:

DONALD HENDERSON

Browder wrote in the Daily Worker recently that I was hired and fired as secretary of the American League Against War and Fascism. Above is the official letterhead of the organization.

IN THE UNITED FRONT

At the close of the last session of the United States Congress Against War, Browder came to me and said with extraordinary feeling that the Communist Party could not have put the Congress over without the contribution which I had made to its success.

Joseph P. Lash, who has already appeared in this story as a leader in the Stalinist-dominated American Student Union and World Youth Congress, wrote in the *Student Outlook* of November, 1933, his personal appraisal of the United States Congress Against War. Said Lash:

Possibly the most valuable result of the Congress was the re-establishment of communications between responsible representatives of the Communist Party and other organizations. And this is mostly to the credit of Mary Fox and J. B. Matthews.⁶⁷

The American League Against War and Fascism

At the adjournment of the first United States Congress Against War, the committee which had been selected by the Congress to form a permanent organization met and elected me national chairman of the American League. Donald Henderson was elected secretary and Ida Dailes was made assistant secretary. Both Henderson and Miss Dailes were members of the Communist Party. Earl Browder was elected vice-chairman, as was also William Pickens of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

In a speech in which he purported to reply publicly to my testimony before the Dies Committee, and which was published in full in the *Daily Worker*, Earl Browder said:

Prepare to Stop W A R !!

Demand Public Works - No War Works!

Mass Demonstration AGAINST W A R !!

Farragut SQ.
17th & 1st Sts; NW

12 Noon
JANUARY
29, 1934

SPEAKERS

Corliss Lamont
Clarence Hathaway
J. B. Matthews
Ella Reeve Bloor
Henry Shepherd
Charles Spencer
H. W. L. Dana

There is no time to waste!

Our Governments are preparing for war. War appears to the rulers as a way out of the crisis! WAR is becoming a POLICY with every imperialist power, including the United States.

What are these C. C. C. camps if not training grounds for the future army to be used in the war?

What is military training in the schools if not preparation for war?

What are these numerous "war games" on the water and in the air if not preparations for war?

What is this modernization of the army, modernization of battle-ships, and the huge increase in aerial forces of the United States, if not preparation for war?

While we are speaking such phrases as: War is impossible; United States does not want war; U. S. Government is a peace government—munition plants are working overtime; poison gas is being manufactured in huge quantities; tanks and armored cars are being turned out by the thousands.

THE BULK OF THE APPROPRIATIONS FOR PUBLIC WORKS IS TURNED TO MILITARY PURPOSES!

Yet there are no funds for the millions of unemployed!

Yet there are no funds for teachers!

Yet there are no funds for schools!

Yet there are no funds for libraries and playgrounds!

YET the government employees are cut 15 per cent!

ACTION IS NECESSARY!

The Unemployed cannot eat bullets or live in battleships. They need relief.

The young men do not want to be regimented in forest camps, they want jobs.

The children need schools, and play grounds and parks.

WE MUST SET UP A MIGHTY PROTEST AGAINST WAR PREPARATION. WE MUST APPEAL TO YOU WORKERS, STUDENTS, TEACHERS, INTELLECTUALS, NEGROES, GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES—TO ALL THOSE WHO HAVE NOTHING BUT MISERY AND DEATH TO GAIN FROM WAR—PROTEST!

JOIN WITH US TO STOP THE WAR PREPARATIONS OF OUR GOVERNMENT!

SUPPORT THE DELEGATION TO THE WHITE HOUSE WHICH IS BRINGING THE DEMAND: "NO WAR WORKS—BUT PUBLIC WORKS!"

COME TO THE MASS DEMONSTRATION AT FARRAGUT PARK

AUSPICES OF AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM.

Washington Branch, 532 17th Street N. W.

The speakers listed above were all communists or fellow travelers.

IN THE UNITED FRONT

Their star witness was a certain J. B. Matthews who for a short time, several years ago, was a secretary for [the American League for Peace and Democracy] which he now pretends to "expose from within." . . . When he was hired as secretary by the American League it was not at Communist initiative, and when he was fired the same thing was true.⁶⁸

This is as good a specimen of communist lying as one could ask. I was national chairman, without salary, of the American League. Of course Browder knows this, but habit is a tenacious force. I was not hired as secretary of the League, and I was not at any time by any stretch of the imagination—even a communist imagination—fired from any position which I ever held in the League. All of this is well known to Browder. It is, furthermore, spread over numerous issues of the *Daily Worker* that I was national chairman of the organization. It would, obviously, have been just as easy for Browder to state this simple fact of my chairmanship as it was for him to falsify the record, but communists, it must be borne in mind, have a strange predilection for falsehood even when they have no reason to expect a class advantage from mendacity. All of us are liable to lapses of memory within certain limits, but that is not a possible explanation in this instance. I leave it to the Methodist clergymen and the professors of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary, who are closely associated with Browder's manoeuvres, to explain away the ethical characteristics of their communist associates.

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The most ambitious, and eventually the most influential, of all the Communist Party's united front organizations was under way. To avoid any confusion

GUNS OVER CUBA

REPORT OF DELEGATION
JUST RETURNED FROM THE BATTLEFIELD

J.B. Matthews

The American League Against War and Fascism, knowing that Newspapers tell very little of the truth about what is happening in CUBA.

Decided to send Representatives to investigate and come back with eye witness reports. The Delegates spent two weeks visiting Government Officials Soldiers, Workers, Students, and speaking at mass meetings, attended by all sections of the population.

J.B. Matthews is National Chairman of The American League Against War & Fascism - Founded at the U.S. Congress against War. He is executive Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and a member of the Socialist Party.

CHAIRMAN

AMERICAN
LEAGUE
-AGAINST-

WAR
AND
FASCISM

Will tell what he saw in CUBA!

LABOR INSTITUTE

8 & LOCUST ST.

TUES. JAN. 23 8 P.M.

AUSPICES
AMERICAN
LEAGUE
AGAINST
WAR &
FASCISM

ADMISSION 25¢
THIS INCLUDES
TWO MONTHS SUB. TO
"FIGHT"
MAGAZINE
AGAINST WAR & FASCISM

PHOTOGRAPHER BY ORGANIZED LABOR.

Notice of a meeting of the American League Against War and Fascism in Philadelphia.

IN THE UNITED FRONT

of names in dealing with subsequent events, it should be stated here that the name of the American League Against War and Fascism was changed in November, 1937, to the American League for Peace and Democracy. Almost simultaneously the Canadian League Against War and Fascism became the Canadian League for Peace and Democracy. Unlike the leopard, the Communist Party can change its spots with the greatest of ease.

The American League now claims four million adherents. It is safe to say, however, that many of these so-called adherents are not aware of their adherence. Communists have a nice way of calculating grand totals, such as these four million American Leaguers, and the even more impressive forty millions for which the recent World Youth Congress was declared to speak, or the fifteen million young people who are alleged to be represented in the American Youth Congress. If a real or alleged delegate of the Methodist Epworth Leagues appears in one of these united fronts, for example, then the entire membership of the Epworth Leagues is counted as adhering to the movement. It does not matter that relatively few Epworth Leaguers may have heard of the united front organization. But even when we make due allowances for peculiar communist mathematics, it must be conceded that the American League for Peace and Democracy has made its influence felt in wide circles—an influence large enough to justify the pride of the Communist Party in its handiwork.

The influence of the American League for Peace and Democracy is, perhaps, better measured in qualitative terms than by the number of its adherents, real or alleged. When, for example, the League held a "peace" parade in New York on August 6, 1938, the

J. B. MATTHEWS

National Chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism — Former National Executive Sec'y of the Fellowship of Reconciliation — Member Executive Committee League for Industrial Democracy — On a recent Anti-Imperialist Delegation to Cuba to study conditions there — Noted Journalist — Leader in the Struggle Against War and Fascism.

Will Speak On:

"Is America Going Fascist?"

WEDNESDAY **10** JANUARY
8.00 P. M. 1934

At The

FRANKLIN UNION HALL

41 Berkeley St., near Appleton, Boston, Mass.

REV. GEORGE L. PAINE

Greater Boston Federation of Churches

Will Also Speak

PROF. HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW DANA, Chairman

Auspices:

AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

ADMISSION FREE

ALL WELCOME!

Notice of a meeting of the American League Against War and Fascism in Boston.

IN THE UNITED FRONT

Daily Worker proudly displayed a telegram of endorsement of the parade from no less a personage than the Solicitor General of the United States, Robert H. Jackson.⁶⁹ For its 1937 parade in New York, it boasted Elmer Benson, Governor of Minnesota, as its principal speaker.⁷⁰

In the closing days of the Seventy-Fifth Congress, the Honorable Jerry J. O'Connell of Montana inserted in the *Congressional Record* a statement prepared by the American League for Peace and Democracy. The statement purported to list 1000 unions, in 46 States and Canada [*sic*], which, at the solicitation of the American League, had asked the Congress of the United States for the passage of the so-called O'Connell Peace Act.

We may pass over the question of the propriety of a Congressman's claiming the support of Canadian labor unions for a measure which he has pending before the Congress of the United States. The interference of Canadian unions in legislative matters which are strictly the business of the government and people of the United States naturally would not suggest meddling to a group which owes its existence to explicit instructions from the Communist International and whose entire program is carried out under directions formulated in Moscow.

According to the statement inserted in the *Congressional Record* by the Montana statesman, the Canadian unionists petitioned the Congress of the United States to enact legislation "denying our economic resources to the war-making treaty-breaking aggressors." Just how any part of the title to "our economic resources" came to rest with Canadian unionists is a question which Mr. O'Connell may be able

ODYSSEY OF A FELLOW TRAVELER

to answer with satisfaction to his Montana constituents. It is interesting to observe that the full list of these 1000 unions appeared in two publications only—the *Daily Worker* and the *Congressional Record*.

★ ★ ★

To argue that the American League for Peace and Democracy is a communist organization is like arguing that Lansing is in Michigan. To the first national chairman of the organization, or to any politically informed person acquainted with leftist groups, it is preposterous that any one should be either so ignorant or so wilfully mendacious as to deny that the communists launched the League and have, ever since, dominated it.

The New York *Post*, for reasons best known to its editors, seriously misrepresents the situation when it editorializes “that there is strong Communist influence in the American League for Peace and Democracy.”⁷¹ The American League is not a case of a general peace organization, coming from only the *Post* knows where, into which communists have penetrated in order to establish themselves in a position of “strong influence.” At least one writer on the New York *Post*, Edward Levinson, could have informed his colleagues more accurately, because it was Levinson more than any other individual who assumed the responsibility for keeping the Socialist Party out of the American League for the express reason that it was a Communist Party organization initiated and controlled by the Communist Party. The National Organizing Committee of the First United States Congress Against War, from which Levinson withdrew the Socialist Party, was nothing

IN THE UNITED FRONT

more nor less than the American League in one of its incipient stages.

Apart from the facts which I have already cited, there is the fact of Henri Barbusse's connection with the founding of the American League to reveal the hand of the Communist International in setting up this united front. A recent issue of the *Daily Worker* states categorically that Henri Barbusse was the founder of the American League. "Henri Barbusse who came here to found the American League Against War and Fascism," is the exact language of the *Daily Worker*.⁷² In the closing years of his life Barbusse was among the foremost international figures of the Communist International. In fact, this famous French writer died in the Kremlin shortly after completing an absurd biography of Joseph Stalin. He was already a victim of advanced tuberculosis when the Comintern sent him to the United States to appear at the first United States Congress Against War and to tour the country on behalf of the newly founded organization. Certainly the united front arrangements committee which convened the first Congress of the American League had nothing to do with inviting Barbusse to this country. Even I as chairman of this committee was notified of the arrival of Barbusse only a few days before his landing in New York.

It was in his capacity as chairman of the World Committee Against War that he came to the United States in the fall of 1933 to aid in launching the American League. The Constitution of the Communist International states explicitly that "the Sections affiliated to the Communist International must maintain close organizational and informational contact

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with each other, arrange for mutual representation at each other's conferences and congresses, and with the consent of the E. C. C. I. [Executive Committee of the Communist International] exchange leading comrades." It is perfectly clear that comrade Barbusse was in the United States "with the consent of the E. C. C. I.," and not by invitation of the united front arrangements committee of the United States Congress Against War.

Shortly after the founding of the American League, Earl Browder went to Moscow where he reported to the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, as follows: "Our most successful application of the united front has been in the anti-war and anti-fascist movement. We led a highly successful United States Congress Against War. . . . The Congress from the beginning was led by our Party quite openly. . . ."73 This should dispose, once and for all, of the question of whether or not the American League was launched by the Communist Party. It should enlighten the goodly number of the clergy, professors, trade unionists, and other innocents who have been gulled into the Party's activities without knowing it.

An amusing instance of "innocence" occurred at the American League's third annual congress which assembled in Cleveland. A local Jewish Rabbi had been invited to give a welcome address to the assembled Stalinists and their fellow-travelers. Naïvely he walked right into a *faux pas* by urging that the task of the American League be broadened to include a fight against communism as well as against war and fascism. Instead of taking the Rabbi's suggestion as an affront, the delegates buzzed with amusement.

A BILLION DOLLARS FOR WAR!

WHILE
SCHOOLS CLOSE
UNEMPLOYED ARE HUNGRY
WORKERS LIVE IN MISERY
FARMERS LOSE THEIR LAND

THE United States Government talks peace and works for war. 585 million dollars of Public Works money has been given to the Army and Navy. This is in addition to the regular budget of half a billion dollars for war purposes.

On January 29th, a large delegation of the AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM is going to Washington to protest against this use of public funds. The delegation will demand that this money be used for

LIFE

NOT

DEATH!

The delegation wants your support. It will be backed up by huge mass meetings all over the country. Two of the delegates will come back from Washington by airplane after visiting the President, the secretaries of War and of the Navy, and Congress.

**SUPPORT THE DELEGATION BY
COMING TO THE MEETING
TO DEMAND:**

**PUBLIC WORKS —
NOT WAR WORKS!**

**CASH RELIEF AND UNEMPLOY-
MENT INSURANCE —
NOT BOMBING PLANES!**

**BUILD SCHOOLS —
NOT BATTLESHIPS!**

MASS MEETING AGAINST THE BILLION DOLLAR WAR BUDGET

AT

ST. NICHOLAS ARENA
69 WEST 66TH STREET

MONDAY, JANUARY 29th, AT 8 P. M.

●
SPEAKERS:

**J. B. MATTHEWS EARL BROWDER
HAROLD HICKERSON LEROY BOWMAN**

Chairman: **Dr. ADDISON CUTLER**

TICKETS: MAIN FLOOR, 35c
BALCONY, 25c

AUSPICES

AMERICAN LEAGUE
AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM
104 FIFTH AVENUE Room 1610
ALGONQUIN 4-7514



The meeting at which Harold Hickerson caused Miss Dorothy Detzer to become so enraged over the communist united front—and justly enraged.

ODYSSEY OF A FELLOW TRAVELER

Anyone who has doubts about who controls the American League may apply a simple and sure-fire test. Let him arise at a meeting of the organization, or at a meeting of any one of these other united front manoeuvres, and propose a resolution which in any way reflects the view that the Soviet Union is something less than paradise or a resolution which suggests that we should not have a communist regime in the United States. On the basis of what happens after that, the doubter may resolve all his doubts.

The National Peace Conference, to which practically all of the peace organizations of the United States are affiliated, has to date declined with emphasis all proposals that the American League for Peace and Democracy be admitted to its affiliated bodies. The action of the National Peace Conference has been based upon the knowledge that the American League is a communist united front organization.

In October, 1938, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom severed its affiliation with the American League for Peace and Democracy.⁷⁴ In doing so, the Women's International League went out of its way to cast reflections upon the testimony which has been given before the Dies Committee. Inasmuch as my own testimony dealt more extensively than that of any other witness with the question of the communist character of the American League, I may be permitted to assume that these distinguished ladies were challenging my statements on this point. I have in my possession letters, written in January, 1934, in which the executive secretary of the Women's International League minces no words about the way in which the communists were running the American League. She wrote:

IN THE UNITED FRONT

I'm through with this group. We don't really belong in it. The only two times I've spoken before the League the Communists have followed and had the final "say." . . . I'm dead tired struggling to keep the W. I. L. in a group where the speakers do what happened tonight. . . . I hardly remember a time when I have been so enraged and furious as I was when I left that meeting . . . and I think the answer is that I personally have no place in the United Front organization. There are limits to how much people are willing to be kicked in the face either publicly or privately, and I am about at the end of my patience in regard to it.

Despite the fervor of those remarks by its executive secretary, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom continued its affiliation with the American League for several years. Having now severed its affiliation at this late date, the Women's International League may be applauded for its action, but it performed a work of supererogation when it undertook to berate the work of the Dies Committee and the testimony of the Committee's witnesses.



The American League got off to a poor start. Notwithstanding the fact that the Communist Party put three of its international figures on tour for the purpose of publicizing the American League, there was practically no response anywhere to the organizational efforts of the united front. Large audiences, composed almost entirely of the middle-class intellectuals, went to hear Henri Barbusse, Tom Mann, and John Strachey—the three horsemen of the communist apocalypse who had been imported from abroad—but neither individuals nor new groups joined the Amer-

ODYSSEY OF A FELLOW TRAVELER

ican League in any but trivial numbers. The organization was everywhere known to be under the leadership of the Communist Party, precisely as Browder had claimed it to be, and the Party had not yet adopted the "Trojan horse" tactic of boring from within trade unions and middle-class organizations by the use of what Georgi Dimitroff was later to describe as "transitional slogans."⁷⁵ Party speakers and Party literature for the next two years were delivering stinging tirades against bourgeois democracy; Earl Browder was declaring that "Roosevelt operates with all of the arts of 'democratic' rule, with an emphasized liberal and social-demagogic cover" and that "Roosevelt is carrying out more thoroughly, more brutally than Hoover, the capitalist attack against the living standards of the masses and the sharpest national chauvinism in foreign relations";⁷⁶ Heywood Broun was faithfully following the Party "line" by calling from the highest perch of the American Newspaper Guild that Roosevelt was "Labor's Public Enemy No. 1"; and the Communist Party was stating officially that if the united front meant the ending of the struggle by the communists against John L. Lewis, "this condition the Communists will never accept, because this condition is a united front against the working class."⁷⁷ Eventually when the Party dropped the "dictatorship of the proletariat" from its vocabulary and adopted the "transitional slogan" about the defense of democracy, it had better luck with its united front ruse.

To the end of building a mass revolutionary base among the workers of the major industries, communists and non-communists in the American League recognized the importance of having some good

IN THE UNITED FRONT

middle-class window-dressing in the form of names with news value. Whatever may be true of its self-appointed leaders, the proletariat has a distinct inferiority complex which, as communists assume in their united front manoeuvres, leads it to join whatever the "best" people have joined or sponsored. The most valuable middle-class decoys in the communist united front are those whose names have not been associated too publicly with radical causes. There was, therefore, great jubilation in the headquarters of the American League on the occasion when we were able to print the name of Mrs. William Dick Sporborg, General Federation of Women's Clubs, as a speaker at one of the mass meetings of the League. (Mrs. Sporborg is no longer an officer of the Federation.) The first half dozen such decoys were the hardest to get; after that the decoys decoyed each other, and the ease of assembling an impressive lot of middle-class window-dressing increased by geometrical progression. When any one of these united front decoys suspected that he had been drawn into a communist manoeuvre, he was reassured that such could not be the case and was asked rhetorically if he believed that this Methodist Bishop or that Union Theological Seminary professor looked like a communist. The law of diminishing returns operates to reduce the decoying power of names which have been used over and over for years. The disguise has been worn thin, for example, in the case of such names as those of Professor Robert Morss Lovett, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Arthur Garfield Hays, Professor Reinhold Niebuhr, Professor Harry F. Ward, and Roger N. Baldwin.

In my organizational tours as chairman of the

PATRONS ARE REQUESTED TO FAVOR THE COMPANY BY CRITICISM AND SUGGESTION CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable sign above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION (19).

DL	Letter
NM	Night Message
NL	Night Letter
LCO	Deferred Cable
NLT	Cable Night Letter
WLT	Week-End Letter

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

The filing time as shown in the date line on full-rate telegrams and day letters, and the time of receipt at destination as shown on all messages, is STANDARD TIME.

Received at 42 Central Square, Youngstown, Ohio TELEPHONE 43171

1934 FEB 13 PM 2 21

NA59 23=NEWYORK NY 13 216P

J B MATTHEWS, CARE N GLASS=

150 EAST PHILADELPHIA AVE YOUNGSTOWN OHIO=

MINUTES IN TRANSIT	
FULL-RATE	DAY LETTER
5	

PLEASE TELEGRAPH OK OUR ISSUING STATEMENTS YOUR NAME SUPPORT
 AUSTRIAN WORKERS AND CALLING FOR UNITED FRONT WORKERS THIS
 COUNTRY IN SUPPORT AUSTRIAN STRUGGLE=

IDA DAILES.

IN THE UNITED FRONT

American League, I was compelled to have initial contacts with the undercover respectables who do the Communist Party's work as united fronters in their communities. The Party had no choice but to supply me with the names of these persons. At Amherst College there was a professor of economics who was always available as Party window-dressing. At Johns Hopkins University there was an instructor in philosophy who performed the same service for the comrades. Here, there, and yonder, were authors, clergymen, professors, lawyers, and club women. Some of them were willing and knowing stooges, others were innocent joiners of, or speakers for, almost anything that had a good slogan with a flavor of idealism. Today, the Communist Party has thousands of them strategically placed in middle-class society, most of them having a stoopdown rather than an uplift complex from which they derive the thrill of vicarious identification with what they imagine to be the downtrodden proletariat. They include more than a dozen United States Senators and Representatives, at least one member of the President's cabinet who is a presidential aspirant, three or four Methodist bishops, and some eminent authors and scientists.

How was the American League financed? The procedure was four-fold. First, there was the nickel-dime-and-quarter drive upon the masses and the innocents. Next came the money-raising banquets for the upper middle class with Henri Barbusse, John Strachey, or Tom Mann as speaker. When these were insufficient, money was borrowed on notes signed by Corliss Lamont—the original midget on Morgan's lap. And finally, in a pinch we got Browder on the telephone and had him send over cash from

ODYSSEY OF A FELLOW TRAVELER

the Party chest which, I was told, was regularly stocked from Moscow. When one of our publicity stories included the name of Corliss Lamont, there was a rule that his family connections with the House of Morgan should be given appropriate emphasis.



What little united front of leftist organizations there was in the American League was breached by the conduct of the Communist Party in connection with a demonstration on behalf of the Austrian socialists who were being suppressed by the régime of Chancellor Dollfuss. The demonstration was scheduled for Madison Square Garden on February 16, 1934, under the auspices of New York trade unionists and socialists. Some 500,000 workers of New York joined in a citywide demonstration, a general stoppage of work having been declared for three o'clock. Madison Square Garden was packed to capacity, and among the announced speakers were Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia and Matthew Woll. At the very outset of the meeting in the Garden, members of the Communist Party precipitated a riot which made all speeches impossible and which finally broke up the meeting. I was in Detroit at the time trying to set up a local branch of the American League. I received a telegram from Earl Browder asking for an interview with me in Detroit. When I met Browder, the substance of his defense was that the Communist Party had so conditioned its members to a hatred of LaGuardia and Woll that it was powerless to control them at a meeting where these two were announced to speak. Without any hesitation, Browder shouldered full responsibility for what had oc-

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

1201-S

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION (24)

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

SIGNS

DL = Day Letter
 NM = Night Message
 NL = Night Letter
 LC = Deferred Cable
 NLT = Cable Night Letter
 Ship Radiogram

The filing time as shown in the date line on full-rate telegrams and day letters, and the time of receipt at destination as shown on all messages, is STANDARD TIME.

Received at 124 East Kearsley Street, Flint, Mich. Telephone 25151

1934 FEB 20 PM 1 26

ZB122 16=PITTSBURGH PENN 20 118P

J B MATTHEWS=

507 AVON ST FLINT MICH=

MINUTES IN TRANSIT	
FULL-RATE	DAY LETTER
1	

AM IN CHICAGO WEDNESDAY THURSDAY DETROIT FRIDAY SATURDAY STOP
 CAN YOU MEET ME STOP ANSWER CHICAGO=

EARL BROWDER.

ODYSSEY OF A FELLOW TRAVELER

curred at the Garden, and made a plea for me to remain as chairman of the American League. The Garden incident was much too raw for a complete whitewash of the Communist Party, but the American Civil Liberties Union set up a committee which issued a pussyfooting statement on the episode.

I resigned the national chairmanship of the American League as a gesture of protest against the behavior of the Communist Party at Madison Square Garden. Harry F. Ward, professor at Union Theological Seminary, succeeded me in the position and has retained the chairmanship of the League ever since. Professor Ward is also chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union and of the Methodist Federation for Social Service. Under his leadership, the American League has been rebuilt into a far more effective united front agency of the Communist Party than it was before the affair of the Garden.

From Michigan, I telegraphed my resignation as national chairman of the American League. It was clear enough to me that the chairmanship was the only relationship which I had with the League. Nevertheless, the communists who remained practically alone in the League's National Bureau attempted to make it appear that I was still supporting the League as some sort of member. Personally, I am still at a loss to understand why they set such great value upon my connections with their united front, but the record is perfectly clear that they considered me of some vital importance to their purposes.

In order to leave no doubts about the complete severance of my connection with the League, I sent

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the following letter to the League's Bureau:

40 West 93rd Street,
New York, N. Y.,
March 11, 1934.

Ida Dailes, Assistant Secretary,
American League Against War and Fascism,
112 East 19th Street,
New York City.

Dear Ida:

I have read with astonishment the statement in the release prepared by the Bureau of the American League Against War and Fascism that "at the same time the Chairman of the Executive Committee resigns his post without resigning from the League." This is certainly suggestive of the drowning man clutching at straws! The League must be desperately put to it when this sort of a statement is sent out. What could it possibly mean to resign from the League? I am not and never have been a *member of the League*. In fact there is no such category as that of "member of the League." Besides the affiliated organizations, there have to my knowledge been only "enlisted supporters," and a few individuals like myself who were officers of the League without either representing an organization or being enlisted supporters. My only connection with the League was my chairmanship of the Executive Committee which made me ex-officio the chairman of the Bureau. If there is any doubt in any quarter about the extent of my relationship to the League as I have thus defined it, then let us clear up any further possible misunderstanding by making it final and unequivocal that I bear no relationship of any character whatsoever to the League.

In my letter to the Bureau in which I stated briefly my reasons for resigning I closed with the following words: "The United Front must not die. But that is not the same thing as saying that any particular united

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front enterprise must be kept alive after it has ceased to hold possibilities for expressing the united front." How is it possible that these words could be misunderstood? I do still believe in the crying need for a united front of all working class elements in the fight against war and fascism, but I am convinced finally and without any equivocation that the League is now and must continue to be a hollow gesture of a united front. Elsewhere in the letter I stated that in my opinion "the difficulties of continuing at this time are insurmountable." By insurmountable I mean *insurmountable!*

I had hoped that this judgment would be shared by all those who had been in the League, though I stated that it would be *impertinent* for me to try to influence the rest of you, after I myself had found it necessary to withdraw. On the evening of March 1st when I talked with Roger Baldwin at the Fraternity Clubs Building I stated to him categorically that I was out of the League. If any of the rest of you feel that there is anything left of the united front in the League, I have not wanted to make your task more difficult by attacking the League, and I hope you will not by any further misrepresentation of my position draw from me a statement which will have to be inclusive in its indictment.

Sincerely yours,

J. B. MATTHEWS

From the foregoing letter, it should be clear that I had not abandoned my belief in the need for a genuine united front of all Marxist and near-Marxist groups. In fact, I continued to work to that end for more than a year following my resignation as national chairman of the League.

In April, 1935, I received a letter from the League which stated that "it was unanimously decided" to invite me to become a member of the League's Bu-

I was unanimously invited to accept a place on the national bureau of the League, a year after I had resigned the chairmanship.



AMERICAN LEAGUE

AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

A movement to unite in common resistance to War and Fascism all organizations and individuals who are opposed to these allied destroyers of mankind

112 E. 19TH STREET, ROOM 605
NEW YORK CITY

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-9784
9786

April 29, 1935

HARRY F. WARD
CHAIRMAN
ROBERT MORSS LOVETT
VICE-CHAIRMAN
LINCOLN STEFFENS
VICE-CHAIRMAN
EARL BROWDER
VICE-CHAIRMAN
WILLIAM P. MANGOLD
TREASURER

NATIONAL BUREAU

ROGER BALDWIN
LEROY E. BOWMAN
ELMER CARTER
MARGARET FORSYTH
CLARENCE HATHAWAY
HAROLD HICKERSON
WILLIAM P. MANGOLD
SAMUEL C. PATTERSON
HARRY F. WARD

SECRETARIAL STAFF

AFFILIATIONS
CHARLES WEBBER
ORGANIZATION
WALDO MCNUTT
ADMINISTRATION
IDA DAILES
PUBLICATIONS
LISTON M. OAK

WOMEN
DOROTHY MCCONNELL
YOUTH
JAMES LERNER



J. B. Matthews
Washington, N. J.

Dear Mr. Matthews:

At the meeting of the National Bureau on April 15th, it was unanimously decided that you be invited to accept a place on the Bureau if you can find it possible to attend the meetings on the first and third Mondays of the month, at 5:00 p.m.

If you find that it is absolutely impossible for you to attend these meetings regularly, we should like you to accept membership on the National Executive Committee. Membership on this Committee will not necessitate attendance at the Bureau meetings.

We would appreciate very much your decision to accept either of these positions and will be grateful for your prompt response. We will send you notice of the next Bureau meeting should you so wish.

Sincerely yours,

Ida Dailes
Administration Secretary

ID.DP

ODYSSEY OF A FELLOW TRAVELER

reau once more. (See photograph of letter on preceding page.) I accepted this invitation, and remained a member until my resignation following the effort of communists to destroy Consumers' Research of which I was vice-president.

In my testimony before the Dies Committee, I did not say that I resigned from the Bureau of the League (September, 1935) "because of any pathetically shattered 'idealism.'" Yet the American League issued a release in which it imputed such testimony to me. This is simply one more case of the familiar communist technique of denying what was not said. I resigned from the League's Bureau, as my letter of resignation to it plainly states, because I did not wish to embarrass the League. I was engaged in fighting the communists in their effort to destroy Consumers' Research, and the American League being a communist united front organization was naturally embarrassed by the spectacle of having one of its officers so engaged. Stupidly, and as though unable to comprehend the English language, the American League published my letter in its release in which it declared that I had not resigned because of any "pathetically shattered idealism." Even though opposed to the communists in the specific situation at Consumers' Research, just as I had opposed them over the Madison Square Garden incident and on other occasions, I still considered myself a fairly good Marxist—a believer in the need for a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism—and my letter proves just that. In that letter, I said: "In taking leave, may I express my deepest hope that the work of the League may grow in effectiveness day by day as it confronts the deepening crisis of the world situation." Certainly that is

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not the language of one who has given up belief in the desirability of the united front.

In addition to my unmistakably clear letter of resignation to the Bureau of the League, I sent a letter to Professor Harry F. Ward who had succeeded me as national chairman of the League. Professor Ward replied to this letter, as follows:

Oct. 13, 1935.

Dear J. B.

I greatly appreciate the spirit shown in your resignation from the Bureau of the American League.

Your readiness to subordinate your personal fortunes to the advancement of the common cause at this point commands my respect.

I wonder if you would care to have me show your letter to Browder and Hathaway.

Faithfully,

(Signed) HARRY F. WARD

My united front activities ceased at the time of the so-called strike at Consumers' Research, but it was not until many months later that I finally reached that point in my thinking where I believed that collectivism—whether of the right or the left—would, if it continued its march, usher in a new dark age for mankind. I had been years in arriving at a belief in socialism (or communism in the sense in which Marx expounded it), and I was equally slow in rejecting that belief. To the last moment of a gradually expiring faith, as long as I could discern the faintest possibility that substantial contributions toward the making of the New World might lie in the leftist movement, I clung to a belief in radicalism. I cannot name the precise day on which I became a socialist or the precise day on which I ceased to be

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one. Both processes were extended and cumulative. What I do know and what I did tell the Dies Committee was that I had reached

the deep conviction that present-day radicalism in general and communism in particular is the most complete illusion ever born in the human brain, that its usually sincerely held ideals of liberty, fraternity, equality, and security are certain to be negated by their extreme opposites if communists ever come into complete possession of the government of this country.

★ ★ ★

We are now prepared to look at the genealogy of this most successful of all communist united fronts:

The Communist International *begat* the Amsterdam World Congress. (August, 1932)

The Amsterdam World Congress *begat* the World Committee Against War. (1932—)

The World Committee Against War *begat* the American Committee for the Struggle Against War. (1932-1933)

The American Committee for the Struggle Against War *begat* the National Organizing Committee for the First United States Congress Against War. (June-September, 1933)

The National Organizing Committee *begat* the First United States Congress Against War. (September 29-October 1, 1933)

The First United States Congress Against War *begat* the American League Against War and Fascism. (October, 1933)

The American League Against War and Fascism was rechristened the American League for Peace and Democracy. (November, 1937)

What the offspring of the American League for

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Peace and Democracy may be, only time will tell. The League now wishes ardently to father a Soviet-American military alliance in the world war which it anticipates. To this end, it is now passionately wooing the New Deal Administration. It is sending boxes of "collective security" chocolates daily. It went into a veritable fit of love-making when its advances were given the encouragement of the President's "quarantine the aggressor" speech in October, 1937.

The League, however, contemplates an alternative fatherhood. If it should fail to win the hand of the New Deal or any other administration of the United States government, it will then revert to its first love, *Discontent*, with the hope of begetting Civil War. Its progeny, Civil War, will, according to its fond parent's hopes, "attack the class enemy in the rear" in the event that the United States joins in the attack of the capitalist powers upon the Soviet Union. [Whichever of these wars the American League might beget first (if either), the Communist Party itself hopes eventually to destroy American capitalism through civil war.]

Committee for Investigating Conditions in the Furriers' Union

In the summer of 1933, I was invited to become a member of a committee to investigate the labor situation in the fur industry. This invitation came from the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, which I knew to be a communist united front organization.

Factional warfare among the fur workers had reached the point of extreme violence and bloodshed. No one could doubt the need for a thorough and im-

ODYSSEY OF A FELLOW TRAVELER

partial investigation. I consented to serve on the investigating committee, with the hope that the situation might be fairly probed. I was not long in discovering, however, that my hope was an idle dream, and, incidentally, I learned a great deal from first-hand experience about the technique of communist united front investigating committees.

Hearings were held at the Labor Temple on 14th Street in New York, but the witnesses were all of one faction. Norman Thomas and other socialists were invited to appear, ostensibly to make the hearings impartial, but Thomas and the socialists declined the invitation in view of the origin and composition of the investigating committee.

The communist device of "investigating" is to set up packed committees whose only function is to bring in findings which are in the nature of a white-wash for the communist faction involved in the dispute and an indictment of the communist faction's opposition. Usually a stooge, whose chief gift is a large amount of political naiveté, is made chairman of the committee. Two or three other stooges are often found sprinkled among the committee's membership. The general outlines of the findings to be reported could be written in advance by any left-wing politically informed person, even though he were in retirement on the slopes of Mt. Everest.

Even at the time, it did not appear to me to be an act of gross impropriety or a confession of socialist guilt on the part of Norman Thomas when he declined to appear as a witness before our committee. Two years later, however, when Norman Thomas accepted membership on an equally packed communist united front committee which was set up under the

IN THE UNITED FRONT

chairmanship of Reinhold Niebuhr for the ostensible purpose of investigating the so-called strike at Consumers' Research, I was expected to be naive enough to walk into the trap by appearing as a witness before the committee. Knowing all about the functionings of such committees, however, I declined to appear.

When the committee "investigating" conditions among the workers in the fur industry brought in its findings, my name appeared as one of the signers, even though I had not signed the report. In the committee's publicity which was printed in the metropolitan newspapers and the *Daily Worker* (August 8, 1933, page 3), my name was falsely included in the list of signers. There had, in my opinion, been no investigation as I understand the word. I issued a press release repudiating my signature, and at least the *New Leader* carried this repudiation in its issue of the following week. I had no intention of becoming a factional tool of the Communist Party; and I should be permitted to point out that this was at the very peak of my united front activities.

According to the press release issued by the fur investigating committee, its report was signed by the following persons: Horace Kallen (chairman), Thyra Samter Winslow, John Chamberlain, Kyle Crichton (alias Robert Forsythe), Lucille Copeland, Theodore Dreiser, Benjamin Goldstein, J. B. Matthews, and Jerome Michael. I do not know how many of these signatures were authentic. I only know that mine was not.

Friends of the Soviet Union

Shortly after the formation of the American League

ODYSSEY OF A FELLOW TRAVELER

Against War and Fascism, Herbert Goldfrank, secretary of the Friends of the Soviet Union, asked me to undertake a nation-wide speaking tour on behalf of the FSU. I consented to do so. In a letter from Goldfrank, dated October 28, 1933, I was given the following information:

You will notice that we have arranged your first meeting in Cleveland on Friday, November 24th. This is done because of the eagerness of the Cleveland comrades to have you there on that night. . . . We have advised our branches that your subject will be "The Soviet Union in World Affairs."

Due to an impending split in the Fellowship of Reconciliation, of which I was one of the executive secretaries, I considered it necessary to cancel my agreement to make the scheduled tour for the FSU.

Subsequently, I contributed two articles to the magazine of the FSU, *Soviet Russia Today*, became a member of the organization's national committee, and from time to time made speeches at its meetings in many parts of the country.

In 1935, I addressed mass meetings of the Friends of the Soviet Union in Milwaukee and Chicago. At both of these meetings, Congressman Ernest Lundeen (now United States Senator from Minnesota) was the principal speaking attraction on the program. In March, 1935, I addressed a similar gathering in Detroit where Congressman Lundeen was also scheduled but failed to appear when the flight of his airplane from New York was cancelled. In Detroit, Maurice Sugar was running for judge of the Recorder's Court. Sugar's campaign was the first of the Communist Party's efforts to launch a labor party in

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this country. His campaign paper, *It's About Time!*, had the following to say concerning my speech:

A ringing call to the people of Detroit to elect Maurice Sugar judge of the Recorder's Court was made by J. B. Matthews, of New York, one of the most prominent national figures in the Socialist Party, at a mass meeting in Deutsches Haus on Sunday, March 10. The meeting was called to protest the campaign of the Hearst press against Soviet Russia and the American labor movement. "The best way to answer Hearst," Matthews said, "is to elect Maurice Sugar. . . . It would be a great step forward toward uniting labor in an independent political movement."⁷⁸

Under the auspices of the Friends of the Soviet Union, I addressed a mass meeting at Madison Square Garden in February, 1935. I have already noted what Simon W. Gerson wrote of my speech on that occasion, in the *Daily Worker*. In a regular news report, the *Daily Worker*, also said:

Speaking as a Socialist, J. B. Matthews roused the extraordinary feeling of solidarity which pervaded the meeting to an immense pitch by declaring: "The outstanding need that faces us is the need for working class unity." . . . An extraordinary wave of feeling and enthusiasm swept over the meeting, with thousands of workers rising to their feet cheering, as Matthews declared: "We can unite to build a party of the working class, and this party must include the Communist Party."⁷⁹

Congressman Ernest Lundeen, Corliss Lamont, and James Waterman Wise were also among the speakers on this occasion.

Columbia Anti-War Committee

Early in 1934, the communist students at Columbia

WEDNESDAY
EVENING
MARCH

20th

8:30 P.M.

FIFTH
AVENUE
THEATRE
28th St.
and
B'way

STRACHEY PROTEST MEETING

DWIGHT
MORGAN

(Committee for
the Protection of
Foreign-Born)

and

JOHN
UJICH

(out on bail in
deportation
Case)

SPEAKERS

J.B. MATTHEWS

- CO-AUTHOR
"Partners in Plunder"

ORRICK JOHNS
(of the New Masses)

HEYWOOD BROWN

CHAIRMAN

Tickets
35¢
and
49¢
at door
only

-and
several
surprise
speakers!

auspices:
National
committee
for the
Defense of
Political
Prisoners

Room 534
156-5th Ave.
New York City

ROTOGRAPHED 817-19 B'WAY.

IN THE UNITED FRONT

University organized a conference under the auspices of what they described as the Columbia Anti-War Committee. Earl Browder and I were among the principal speakers.

Book Union

Late in 1934, the Book Union was formed for the purpose of pushing the sales of the comrades' books. I became one of the national sponsors of the organization.

National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners

Early in 1935, the immigration authorities in this country considered deporting John Strachey as an undesirable alien engaged in communist propaganda. On March 20, 1935, the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners held a "Strachey Protest Meeting" at which I was the principal speaker and Heywood Broun was the chairman. According to the *Daily Worker*, this meeting was also sponsored by the *New Masses*, Communist Party weekly publication.⁸⁰

"Icor"

On May 22, 1935, I made a speech for "Icor" in the New York Hippodrome. The *Daily Worker* reported that "J. B. Matthews, a leading revolutionary socialist . . . was greeted with thunderous cheers."⁸¹

Labor Sports Union

The Labor Sports Union is the American section of the Red Sports International. I complied with a request to furnish an endorsement of the work of this communist united front.

ODYSSEY OF A FELLOW TRAVELER

League of Women Shoppers

An old human trick which had whiskers when Methuselah was a boy is to deny with vehemence an allegation which no one has made. Charge a man with lying and, if he replies with indignant vehemence that he has not committed petty larceny, he creates strong presumptive evidence of his guilt on the count of lying, at least in the minds of all but the incurably gullible who mistake vehemence on one point for innocence on another. In modern times, communists and their stooges have worked this trick overtime. They make a habit of denying or of having their stooges deny what has not been alleged.

We have, for example, the case of Mrs. Arthur Garfield Hays and the League of Women Shoppers. In my testimony before the Dies Committee, I said: "Throughout the period of incubation of the League of Women Shoppers, I was consulted as to its organization and program. This, too, was in the spring and early summer of 1935. It was at that time that the Communist Party decided to launch a whole new series of 'united front' organizations dealing ostensibly with the interests of consumers." According to a news story published in the *Daily Worker*, Mrs. Hays promptly sent a long telegram to Representative Dies. The *Daily Worker* printed her telegram in full. Her message does not contain a word which either directly or indirectly denies anything which I said. My testimony is, of course, a matter of record. Her message does, however, through a series of highly questionable assertions finally reach the following conclusion: "By this definition Mr. Matthews could not have honestly become a member."⁸² The *Daily Worker's* headline for this remarkable telegram of

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Mrs. Hays states that I "was ineligible for shoppers' groups." These communists are, among other things, incredibly funny. Of course I was "ineligible" for membership in the League of Women Shoppers. Certainly, as Mrs. Hays announced, I "could not have honestly become a member." Never in my life have I assumed the guise of a woman. Or am I mistaken in believing that a league of women limits its membership to that sex? At any rate, it is pertinent to raise the query as to why Mrs. Hays thought it relevant to say that I could not have honestly become a member of the League of Women Shoppers. What has that to do with the fact that I was consulted as to the organization and program of the League throughout the period of its incubation, as I stated in my testimony before the Dies Committee? I was so consulted and have letters on the official letterhead of the League to prove it. I challenge Mrs. Hays to deny what was alleged! It was precisely because I was consulted several times on the matter of launching the League of Women Shoppers that I am in a position to know that it was initiated by communists for communists as one of several "united front" manoeuvres dealing ostensibly with the interests of consumers. Susan Jenkins, concerning whose communist connections there are court records, was the person who approached me regarding the League on at least six occasions. She it was who also arranged for Rebecca Drucker, one of the first behind-the-scenes promoters of the League of Women Shoppers, to make a special trip to Washington, N. J., where the two of them unsuccessfully sought the cooperation of Consumers' Research in the work of the League. One of the principal questions which we raised with both Susan

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Jenkins (who told us that the Communist Party wanted her to take the executive secretaryship of the League) and Rebecca Drucker (whose apartment on Madison Avenue in New York was long a rendezvous for Communist Party plotters) had to do with the matter of whether or not the newly formed League was to be merely another letterhead "united front" with a lot of stuffed shirts, or whatever the females of that species are called, on it. Both of these women informed us that it was too late to withdraw their invitations to such stooges as Mrs. Arthur Garfield Hays who had already consented, whether she knew it or not, to serve as window-dressing for the League. Susan Jenkins did state, however, that she and Isador Schneider (the two prime organizers of the League according to her claim) would certainly kill the organization if by reason of its letterhead stooges it turned out to be a stuffed-shirt affair.

Innumerable examples of this old human trick of denying what has not been alleged could be cited from the public statements of communists and their stooges. The tactic is, perhaps, seen best in the now classic affair of Shirley Temple. Shortly after my testimony before the Dies Committee, member of the Young Communist League in New York put a picket line in front of the Federal Building. The communist picketers carried placards which said: "Tut tut Mr. Dies Shirley Temple is not subversive!" Even that select little company of fans who put stock in what Heywood Broun writes do not need to be reminded that nobody said Shirley Temple was subversive. The Young Communist League was simply denying an allegation which was neither made nor implied in anything which was said before the Dies

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Committee. These denials are backhanded lies in that they falsely imply the allegation which is denied. Now and then communist lies, whether backhanded or direct, are so cute that they defeat their own ends. The Shirley Temple piece was clearly such a case.

Canadian League Against War and Fascism

I have already pointed out that the Canadian League Against War and Fascism changed its name to the Canadian League for Peace and Democracy at about the same time that the American League was renamed.

On the letterhead of the Canadian League, there appears in parentheses under the organization's name the line, "Canadian Section, World Movement Against War and Fascism." The line's reference is to the so-called Amsterdam Movement which was launched by the Communist International in 1932.

The letterhead of the Canadian League lists the following persons as endorsers: Henri Barbusse, Lord Marley, Ernst Toller, John Strachey, Harry F. Ward, Robert Morss Lovett, Rabbi Edward L. Israel, George S. Counts, Maxwell S. Stewart, and E. C. Lindeman. All of these persons are well-known as communists or frequently found in the company of communists.

In the spring of 1935, I was invited to go to Toronto as the principal speaker at a Conference of the Canadian League. In his letters to me regarding this Conference and my appearance, the chairman of the Canadian League wrote, among other things:

Sunday evening we are going to stage a mass meeting in Massey Hall, which holds 3500 people. It is abso-

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lutely imperative that you remain over for this, for we shall have to build the meeting around you and your world-wide reputation. . . . We will do our damndest to arrange a polite deportation for you.

★ ★ ★

In this account of my communist united front activities, I have given the names of twenty-eight organizations or committees. In fifteen of these, I held some official position. I made speeches for not less than nineteen, and I am able to account for a total of 106 such speeches delivered solely for the Cause! To the best of my ability I can account for only \$330 received toward traveling expenses, and a single \$10 honorarium. The check for this \$10 honorarium is still in my possession uncashed. It was a rankly individualistic phenomenon in a whirlwind of speech-making for collectivism.

These united front activities brought me into contact with most of the communist leaders and practically all of the outstanding fellow travelers of the period. How shrewdly these contacts are sometimes handled is well illustrated by a letter and a telegram which I received from Joseph Pass, editor of *Fight*. These communications, which are reproduced on the following pages, were sent on the same day, as the dates on them verify. In the letter, Joseph Pass informed me that my suggestions concerning an article on NRA had been accepted. In the telegram, Pass asked me to meet Earl Browder for a conference on articles which were to appear in *Fight*. Ordinarily, when Browder or any of the other comrades wished to see me about any matter, the telephone was used. In the case of this telegram signed by Pass, there was the single exception to the rule of using the

NATIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
UNITED STATES CONGRESS AGAINST WAR

CHAIRMAN: J. B. MATTHEWS

TREASURER: ANNIE E. GRAY

SECRETARY: DONALD HENDERSON

104 FIFTH AVENUE—ROOM 1610
NEW YORK CITY

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-7814

ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE

- DONALD HENDERSON—American Committee for Europe's Against War
MRS. ANNIE E. GRAY—Women's Peace Socy
J. B. MATTHEWS—Fellowship of Reconciliation
DEVYER ALLEN—Fellowship of Reconciliation
OSCAR AMERINGER—Editor, "American Guardian"
ROGER BALDWIN—American Civil Liberties Union
F. E. BEARCE—Marine Workers Unemployed Union, L. W. W.
HERBERT BENJAMIN—Nat'l Com. Unemployed Councils
LEROY BOWMAN—League for Industrial Democracy
A. DAVIS—A. F. of L. Trade Union Com. for Unemployment Insurance & Relief
ANNA N. DAVIS—War Resisters League
DOROTHY DEYER—Women's Int'l League for Peace and Freedom
JAMES W. FORD—Trade Union Unity League
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER—Communist Party of the U. S. A.
MARY FOX—League for Industrial Democracy
CARL GRIBER—Youth Section, Amer. Com. for Europe's Against War
DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN—Social Justice Com., Rabbinical Assembly of America
GILBERT GREEN—Young Communist League of U. S. A.
J. B. HARMAN—Editor, "The Advance," Amal. Clothing Workers of America
LEW HARRIS—Farmers Nat'l Com. for Action
CLARENCE HATHAWAY—Editor, "Daily Worker"
JOHN MERLING—Emergency Com. for Strikers' Relief
HAROLD HICKERSON—Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League
ROY HUDSON—Marine Workers Ind. Union
MRS. ADDIE WAITE HUNTON—Int'l Coun. of Women of Darker Race
ABRAHAM KAUFMAN—War Resisters League
LOLA MAVERICK LLOYD—Women's Peace Society
RICHARD LOVELACE—Veterans' Nat'l Rank and File Committee
ROBERT MORSE LOVETT—League for Ind. Democracy
ROBERT MINOR—Communist Party of U.S.A.
A. J. MUSTE—Conf. for Progressive Labor Action
RAY NEWTON—Peace Section, Amer. Friends Service Com.
WILLIAM PICKENS—Contr. Editor, Am. Negro Press
IRA De A. REID—League for Industrial Democracy
DAVID J. SAPOSS—Brookwood Labor College
ALBERT G. SELLERS—B. E. F. Rank and File Com.
UPTON SINCLAIR—Amer. Com. for Struggle Against War
TUCKER F. SMITH—Brookwood Labor College
JACK STACHEL—Trade Union Unity League
MONROE SWEETLAND—Intercollegiate Council, I. I. D.
LOUISE THOMPSON—Int'l Labor Defense
WM. E. TRUAX—Ohio Unemployed League
ALFRED WAGENKNECHT—Nat'l Com. to Aid Victims of German Fascism
HOWARD Y. WILLIAMS—League for Independent Political Action

The above individuals constitute the Arrangements Committee. See other side for supporting organizations.

Nov. 1, 1933

J.B. Matthews
40 West 33rd St.
New York City

Dear J.B.

In reference to the NKA article, it is agreed that we should follow your proposals. I am cutting and changing the galleys and will send you the proof as soon as it comes back.

Yours as ever,

Joseph Pass



PATRONS ARE REQUESTED TO FAVOR THE COMPANY BY CRITICISM AND SUGGESTION CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

1201 8

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable sign above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

SIGNS

DL = Day Letter
NM = Night Message
NL = Night Letter
LCO = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
WLT = Week-End Letter

The filing time as shown in the date line on full-rate telegrams and day letters, and the time of receipt at destination as shown on all messages, is STANDARD TIME.

Received at 2483 Broadway, New York

1933 NOV 1 AM 10 37

NAM12 15=NEWYORK NY 1 1029A

J B MATTHEWS=

40 WEST 93 ST=

MINUTES IN TRANSIT	
FULL-RATE	DAY LETTER
8	

CAN YOU MEET BROWDER THIS AFTERNOON TO GO OVER MAGAZINE
MATERIAL PHONE ME FOR APPOINTMENT=

PASS.

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telephone. I met Browder that afternoon at a cafeteria on Seventh Avenue just below 14th Street. He did *not* wish to see me concerning articles for the forthcoming magazine *Fight*, but about something which was not even remotely connected with such a matter. He did not once mention any such articles. What he did talk about to me would have interested the United States Department of State and the Secret Service Bureau of the Department of Justice (or would it?) *if it had materialized*. It seems obvious that the telegram and the letter which Pass sent me were calculated to make a *record of what Browder did not talk about to me*.

¹ *Daily Worker*, April 17, 1935, p. 1.

² Some of the articles which I contributed to various left-wing publications were, as follows:

Revolutionary Age (Lovestone)

A series entitled "Europe As I Saw It" appearing in the issues of October 24 and 31, November 14 and 28, December 5, 1931.

Labor Age (Musteite)

"War Threatens," December, 1931.

"Storm Over Europe," September, 1932.

"The Soviet Union in 1932," October, 1932.

America For All (Socialist Party)

"Socialism and the Negro," October 15, 1932.

The New Leader (Socialist Party)

"The Bloody International," October 8, 1932.

"Socialism Marches On," November 5, 1932.

The World Tomorrow (Socialist viewpoint)

"Ukraine White Coal," October 19, 1932.

"Pacifists Prefer Thomas," October 26, 1932.

"Tolstoyans Migrate to Kuznetsk," November 16, 1932.

"The Pact in Perspective," August 31, 1933.

Revolt (Student League for Industrial Democracy: socialist)

"Class War in Germany," October, 1932.

"Planned Sabotage," December, 1933.

Labor Action (Musteite)

"Foreign News," January 21, 1933.

Daily Worker (Communist Party)

"Largest U. S. Pacifist Group Splits," December 18, 1933.

Fight (Communist united front)

"Germany and the War Peril," November, 1933.

"49th State in Wall Street's Union," January, 1934.

The New Masses (Communist)

"Is Pacifism Counter-Revolutionary?" January 2, 1934.

Soviet Russia Today (Communist united front)

"The Soviet Peace Policy," November, 1933.

"A Socialist Looks at the Soviet Union," May, 1935.

³ *Student Outlook*, February, 1933, p. 5.

⁴ *New York Times*, December 29, 1932, p. 8.

⁵ *Daily Worker*, August 23, 1933, p. 6.

⁶ *Ibid*, May 3, 1933, p. 3.

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- ¹ *Student Outlook*, November-December, 1934, p. 35.
- ² *Daily Worker*, January 1, 1938, p. 3.
- ³ *Ibid*, February 4, 1938, p. 6.
- ⁴ *Youngville, U.S.A.*, p. 29.
- ⁵ Wolf Michal, *Youth Marches Toward Socialism* (New York: Workers Library Publishers, 1936), p. 39.
- ⁶ *Ibid*, p. 40.
- ⁷ O. Kuusinen, *Youth and Fascism* (New York: Workers Library Publishers), p. 14f.
- ⁸ *Ibid*, p. 18f.
- ⁹ *Ibid*, p. 24.
- ¹⁰ Earl Browder, *The Democratic Front* (New York: Workers Library Publishers, 1938), p. 77.
- ¹¹ Wolf Michal, *Youth Marches Toward Socialism*, p. 41.
- ¹² O. Kuusinen, *Youth and Fascism*, p. 29.
- ¹³ *Ibid*, p. 29.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 28, 29.
- ¹⁵ *The New Republic*, August 31, 1938, p. 86.
- ¹⁶ D. Z. Manuilsky, *The Work of the Seventh Congress*.
- ¹⁷ Georgi Dimitroff, *The United Front* (New York: International Publishers, 1938), p. 91.
- ¹⁸ *Daily Worker*, August 8, 1938, p. 5.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid*, November 29, 1937.
- ²⁰ *Youth Demands a Peaceful World*, p. 47f.
- ²¹ *Christian Century*, September 7, 1938, p. 1052.
- ²² See Joseph Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism* (New York: International Publishers, 1934), p. 117.
- ²³ *The Socialist Appeal*, September 10, 1938, p. 2.
- ²⁴ *The Socialist Call*, September 3, 1938, p. 1.
- ²⁵ Earl Browder, *The People's Front* (New York: International Publishers, 1938), p. 45.
- ²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 44.
- ²⁷ John Nevin Sayre, *The Story of the Fellowship of Reconciliation*, p. 12.
- ²⁸ *Daily Worker*, April 7, 1933, p. 4.
- ²⁹ *Ibid*, April 15, 1933, p. 1.
- ³⁰ Stanley High, "Communism Presses Its Pants," *The Saturday Evening Post*, July 9, 1938, p. 33.
- ³¹ *Daily Worker*, August 23, 1933, p. 6.
- ³² *Ibid*, May 1, 1933, p. 1.
- ³³ *Ibid*, June 1, 1933, p. 2.
- ³⁴ *Ibid*, May 3, 1933, p. 2.
- ³⁵ New York *World-Telegram*, April 29, 1933, p. 11.
- ³⁶ *Daily Worker*, March 26, 1933, p. 4.
- ³⁷ *Hearings before the Committee on Education and Labor, United States Senate*, on S. 1958, p. 586f.
- ³⁸ Earl Browder, *Communism in the United States* (New York: International Publishers, 1935), p. 125.
- ³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 125.
- ⁴⁰ *Daily Worker*, August 24, 1938, p. 3.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid*, May 12, 1933, p. 4.
- ⁴² *Ibid*, May 10, 1933, p. 4.
- ⁴³ *The Struggle Against War*, published by the American Committee for the Struggle Against War, June, 1933, p. 2.

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- ⁶⁰ New York *World-Telegram*, March 24, 1933, p. 2.
- ⁶¹ *Daily Worker*, June 1, 1933.
- ⁶² Stanley High, *The Saturday Evening Post*, p. 33.
- ⁶³ *Daily Worker*, January 6, 1933, p. 2.
- ⁶⁴ *The Struggle Against War*, June, 1933, p. 2.
- ⁶⁵ *Manifesto of the World Congress Against War*, published by the American Committee for the Struggle Against War, 1933.
- ⁶⁶ *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, editorial, August 28, 1938.
- ⁶⁷ "The Tactics of the United Front," *The Communist*, October, 1932, p. 937.
- ⁶⁸ Earl Browder, *Communism in the United States*, p. 149.
- ⁶⁹ *Daily Worker*, July 29 and August 1, 1933.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid*, June 3, 1933, p. 3.
- ⁷¹ Earl Browder, *Communism in the United States*, p. 266.
- ⁷² A letterhead in the personal files of JBM.
- ⁷³ *Revolutionary Age*, October 31, 1931.
- ⁷⁴ Earl Browder, *Communism in the United States*, p. 184.
- ⁷⁵ *The Communist*, November, 1933, p. 1124.
- ⁷⁶ Lenin, *A Letter to American Workers*, p. 17.
- ⁷⁷ Joseph P. Lash, "United Front Against War," *The Student Outlook*, November, 1933, p. 15.
- ⁷⁸ *Daily Worker*, August 27, 1938, p. 4.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid*, August 4, 1938, p. 2.
- ⁸⁰ See August files of *Daily Worker*, 1937.
- ⁸¹ *New York Post*, August 22, 1938.
- ⁸² *Daily Worker*, May 17, 1938, p. 7.
- ⁸³ Earl Browder, *Communism in the United States*, pp. 183-184
- ⁸⁴ *New York Times*, October 17, 1938, p. 17.
- ⁸⁵ Georgi Dimitroff, *The United Front*, p. 76.
- ⁸⁶ Earl Browder, *Communism in the United States*, p. 115.
- ⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 264.
- ⁸⁸ *It's About Time*, April 1, 1935, p. 3.
- ⁸⁹ *Daily Worker*, February 27, 1935, p. 2.
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid*, March 18, 1935, p. 4.
- ⁹¹ *Ibid*, May 24, 1935.
- ⁹² *Ibid*, August 24, 1938.

COMMUNISTS AT WORK

Mike Gold who writes a column for the *Daily Worker* thinks that I overrate the subtlety of the communists. "It is all too deep and secret. These communists are too darn subtle, as J. B. Matthews can inform you," writes Comrade Gold.¹ As a matter of fact, communists are anything but subtle to me, or to anyone else who has worked closely with their movement, or to anyone who has taken the trouble to read their literature thoroughly. They have expounded their tactics and their objectives voluminously where all who care to do so may read and understand. If communists are subtle in any sense, it is only by contrast with much of their opposition. Communists work at the business of revolution night and day. It is their meat and drink. The opposition to communism, on the other hand, is made up of the millions of men and women who are busy doing the constructive work of the world and whose awareness of any threat to the established order of things is not too acute. It is easy to assume that things will continue to go along fundamentally very much as they are and that those who believe otherwise must be mistaken alarmists.

I must repeat, in order to make clear the character of my own alarm, if such it may be called, that I do not believe the people of the United States will ever embrace communism. If communism continues to grow in strength and influence, the ultimate result of its progress will be to call forth a devastating reaction against it. Those who fear fascism in the

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United States will do well to consider that the continued growth of communism is the surest way to make fascism inevitable and, in all probability, the only way. Meanwhile, short of attaining their own objective of seizing power and establishing a Soviet America, communists may work incalculable damage both to the physical and to the spiritual structure of American society.

The first measure of protection against the damage which communists may do to a society is an understanding of their methods of work and their ultimate objectives—an understanding widely disseminated among the people. The close association which I had with the communist movement and with practically all of its leaders in the United States, and which the records of communist publications as set forth in the preceding chapter clearly establish, made it inevitable that I should come to a fairly good understanding of the tactics and the goals of the Communist Party. Nevertheless, it is entirely unnecessary that I should ask for credence in my unsupported word on these matters. The proofs are in the Communist Party's own books, pamphlets, and publications.

Marxian Ethics

It will be impossible to understand the tactics and the statements of communists and their fellow travelers unless their very special code of ethics be kept constantly in mind. Lenin summarized this morality when he said: "Our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat. . . . For the Communist, morality consists entirely of compact united discipline and conscious mass struggle against the exploiters. We

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do not believe in eternal morality, and we expose all the fables about morality."² In the first place, this is a bald collectivistic morality in which the idea of one man's standing for his conception of right against the world is nonsense. In practical terms, this means that the individual communist's ethical judgment is rigidly subordinated to the will of the Communist Party, and the will of the Communist Party is in turn whatever its most politically powerful member decides it shall be. In the second place, we may ask: what if truth, as the ordinary person understands the word, should conflict with "the interests of the class struggle?" Both in its theory and its practice, the communist code of ethics says that truth must give way to class advantage. The highest of all virtues in the communist's scale of ethical values is the service of the interests of the class struggle. We are face to face with the rather striking fact that communists have put the world on notice that their word, whether under oath or not, has only so much value as their conception of the interests of the class struggle may dictate.

In complete accord with their ethical code, communists and left-wingers generally commit perjury as easily as a schoolboy downs an ice cream soda. After all, the reasoning goes, the courts are capitalist institutions, and communism is at war with capitalism; and in war of any kind men have few, if any, qualms about their dealings with the enemy. If the capitalist courts, the NLRB trial examiners, and the La Follete Civil Liberties Committee are gullible enough to accept the perjured testimony of communists and other left-wingers, the Marxists figure that

COMMUNISTS AT WORK

they, as well as the government's functionaries, have served the interests of the class struggle well.

Very often it takes only the second round of Scotch and soda at the get-togethers of the comrades to start them vying with each other in relating their accomplishments in the field of perjury, destruction of property, the beating and maiming of "scabs," shootings, stabbings, kidnapings, and bombings. Surprising as it may be to the gullible portion of the American public, these stories are related with a spirit of high virtue. Virtue, be it remembered, is defined with exclusive reference to the class war in which they are engaged, and not with reference to any "eternal morality" which is, according to Lenin's own words, a fable of the ruling class.

If the comrades should ever come to power, these violations of "capitalist morality" would be the principal adornment of their memoirs, the evidence of their heroism in risking the punishments of the "capitalist courts." "Stalin robbed banks," wrote Joseph P. Lash, but that was a subject for perjury only and not boasting as long as the inviolability of the capitalist banks was the law of Russia.

As for wrecking trade unions, the comrades could hardly have been more explicit on the subject of their methods and intentions. A. Lozovsky, head of the Red International of Labor Unions, is the author of the principal textbook on trade unions now in use in the Communist Party's Workers' School. Lozovsky wrote:

There is no need to shout from the house tops "destroy the unions" as was done in Germany. But that we want to break up the reformist trade unions, that

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we want to weaken them, that we want to wrest them from the workers, that we want to explode the trade union apparatus and to destroy it—of that there cannot be the slightest doubt.³

Lenin was equally clear in his description of the methods for entering the trade unions in order to accomplish the objective defined by Lozovsky. Said Lenin:

It is necessary to be able . . . to agree to any and every sacrifice, and even—if need be—to resort to all sorts of devices, manoeuvres, and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuge, in order to penetrate into the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work in them at all costs.⁴

Such is the ethical code of those whose politics the trial examiners of the NLRB have declared to be irrelevant.

One of my old acquaintances from days in Singapore, twenty-four years ago, who has since become a Marxist, wrote me in a chiding but friendly manner beseeching me to yield to communists despite the probability that they were entirely wrong (judged by ordinary ethical standards) in the issue between us. An excerpt from this letter should serve to enlighten those who are not familiar with the Marxist ethical code. He wrote:

If my own father were the employer during a strike, and I knew him to be right, still my sympathies would be entirely with the strikers. "Right" is a relative term, with many connotations. Being on the right *side* is more important by far than doing precisely the right thing in a given instance. One cannot draw fine distinctions when social organisms clash.

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In the case of the strike which my erstwhile friend posited, it is plain from his argument that he would go to court—if the case reached a court—and commit perjury against his father, the employer whom he knew to be right.

This very special code of *war ethics* is frequently the subject of animated discussion in left-wing circles when new recruits to radicalism are troubled by their Christian idealistic hang-over. Their stomachs are not yet fully conditioned to the new Marxist cuisine. They are told not to be soft, that revolution is a he-man's business, and that after all the war is being waged for a new world of justice, peace, plenty, fraternity, and security. The code remains, nevertheless, a hard and cynical one. Nor is it strange that those who become accustomed to practicing it in their dealings with the class "enemy" eventually practice it in their dealings with each other when internal and factional disputes arise.

A distinguished professor in Union Theological Seminary, Reinhold Niebuhr, has given this Marxist ethical code at least a partial theological respectability among a large group of younger Protestant clergymen in this country over whom his influence is significant. In his book, *Reflections on the End of an Era*, Professor Niebuhr has expounded the view that we are shut up, as social moralists, to a "choice between hypocrisy and vengeance."⁵ Professor Niebuhr holds that the capitalist world is possessed by the "demon of hypocrisy," and that the communist or radical world is possessed by the "demon of vengeance." As between these two, Professor Niebuhr prefers the "demon of vengeance" because it is, in his opinion, capable of "purer moral insights." Under this ethical

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theory of deliberately taking one's stand with the "demon of vengeance," a significant clerical group under Professor Niebuhr's influence is able to rationalize and to some extent at least justify the perpetration of almost any crime because it serves, as Lenin said, "the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat." Professor Niebuhr has recently become the secretary of a group of clergymen which calls itself the United Christian Council for Democracy. Among the basic principles adopted by this group of clergymen, are the following:

1. We reject the profit-seeking economy and the capitalistic way of life with its private ownership of the things upon which the lives of all depend.
4. We propose to support the necessary political and economic action to implement these aims.⁶

Communists and Religion

In the light of the communist code of ethics, the undebatable proof for which I have presented from Lenin's own writings which are now on sale at the Communist Party's bookstores, it is not surprising to find the Communist Party in the United States engaged in a systematic effort to lure the churches, especially the Catholic Church, into the net of the Party's united fronts. Such duplicity transcends the bounds of understanding on the part of those who are not acquainted with the Communist Party's clear pronouncements on the churches and religion.

"We extend the hand of fellowship to our Catholic brothers," announced Earl Browder at the recent tenth annual convention of the Communist Party. Earlier in the year, the *Daily Worker* declared that "it is not, and never has been and never will be, the

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objective of Communism to wage a religious war against those who believe in God or who hold any other religious faith.⁷

In a pamphlet which the Communist Party has not bothered to withdraw from sale at its bookstores, the public, as well as the comrades, is informed that "it is necessary to link the fight against the church and religion with the fight against capitalism and imperialism."⁸ In the same official pamphlet, we are reminded that "the Soviet Union under a workers' and peasants' government is the only country in the world where religion and the churches are being combated with the active cooperation of the government."⁹ In another of the Communist Party's pamphlets, Corliss Lamont writes of "the unaltering determination of the Communists [in the Soviet Union] to do away with religion and the inclusion of this aim as one of the chief features of the educational system from one end of the country to the other."¹⁰ Adds Lamont: "The Red Army is one of the most active centers for the dissemination of atheism. Its recruits are given systematic instruction in anti-religious theory just as they are in other Communist doctrines."¹¹ I have cited four statements from official communist literature. They are proofs which should satisfy the most incredulous. Set these four statements, which are a part of the current Party literature, alongside the spectacle of Browder's extending "the hand of fellowship" to Catholics and the statement of the *Daily Worker* that "it is not, and never has been and never will be, the objective of Communism to wage a religious war against those who believe in God."

Contrast this current twaddle of communists about

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religion with some of the things which Browder wrote in his book, *What Is Communism?*, two years ago. At that time, he was stating with frankness the position of communism on religion. Among other things, he wrote:

We communists do not distinguish between good and bad religions, because we think they are all bad for the masses.

Or consider the following frank avowal of one of the aims of the communists in forming united fronts with religious groups:

It is significant that the Communist Party, more than any other labor group, has been able to achieve successful united fronts with church groups on the most important issues of the day. This is not due to any compromise with religion as such, on our part. *In fact, by going among the religious masses, we are for the first time able to bring our anti-religious ideas to them* [Italics mine.]

Corliss Lamont, faithful apologist for the Kremlin's views, quotes approvingly Marx's statement that "the social principles of Christianity are lickspittle, whereas the proletariat is revolutionary."¹²

In its Christmas, 1937, issue, the *Daily Worker* published an article which purported to show that the objectives of Christianity and Communism are practically the same. For weeks thereafter, the *Daily Worker* published letters from comrades who applauded the achievement (?) of this synthesis of Christianity and Communism. Comrade H. G. of Detroit wrote:

It helped me recruit two couples into the Communist Party. . . . And now that the *Daily Worker* has

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printed the statement of the Pope on accepting the Communist offer of the "outstretched hand," it'll be a snap to recruit.¹³

Precisely when the Pope accepted the "outstretched hand" of the Communist Party, it would take the *Daily Worker*, with its genius for mendacity, to say. Comrade E. D. ventured the opinion:

Think what it would mean if the religious masses would come to understand that we are fighting for the same cause that Jesus fought for, only on a scientific basis.¹⁴

Yes, Comrade E. D., think it over in the isolation of your undesignated whereabouts! And don't forget "the scientific basis!" Departing from its fashion of giving initials only, Mrs. N. L. Franklin wrote in her letter to the *Daily Worker*:

I had just been telling my daughter that the Communists had now taken over the revolutionary movement of 1775 and it was about time that they had mentioned the fact that Jesus was a real revolutionary. . . . So I hope more use will be made of Jesus as a proletarian fighter.¹⁵

Comrade A. S. wrote from Superior, Washington, of "the old superstition about Communists waging war on religion."¹⁶

Naturally I have no way of checking the authenticity of these letters which appeared in the *Daily Worker*, but I have been told by one who worked on the staff of this communist "newspaper" that a new Party "line" is often established by printing letters which the editors write to themselves. The

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device is known as "hearing from the rank and file."

At the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International (1935), a resolution was adopted which declared it to be "the duty of Young Communist League members to join all mass organizations of the toiling youth (trade union, cultural, sports organizations) formed by bourgeois, democratic, reformist and fascist parties, as well as *religious organizations*; to wage a systematic struggle in these organizations to gain influence over the broad masses of youth."¹⁷ [Italics mine.] It would be interesting to know how many of the accessions to churches in the past three years, candidates for baptism and confirmation, are members of the Young Communist League acting on instructions of the Communist International. To numerous newspaper editors, a number of Congressmen, and some Cabinet members, it may appear preposterous that we have in the United States today a novel collection of Methodist comrades, Baptist comrades, Presbyterian comrades, and Y. W. C. A. comrades, but some of us have watched them in action. When these distinguished and abysmally ignorant figures in our public life think they are having fun at my expense, by ridiculing my testimony on communism, they are, without knowing it, convicting themselves of unfitness for their public trusts.

Communists and Civil Liberties

It is so well known that it should require only a mere statement of the fact that the communists' interest in the preservation of civil liberties is for the purpose of building their movement to the point where they may destroy every vestige of these liberties. In this regard, we have only to quote from their

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own authoritative writings to prove the assertion. Lenin is supreme among communist authorities. In his book, *The State and Revolution*, Lenin wrote:

The dictatorship of the proletariat produces a series of restrictions of liberty in the case of the oppressors, the exploiters, the capitalists. We must crush them in order to free humanity from wage-slavery; their resistance must be broken by force.¹⁸

It would be pertinent to inquire of the editors of the *New Republic*, who have apparently assumed the role of mouthpiece for the Communist Party on what it considers fundamental doctrine, whether or not the foregoing view of Lenin has been repudiated. Again in his book, *Two Tactics*, the supreme author of the Russian revolution wrote:

In the final analysis, force alone can settle the great problems of political liberty and class struggle, and it is our business to prepare and organize this force and to use it actively, not only for defensive purposes, but also for the purpose of attack.¹⁹

Communists and their fellow travelers are now busy trying to persuade the public that they have only *predicted*, not *advocated*, the use of violence in the class war. They seem to say that they have some sort of infallible insight into the future which permits them to see the capitalist class resisting their attempt to seize the power of the state, and they, the communists, are merely in favor of defending themselves against this capitalist aggression. To the ordinary person, preparing and organizing force "for the purpose of attack" means only what it appears to mean. In his book, *The Paris Commune*, Lenin wrote:

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Every state, including the most democratic republic, is nothing but a machine for the suppression of one class by another. The proletarian state is the machine for the suppression of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat.²⁰

This is a plain statement to the effect that the government of the United States is "nothing but a machine for the suppression of one class by another," and that the communists intend, if and when the opportunity arrives, to turn the government of the United States into a "machine for the suppression of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat."

In the Communist Party's pamphlet, *The Negroes in a Soviet America*, James W. Ford, the Party's vice-presidential candidate, wrote:

We emphasize that capitalism cannot be done away with by the ballot. . . . Anyone who tells you to depend upon the ballot and civil rights for your defense is betraying you.²¹

In his speech at the Seventh World Congress, Dimitroff explained that it is important for communists to get into government positions, and, once in the government, that it is their proletarian duty to use their official position primarily for the purpose of "arming the proletariat." In this connection, he denounced the communists in Germany who got into the government but failed to do this. Said Dimitroff:

When participating in the government, the Communists should have used their positions primarily for the purpose of arming the proletariat.²² [Italics Dimitroff's]

Dimitroff excoriated the "Right opportunists" for

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“instilling into the workers the illusion of a peaceful parliamentary passage from the one dictatorship to the other.”²³ Dimitroff was speaking of the transition from a capitalist society, which communist theory has always held to be a dictatorship of the capitalist class, to a communist society or the dictatorship of the proletariat. The editors of the *New Republic* intimated, if they did not say categorically, that the Communist Party abandoned this position twenty years ago and that only a handful of Trotskyists still adhere to this view. At its tenth annual convention (1938), the Communist Party of the United States sent its “warmest revolutionary greetings” to Dimitroff, with the words: “At the Seventh Congress of the Communist International under your leadership we learned how that victory could be attained. . . .”²⁴

Red-baiting

It is often assumed that red-baiting is a device of reactionaries for taking some kind of unfair advantage over communists or for falsely labeling those who are merely liberal and progressive. Without doubt men have sometimes been called “red” when, in fact, they were not.

Red-baiting as a widely used device is not, however, a trick of reactionaries. On the contrary, it is the almost perfect trick of the communists themselves, employed with a very high degree of success for the purpose of silencing the critics of communism. This cry of red-baiting into which communists and their fellow travelers can put so much lung power is the best trick ever invented, short of the firing squad, for making short work of anybody who dares to object to communist theories or practices. If he is not

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effectively silenced, he is at least thoroughly discredited among that vast flock of citizens who enjoy thinking of themselves as liberals. A twentieth century American "liberal" would rather face the charge of slapping his grandmother than to be accused of red-baiting.

Any critic of communism who hopes to escape the charge of red-baiting by holding his criticism rigidly within the bounds of fact and good temper is simply deluding himself. The communists, their fellow travelers, and, sad to say, muddle-headed "liberals" permit no distinctions. Any criticism of communists is, *per se*, red-baiting. Communists may vituperate with all the abandon which an epithetically rich language and their own deliberately cultivated ill tempers allow. When it comes to carefully planned campaigns of abusiveness, ridicule, and mendacity, communists are the world's best baiters. They bait most successfully when they accuse their best-informed critics of baiting.

It all sums up to a knowledge, or at least a fairly strong suspicion, among communists that their movement stands no chance of advancing in the face of criticism.

The stifling of criticism is a shelter for knaves.

Exploiting Discontent

"Our task," wrote Lenin, "is to utilize every manifestation of discontent, and to collect and utilize every grain of even rudimentary protest."²⁵ He might have added, inasmuch as the literature of communism amply supports the thesis, that it is the Party's task to transform rudimentary protest into bitter hatred

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and from this to fashion the instruments of class war for the overthrow of capitalism.

The communist science of revolution is founded upon the organization of discontent, and its method is the united front. The individual's disaffection toward capitalism may be deep or slight; the Communist Party caters to every taste in discontent and offers a united front organization as the medium for expressing and exacerbating every protest. One or more communist united front organizations have been set up to bid for the support of each of the following groups: farmers, students, youth, consumers, social workers, poets, writers, artists, dancers, musicians, film lovers, athletes, social scientists, women, aliens, Sinophiles, Hispanophiles, Jews, Negroes, physicians, lawyers, the clergy, the intelligentsia, pacifists, war veterans, laborers, the unemployed, technicians, and architects. Hardly any person in the whole population is overlooked as a potential united frontier.

Tens of thousands—the communists say millions—of well-intentioned and idealistic Americans are participating in these united front activities without the slightest knowledge of the true character of the united front and its objectives. The Communist Party plans it that way. Its main purpose would fail of accomplishment if all, or even a significant portion, of those who receive their introduction to the revolutionary movement through the tactic of the united front were aware of its purposes.

If there is current sentiment for peace as ordinary folk understand the word, it is the business of the Communist Party to *utilize* that sentiment for its own ultimate objectives. If there is current distress

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in the economic affairs of the country, it is the business of the Communist Party to *utilize* that distress for its own ulterior purposes. If there is even rudimentary protest against the curtailment of civil liberties anywhere (outside the Soviet Union), it is the business of the Communist Party to organize and *utilize* that protest for building up its own movement. All this is the major strategy in the communist science of revolution. The Communist Party has no interest in peace, or job security, or civil liberties as most Americans understand these things. They are simply the temporary ideas and ideals which the Communist Party *utilizes* for its objective of bringing class war, almost universal insecurity, and the complete abolition of civil liberties.

"Transitional Slogans"

In understanding the work of the Communist Party's united front, it is necessary to distinguish between manoeuvre and principle, between transitional slogans and ultimate objectives.

The principle to which communism has always adhered and still adheres is "the dictatorship of the proletariat." The current manoeuvre adopted by the Communist Party is to speak everywhere, in season and out of season, of the need to "defend democracy."

The principle which is unalterable in communism is that violence, in which communists take the offensive against the bourgeoisie, is necessary for the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The current manoeuvre of the Communist Party is to try to impress the gullible with the belief that the Party

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is in favor of wholly peaceful methods of bringing in communism.

The principle, stated again and again in communist literature, is that the so-called reformist trade unions must be entirely destroyed. The current manoeuvre of the Communist Party is to claim a deep and genuine interest in building up these same trade unions.

Georgi Dimitroff, in his much publicized speech made at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, explicitly called attention to the need for what he described as "transitional slogans"—propaganda devices to be used in the period preceding the dictatorship of the proletariat.²⁶ "The defense of democracy," "peace," "the hand of fellowship extended to Catholic brothers," and "building the trade unions," are all transitional slogans which are to be discarded when the moment arrives to seek openly the attainment of communism's objectives.

Composition of the United Front

There are four orders of individuals who make up a communist united front. We used all of them in the work of the American League; and, with few exceptions, they are fairly easy to identify in all united fronts.

First, there are the Communist Party members. Sometimes their membership is secret, but often it is a matter of public record or open acknowledgment. Party members are subject to orders in the use of all their time, or, let us say, practically all of it. They are assigned to this or that united front, or to some other phase of Party activity. Party members invariably occupy strategic positions of control in the

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united fronts. These may be minor positions so far as titles go, but they enable the Party to direct, manipulate, and execute manoeuvres with a minimum of interference from the non-Party constituents of the united front.

Second, there are the fellow travelers who as a rule go along, in the limited duties expected of them, as faithfully as if they were actually Party members. Usually these are middle-class intellectuals—professors, writers, clergymen, and even Congressmen. In many cases, the fellow traveler is a far more valuable instrument of the Party's purposes than a Party member would be. If the fellow traveler is a middle-class intellectual, he would probably find Party membership the best possible springboard into a quick reaction against communism. He could not, for long, tolerate the complete obliteration of individual intelligence which is so essential an ingredient in the make-up of an undeviating Party member. The Communist Party understands this well, and, with complete revolutionary good sense, keeps middle-class intellectuals at arm's length as fellow travelers. Stalin himself has explained that the free admission of such elements into the Party would have produced a state of frustration in which the Party "would have been inundated with professors and students."²⁷ Communist history is replete with the dishonorable discharge of these intellectuals who made a brave effort to be Party members but who could not click their mental heels fast enough or loud enough to suit the top sergeants of the New Social Order. The fellow traveling intellectuals are much better at winning, dining, and dancing for Spanish Democracy (the liquor, food, and women of revolutionary quality

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notwithstanding) than they are at believing that *it's true today* because Stalin said so, and *untrue tomorrow* for the same reason.

Third, there are the stooges. These are persons of prominence whose names have considerable publicity value. They are the best decoys whose names do the work of covering up the communist control of the united front. They know little or nothing about left-wing politics and are really ignorant of the fact of communist control. The *Organization Hand Book* put out by the American League for Peace and Democracy advised, as follows: "Inactive individuals whose names command respect and draw support in the community, may be put on the Provisional Committee if they are willing to lend their names for this purpose."²⁸

Finally, there are the innocents, so called by the communists themselves. The innocents are supposed to make up the overwhelming number of adherents to the united front. The chief object of the united front is to draw them gradually closer and closer to the Communist Party until they are at last completely under its influence. There are few words that roll more mellifluously from Browder's lips than "the Party's wielding its influence over the broad masses."

The Party members do most of the hard work in the united front. The fellow travelers are the go-betweens who bring the communist world and the capitalist world together. The stooges are the important camouflage for the united front manoeuvre. The innocents are the fodder for revolution.

United Front Repeaters

It is relatively easy to identify the professional

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united fronters or fellow travelers who do cover-up work for the Communist Party in the united front manoeuvres. Any person in this class is almost certain to bob up at a number of places in the whole manoeuvre. Take for example Mr. William P. Mangold who is one of the contributing editors of the *New Republic*. Mr. Mangold is, and has been for several years, the treasurer of the American League for Peace and Democracy. The same Mr. Mangold recently appeared in the Nation's capital as the representative of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy where he succeeded in obtaining the signatures of *sixty* members of the Congress of the United States to a greeting to be forwarded to the Loyalist Government of Spain.²⁹ Again the same Mr. Mangold appeared at a session of the stockholders of the Borden Company on behalf of the League of Women Shoppers.³⁰

Now, since the publication by the Department of State of its list of registered foreign agents in this country, it turns out that Mr. Mangold is also the paid agent of somebody in Spain.

The *New Republic* took vigorous exception to my testimony characterizing Mr. Mangold as "one of the editors" of that usually fellow traveling weekly journal. Its protest was labeled "Nailing One Lie."³¹ Declared the *New Republic*: "Mr. Mangold is not and never has been an editor of The New Republic. He is listed as a 'contributing editor,' because for some time he was a regular contributor. . . ." Now, if I have the matter straight, the *New Republic* insists on my designating both the genus *and* the species. I would be most happy to comply if it were not for the fact that the *New Republic*, in its effort

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to set me right, has left me in complete confusion. Honestly, I do not know what Mr. Mangold *is* in terms of *New Republic* relationships and its use of the English language. They tell me that he *was* a regular contributor. From these tenses I am led to conclude that Mr. Mangold *is* either "a non-contributing editor" or "an irregular contributing editor" who is too busy working for the Loyalist Government of Spain and various communist united fronts to enable him to meet, with that strict regard for the species of the genus which the *New Republic* demands of me, the duties implied in his present *New Republic* listing. I will compromise and call Mr. Mangold "one of the gentleman contributing editors of the *New Republic*," borrowing the analogy of the gentleman farmer who works not at all or only occasionally at farming. At any rate, I am glad to have the assurance of the *New Republic* that Mr. Mangold, when he was a dirt contributing editor, was engaged in "objective reporting of the labor scene." I take it that he is now engaged in "objective reporting of the Spanish scene."

Summarizing the *New Republic's* argument, it appears that Mr. Mangold *is* listed as something *because* he *was* something which he no longer *is*. If this is a nice illustration of Marxian logic, as I believe it is, we have a key to the quality and the quirk of leftist mental processes; and we have not wasted our time in a picayunish prolongation of a debate which is, *per se*, devoid of significance.

The Charge of the Letterhead Brigade

The relatively permanent united front organiza-

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tions, such as the American League for Peace and Democracy, the Friends of the Soviet Union, the International Labor Defense, and the International Workers' Order, are not the rule with the Communist Party.

Communists did not originate the idea of all-things-to-all-men, but they have developed its application to new highs of proficiency. In the more subtle aspects of revolutionary manoeuvre, all-things-to-all-men is the cardinal principle. Around every injustice which might conceivably stir a spark of protest in the bosom of some middle-class citizen, the communists have built an organization—replete with executive secretary, chairman, sponsors, slogans, and letterhead. The revolutionary tactic runs somewhat as follows: If we cannot catch them with the bait of the Scottsboro Boys or the Release of Mooney or the Plight of the Arkansas Sharecroppers, we may, perchance, draw them into the Struggle for the Territorial Integrity of China.

The formula of the proletarian revolution requires that the masses be *activized* on the basis of their natural impulses to protest. It isn't necessary that proletarian leaders' tears over the Territorial Integrity of China be genuine. It is enough if they are copious and contagious.

Few words are used so frequently in the counsels of the Communist Party as this word *activize*. "How shall we *activize* the hitherto unreached and confused elements of the working class and the bourgeoisie?" asks one communist of another. Usually the answer is the printing of a new letterhead, with, of course, a brand new and impressive name for each succeeding soft-pedal-the-revolutionary-aspect club. There is

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a monotonous sameness in the list of obliging sponsors whose names are believed to possess the greatest powers of enticement among the unwitting groups of the middle class. If the enticement is effective, which it rarely is, the enticed are forthwith *activized* (customarily by receiving the privilege of making a financial contribution for the printing of the letterhead and the expenses of the improvised national headquarters), and in their being *activized* they are drawn within the ambit of the potentially revolutionary mass.

The alacrity with which the Communist Party's soft-pedal-the-revolutionary-aspect clubs come and go makes the task of compiling a complete directory of them an impossible one. The Housewives' League is here today—sweeping the country, representing three million members—and gone tomorrow. New letterheads and a slight shuffling of sponsors must be used to provide fresh stimulus for flagging zeal and thus keep the masses incessantly *activized*. Furthermore, the un-communist world obligingly offers fresh injustices which call for new committees, new leagues, new associations, new boycotts, new picket lines, new unanimous resolutions, and, of course, new letterheads.

It should be apparent to all that some of those whose names appear on the letterheads of communist united front organizations are not communists at all, nor even conscious fellow travelers. Under the guidance of their misdirected sympathies with the victims of injustice, they have enlisted for the duration of the letterhead.

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Communists and Name-Borrowing

The Communist Party will borrow for its purpose any name whose owner is careless enough to lend it. The Communist Party relies heavily upon the carelessness or indifference of literally thousands of prominent citizens in lending their names.

In my testimony before the Dies Committee I called attention to the fact that the French communist newspaper, *Ce Soir*, featured hearty greetings from Clark Gable, Robert Taylor, James Cagney, and Shirley Temple. I stated further that a list of such persons could be extended almost indefinitely. Their names have definite propaganda value which the Communist Party is quick to exploit.

My testimony concerning the newspaper, *Ce Soir*, was not and cannot be refuted. The best the Party and its fellow travelers could do was to attempt a campaign of distortion and ridicule. In this, it received the assistance of numerous editors, columnists, cartoonists, and even two members of the President's Cabinet. The President of the United States himself was drawn into the scheme. In newspaper reports of a presidential press conference, we read:

Attempts to identify the New Deal or the "purge" with Communism, the President said, were on a par with accusing Shirley Temple of being a Communist.⁸²

When this can happen here, Americans have cause for sadness.

One point involved in the tactic of communist name-borrowing requires careful elucidation if we are not to misunderstand the Communist Party's objective. A leading newspaper asks us editorially

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not to underestimate "the sturdy liberal resistance to contamination"³³ on the part of many outstanding citizens who lend their names to united front manoeuvres. The fact is, of course, that the Communist Party has not the slightest desire to contaminate the thinking of these citizens. Its sole purpose is to borrow their names for the purpose of contaminating a large group of undistinguished citizens. A prominent citizen listed in a communist united front may remain wholly unaffected in his own political views, but his name will be used by the Communist Party to affect the political views of thousands of others.

The present is not the period of barricades and civil war. It is the period of communist aggression on the ideological front. In this ideological warfare of the present, the Communist Party stoops to the use of the names of non-communist motion picture stars, government officials, distinguished writers, and others who can be tricked in any way into this relatively slight service of communism. If indignation is in order, which it assuredly is, the logic of those who really believe in Americanism suggests the communist tricksters as the appropriate object of this indignation—not those who expose the trick.

Strategically-Placed Comrades

In Communist Party circles it is a matter of pride and boasting that the Party has its friends and sympathizers situated strategically in every important institution in the land—newspapers, magazines, churches, women's clubs, trade unions, government agencies, and educational institutions. Ofttimes Party members themselves are so situated.

Individually these strategically-placed persons may

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not do a great deal for the Party, but cumulatively their influence on behalf of the Party is considered of the greatest importance.

A leading business journal which no one would or could suspect of communist leanings must suffice for a striking illustration of how strategically-placed communist sympathizers do their work. In a statement concerning the 1937 elections in the Soviet Union, this business journal declared:

That all candidates have the same platform in the sense that all are 100% in favor of the Stalinist Administration, does not make the elections meaningless.³⁴

Found in this particular American business publication, the foregoing comment on the Russian elections is almost incredible. It is impossible of explanation except on the theory that some communist sympathizer did his daily stint for the Party. The statement is not isolated from its context with any resulting distortion. On the contrary, its context provides the additional statement that

In June, 1936, an important step was taken toward this [the day when, with an educated electorate, government in Russia could be made truly democratic] with the promulgation of the new Stalinist Constitution, revolutionary point of which was the provision for secret elections, the hallmark of democracy.

The *Daily Worker* could not possibly have done better in the way of a misleading claim that the Soviet Union has taken an important step toward democracy or that its elections are not meaningless from the standpoint of a free electorate as Americans understand it.

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Misleading Names

Numerous Communist Party organizations and publications bear the most innocent-sounding names. These are calculated to deceive the unwary who do not recognize their communist personnel and addresses. Many persons are also unable to make skillful political analyses which would reveal clearly enough the communist objectives and viewpoints which are promoted by these organizations and publications.

When the title *The New South* and the subtitle *A Journal of Progressive Opinion* appear on a magazine, many persons do not suspect that the publication is one of the organs of the Communist Party. Even with the names of James W. Ford, Ben Davis, Jr., and R. F. Hall—all high functionaries of the Communist Party—listed as contributing editors of the *New South*, there are still many Americans who do not see at a glance that the magazine is an organ of the Communist Party. The way in which such an innocent-sounding name as *The New South—A Journal of Progressive Opinion* serves the purposes of the communists is sufficiently well illustrated by a recent nation-wide radio broadcast of Jay Franklin, newspaper columnist and radio commentator for the National Broadcasting Company. In his broadcast from Atlanta, Georgia, at 10:45 P. M. on October 7, 1938, Jay Franklin quoted the *New South* on the subject of the Georgia “purge” effort. This publication was the only one used by Mr. Franklin in this particular broadcast, and he was careful to read its subtitle, *A Journal of Progressive Opinion*. He did not say that he was reading from one of the publications of the Communist Party. Naturally, the

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quotation from the *New South* which Mr. Franklin read to his nation-wide audience reflected the views of the Communist Party (identical with those of the New Deal) on the subject of the attempt to "purge" Senator Walter F. George of Georgia. Not many of Mr. Franklin's listeners could have been expected to know what he did not tell them: that he was reading from a communist publication. For many of them, this would have made a very great difference.

The Communist Party has for many years maintained an organization known as the Labor Research Association, located at 799 Broadway or 80 East 11th Street (two entrances to the same building) in New York. Even Father Coughlin's magazine *Social Justice* was hoodwinked by the innocent-sounding name of this organization. In one of its issues, *Social Justice* described the Labor Research Association as "a non-political, unbiased investigative group."³⁵

Champion Labor Monthly is a publication emanating from 799 Broadway, New York. The name of the publication has distinct possibilities for deception. The address of its offices and many names on its masthead are enough to inform the wary, but they mean little to many other Americans. Listed as contributors and members of the advisory board are Angelo Herndon, Langston Hughes, James Lerner, Joseph Starobin, Frank Palmer, Rose Terlin, and Robert Morss Lovett—all widely known as communists or fellow travelers. The name of United States Senator Lynn J. Frazier heads the advisory board, but I have it on excellent authority that Senator Frazier many months ago demanded that his name be removed from this publication. It was still there, however, in the issue of September, 1938.

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It would be difficult to give a complete list of the communist organizations and publications which bear these innocent-sounding names, but the country is full of them. They constitute one of the most effective tactics which the Communist Party has yet devised.

Opportunistic Coalitions

In his *Letter to American Workers*, Lenin furnished the key to an understanding of the political vagaries of the Communist Party. Many have found it difficult to comprehend the shifting attitudes of communists who at one period have denounced the New Deal with unbridled language and at another have defended it just as warmly. In explaining his alliance with a certain French monarchist, Lenin wrote:

I did not hesitate for a moment to come to a certain "agreement" with French monarchists. . . . This was an example of an "agreement" of which every class-conscious worker will approve, an agreement in the interests of Socialism. We shook hands with the French monarchist although we knew that each of us would readily hang his "partner." But for a time our interests coincided. . . . Such tactics will lighten the task of the Socialist revolution, will hasten its advance, will weaken the international bourgeoisie, will strengthen the position of the working class which is conquering it.³⁶

The communist historian of the future will write concerning communism and the New Deal: "For a time our interests coincided." So far as the Communist Party is concerned, its ardent support of the New Deal "will lighten the task of the Socialist revolution."

Lenin used the tactic in 1918; Browder uses it in

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1938. It was not so long ago that Browder declared:

Behind this smoke screen, Roosevelt is carrying out more thoroughly, more brutally than Hoover . . . the sharpest national chauvinism in foreign relations.³⁷

But today Browder writes:

Only the courageous implementing of the policy laid down by President Roosevelt in Chicago can save our country and all the capitalist world from unparalleled reaction and catastrophe.³⁸

These are by no means the only illustrations of how the interests of communism and the New Deal, once divergent, have come to coincide. Communist literature of the past two years is full of them. No more tireless campaigners than Earl Browder and his comrades have given themselves without stint to the support of the New Deal.

It was not so long ago that the *Daily Worker* called John L. Lewis a "scab head," and declared: "John L. Lewis has long history of treacheries," including "strike-breaking."³⁹ Today, as every one knows, John L. Lewis has become a national hero to the communists. In his address to the ninth convention of the Communist Party, Earl Browder said:

The Committee for Industrial Organization has taken up the task of organizing all the mass production industries of America in industrial unions. The success of this effort is a basic necessity upon which depends the future of the American labor movement in all other respects. The Communist Party unconditionally pledges its full resources, moral and material, to the complete execution of this great project.⁴⁰

Both the New Deal and the CIO have generously reciprocated these communist favors. Hundreds of

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communists have been employed as CIO organizers. Several CIO unions are headed by well-known members of the Communist Party.

Prominent New Dealers have given aid and comfort to the united front organizations of the Communist Party. Without attempting any complete list of such activities of New Dealers, attention may be called to the telegram of endorsement which Robert H. Jackson, Solicitor General of the United States, sent to the Peace Parade held under the auspices of the American League for Peace and Democracy; also to the address which Harold Ickes delivered before the National Negro Conference,⁴¹ another communist united front manoeuvre; and to the address of Aubrey Williams before the Workers' Alliance of America.

How high left-wingers of communist sympathies have been able to rise in the agencies of the New Deal is well illustrated by Paul Sifton, assistant to the Wage-Hour administrator, and David J. Saposs, chief economist of the National Labor Relations Board.

In the beginning of the American League for Peace and Democracy, Paul Sifton was one of our fellow travelers. On one occasion, Sifton, Kyle Crichton, and I made broadcasts for the American League. The first issue of *Fight*, magazine of the American League, carried an article by Paul Sifton. Addressing the workers, Mr. Sifton wrote:

You do the leading; set the Fat Boys back on their bottoms and keep them there; keep them blocking; keep them ducking; don't let them tie you up with their bull about Patriotism. . . . Tell them you know that they know they're sunk unless they can start a war to make their \$200,000,000,000 in debts look bet-

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ter than a train-load of waste paper; tell them they and their fancy pieces of paper and the whole capitalist shell game can sink and be damned. Tell them that we've got another war on, closer home, a war to establish a workers' peace, a workers' government. (They know this anyway, but they hate to be told.) If you want to make it snappy, just tell them that workers have been played for saps long enough. Tell them to go to hell! Then make it stick!⁴²

These were the words of a man who has become the assistant administrator of one of the most powerful government agencies ever set up in this country for the control of the capitalist system—the system which Mr. Sifton said can sink and be damned!

David J. Saposs was for some years a member of the faculty of Brookwood Labor College. He is the author of *Left Wing Unionism*, a book bearing the imprint of the Communist Party's publishing concern, International Publishers, and in use at the Party's Workers' School. Mr. Saposs is reported in the press as having said that this book was an objective study for which he received a doctor's degree. Passing over the question of the objectivity of Mr. Saposs' book, let us see what he had to say in other writings. In *Labor Age*, December, 1931, both Mr. Saposs and I had articles. In his article, Mr. Saposs wrote:

But bourgeois democracy is a sham. When it is evident that Socialism is the only remedy it is not worth saving a democracy in which socialist parties only collaborate with capitalism. . . .

If in the attempt to carry out such a program political action fails, then the workers must unhesitatingly resort to organized force. The International

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must take the position that if another war occurs the workers will destroy capitalism. With that end in view the workers must be prepared to stretch arms across the frontiers in case of war and definitely win power for themselves.⁴³

There are hundreds of men holding views similar to these of Sifton and Saposs who are now in important positions in the New Deal government. Naturally, communists and their sympathizers demand that the Dies Committee cease its investigations.

The United States Department of Labor needs a lot of investigation. The extraordinary warmth with which the Secretary of Labor responded to the demand of Martin Dies that Harry Bridges be deported has not yet received an adequate explanation.

The United States Department of Labor last year published a book detailing the history and statistics of strikes in the United States from 1880 to 1936. Not even once in the 183 pages of the study did the word communist appear. So far as the record of this department of government was concerned, communist unions and communist strikes did not exist at all during these fifty years of American labor history.

At least three communist unions were named in the Department of Labor's volume: the National Textile Workers, the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, and the National Miners Union. These and other unions were formally affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions having world headquarters in Moscow. Nevertheless, the Department of Labor gave them the designation of "independent unions." The voluminous literature of the Communist Party usually referred to these trade unions as "revolutionary" but not as "independent."

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Less independent unions could hardly be imagined.

The Department of Labor committed an even greater historical inaccuracy when it declared, in its study, that the three communist unions already named "merged with A. F. of L. affiliates." When the Communist Party reached its decision to disband its revolutionary unions and to send their members into the A. F. of L. unions, nothing that could be called a "merger" occurred—a fact of which the Department of Labor was fully apprised. The members of the disbanded communist unions joined the A. F. of L. unions *as individuals* and, so far as possible, without disclosing to the leaders of the A. F. of L. unions their former communist trade union connections. "If we work cleverly, they will not succeed in isolating us," wrote Jack Stachel, the Communist Party's trade union leader and tactician, at the time of the shift in the Communist Party's trade union tactics in 1934.⁴⁴ Working cleverly meant obviously the concealing of their identity as former members of communist unions, a concealment which would not have been possible if a merger had occurred.

Communists in Trade Unions

It would be difficult to imagine a more colossal pretense than that which holds that the communist theory of trade unions and the congressional theory of collective bargaining embodied in the National Labor Relations Act are one and the same thing, or not fundamentally contradictory.

The communist theory of trade unions rests upon the premise of "the subordination of the economic struggle to the political struggle of the working class." A. Lozovsky, head of the Red International of Labor

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Unions, is the author of a book entitled *Marx and the Trade Unions*, which is a textbook in use at the Communist Party's Workers' School (in 1938, not in 1918). In his book, Lozovsky observed correctly that "Marx always stressed the primacy of politics over economics." According to Lozovsky, Marx attached "tremendous significance to the economic struggle of the proletariat and the trade unions," but at the same time "he placed the political all-class tasks of the trade unions higher than the private corporative tasks."⁴⁵ The phrase, "private corporative tasks," is the communist's way of describing the individual union's interest in collective bargaining over wages, hours, and working conditions.

Unless one holds the highly dubious theory that the Democratic majority in Congress consciously intended to commit suicide-by-legislation, it cannot be presumed that the congressional intent embodied in the Wagner Act was to "place the political all-class tasks of the trade unions higher than the private corporative tasks." On the contrary, it must be assumed that the interest of Congress was limited to the establishment of the principle of collective bargaining over wages, hours, and working conditions.

All Marxists, whether communist or socialist, and other radicals as well, hold that trade unions are the chief instrument for building a political movement with which to destroy capitalism. In a context which clearly showed adverse criticism, Norman Thomas observed that "A. F. of L. unions are primarily concerned with establishing the principle and working the machinery of collective bargaining."⁴⁶ With what else should they be concerned, primarily or secondarily? For many years, radicals of every hue have

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held the A. F. of L. guilty of "reformism" or "business unionism." (Again, it must be observed that the majority of Congress which enacted the National Labor Relations Act was unquestionably thinking only of "reformism" or "business unionism.")

In the literature of radicals, trade union "reformism" is customarily associated with the leadership of Samuel Gompers. A. Lozovsky, who wrote the treatise which guides the Communist Party in its trade union activities today, said:

The Marxian spirit can be sensed in demonstrations, in bloody strikes and hunger marches of the unemployed in the U. S. A. Revolutionary Marxism is winning one position after another. . . . In whose favour is history working? Evidently in favour of revolutionary Marxism and not Gompersism.⁴⁷

With the strictest relevance to recent American labor history, it may be asked: "In whose favor is the National Labor Relations Board working?" The answer is: "Evidently in favor of revolutionary Marxism and not Gompersism."

Communists would like to have the general public believe that they are interested in the advancement of trade unions as they are commonly understood by the American people and by the legislators who passed the Wagner Act. They have, however, filled communist literature with the opposite theory that trade unions are bad, counter-revolutionary, class-collaborators, fascist, and deserving of destruction unless they are "a useful auxiliary to the political, agitational and revolutionary organizations." These are Lenin's own words.

Karl Marx said that "the trade unions are schools

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of communism."⁴⁸ In a letter dated February 18, 1865, Marx wrote to Engels that "the working class is revolutionary or it is nothing."⁴⁹ With reference to this latter statement of Marx, Lozovsky observed: "This is what defines the line of action of Karl Marx." It also defines the line of action of communists today.

Roger Baldwin who runs the American Civil Liberties Union stated the Marxist position as it is generally understood by radicals when he said: "Trade-unionism alone furnishes a class base of revolutionary power for the exploited masses." Baldwin further remarked:

I would rather see violent revolution than none at all. . . . Even the terrible cost of bloody revolution is a cheaper price to humanity than the continued exploitation and wreck of human life under the settled violence of the present system.⁵⁰

Communists have been just as frank in stating their theory of strikes as they have been in discussing their theory of trade unions. Lozovsky put the matter bluntly, as follows:

It means that the revolutionary Marxists have their own strike tactics—differing radically from the strike tactics of the anarchists and reformists.⁵¹

What are these special Marxist strike tactics which differ so radically from those of the reformists? Lozovsky explained:

We have already seen that Marx and Engels referred to strikes as "social war," as "economic revolt," "real civil war," "guerilla war," "school of war," "advance guard collisions."⁵²

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Communists envision the eventual overthrow of capitalism through civil war. It is only natural, therefore, that they should attach great importance to the small-scale rehearsals of civil war which they find possible in strikes. (But once more, it is evident that by strikes the communists mean something very different from what was in the minds of the majority of the congressmen who enacted the Wagner Act into law.) Let Marx, Engels, and Lenin refute the officers of the National Labor Relations Board who assert that communist leadership in a trade union or a strike is wholly irrelevant to the administration of the Wagner Act. Concerning strikes, Marx wrote:

In this struggle—a veritable civil war—are united and developed all these elements necessary for a future battle; once having reached this point, association takes on a political character.⁵³

Note the emphasis on training for a future battle and the frank admission that strikes, as far as communists are concerned, are political in character. From the pen of Engels, we have the following illuminating evaluation of strikes:

They are the school of war of the workingmen in which they prepare themselves for the great struggle which cannot be avoided. . . . And as schools of war they are unexcelled.⁵⁴

The master teacher of them all, Lenin, summed up his discussion of strikes in these words:

Here we have the programme and the tactics of the economic struggle and the trade union movement for several decades to come, for the whole long period in

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which the workers are preparing for a "future battle."⁵⁵

Aside from training the working class in the art of civil war, strikes serve other subsidiary purposes. First, they constitute an important method of sabotaging the whole capitalist system. Lozovsky wrote:

Marx knew that the economic strike was an important weapon in the hands of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, since everything that deals a blow to the capitalists deals a blow also to the capitalist system."⁵⁶

Second, strikes are indispensable for developing class consciousness in the minds of workers. Lozovsky explained that Marx proved

the vast significance of strikes for turning the proletariat into a class.⁵⁷

Third, we are indebted to none other than David J. Saposs, chief economist of the National Labor Relations Board, for the statement that strikes develop class-struggle "muscle" in a trade union and transform its members into those who pay their dues willingly. Wrote Saposs:

It is also true that unorganized and particularly immigrant and unskilled workers must develop enthusiasm, solidarity and understanding through mass action and the strike before they can be interested in becoming permanent, dues-paying members.⁵⁸

Saposs' book, *Left Wing Unionism*, bears the imprint of International Publishers which is the Communist Party's publishing house in the United States, and the book itself is a text in use at the Communist Party's Workers' School.

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Committed as they are to the view that strikes are unexcelled as schools of war, it would be the height of folly to allege that communists (or radicals in general) exert themselves to keep picketing within peaceful bounds. Of course, no such thing is true, as anyone well knows if he has ever been even moderately close to the trade union activities of communists. On the contrary, the communist tactic in strikes is invariably to *provoke* violence from the side of the management and the police. This is so elementary in radical practice that it borders on the ridiculous for anyone to ask proof for it. All the proof needed is in the Marxist theory of trade unions and strikes. Nevertheless, Mrs. George Soule who has written a pamphlet for the Communist Party's International Labor Defense declared:

I have been in many strikes, and I have never seen any trouble started by any labor group.⁵⁹

Unless there is a "catch" in Mrs. Soule's declaration, there is no avoiding the conclusion that something is wrong with her eyesight. The usual "catch" which is implicit in any such statement made by a communist or a fellow traveler is that the "trouble" is always *started* by employers if they do not promptly comply with whatever demands the communist union leaders present. In communist circles, it is reckoned a "provocative" thing for an employer to be slow in yielding to even the most absurd and impossible demands. The non-provocative employer—the one who *starts* no trouble—is one who turns over his plant to communists to do with as they will, who takes no measures whatever for the defense of his constitutional rights to life and property, and who otherwise

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recognizes that a Soviet America would be vastly superior to what we now have. An employer's refusal to do any one of these things may brand him as guilty of having *started* the trouble. Of course, after the employer has *started* the trouble by his stubbornness, the workers are then free to demolish automobiles and buildings, to stone or beat the employer and non-striking workers, and to inflict whatever other damage they may choose to inflict. If, in doing these things, they come into conflict with local officers of the law who, like the employers, are stubborn, it is the function of the American Civil Liberties Union to see that the communists incur no penalties for having *continued* the trouble which the employer *started*, and it has been the practice of the National Labor Relations Board to prosecute the employer for failing to yield to the communists' demands.

In the outline for its course on trade unionism at the Workers' School, the Communist Party lists three concepts of trade unions: (a) Reformist, (b) Anarcho-Syndicalist, and (c) Marxist. According to the outline, reformist trade unions are those which accept the idea of class collaboration and "arbitration as a means of settling labor disputes." The anarcho-syndicalist unions are those which hold the "theory that the union is the primary organ to wage the class struggle" along with a "repudiation of the need for a workers' political party." The Marxist unions are those which have the structure of "industrial unionism" and which are based upon the theory that trade unions are "schools of socialism." The CIO was the answer to the Marxists' prayers of a generation.

In the light of all the foregoing authoritative statements of the communist or Marxist theory of trade

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unions, it is apparent that nothing could be more relevant than for the National Labor Relations Board to ascertain the extent to which any particular trade union is under the leadership of communists. A trade union under communist leadership is not a trade union at all in the sense which Congress must have intended in its enactment of the Wagner Act. Such a labor organization is "a school of socialism" conducted under the guise of trade unionism. A strike under communist leadership is likewise not a strike at all; it is "an advance guard collision . . . in which the workers are preparing for a future battle." Did Congress set up an agency for the promotion of schools of socialism and for training workers, as Marx said, in "real civil war"? Since Congress had no such intention, then the National Labor Relations Board has been guilty of the most colossal betrayal of American institutions to be found in the history of this country.

In recent years, communists and their fellow travelers have put forth the argument that communists cannot dominate a trade union unless they constitute a majority of the union's membership. David J. Saposs himself has given the lie to this cunning argument. In discussing "Propaganda Under the Guise of Trade Union Action," Saposs wrote:

But propaganda bodies, chiefly dedicated to the dissemination of sentiments and ideas may exercise far-reaching emotional and intellectual influence with a small membership and little material opulence.⁶⁰

The *New Republic* stated recently that communists are in the CIO unions in "about the same proportions as they exist in the communities from which

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their membership is drawn."⁶¹ This statement is completely evasive of the real issue, which is one that concerns the nature of the activity of communists in the unions. Who would think of trying to dismiss the problem of gangsters and racketeers in trade unions with the cavalier observation that they are in the unions in "about the same proportions as they exist in the communities from which their membership is drawn"? If, as is clear to all, gangsters are in unions with the purpose of collecting swag, of exploiting workers mercilessly, and of maintaining policies which are at variance with the purposes of unions as these are commonly understood, then all who are interested in trade unions will strive for the elimination of the gangsters irrespective of the nicety of their proportional representation in the unions. Communists are not gangsters in any ordinary sense of the word, but they may be quite as dangerous as gangsters wherever they are able to manoeuvre themselves into positions of trade union leadership. Communists have publicly announced their determination to destroy the so-called reformist trade unions, and have frankly declared their policy of turning the unions which they control into schools of communism and training schools for real civil war. In some respects, therefore, communism may be even more of a cancerous growth in trade unions than gangsterism.

The *New Republic* offers the equally disingenuous argument that union membership is made up of Catholics, Jews, Protestants, Republicans, and Democrats, as well as "a mere sprinkling of Socialists, Communists, Trotskyites and Lovestoneites." Everyone knows that a worker's religion is irrelevant to his trade union membership for the obvious reason that

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there is no special trade union "line" held by Catholics, Jews, or Methodists as such. The churches do not send their members into trade unions with rigid instructions to carry out a specific policy. The Communist Party, on the other hand, not only requires its members to join whatever union they may be eligible to join, but it also charges them, on pain of Party discipline, with the responsibility for executing carefully drawn plans for work in the trade unions. These things are as well known to the editors of the *New Republic* as they are to anyone else.

John Brophy is the author of yet another type of argument. Addressing the National Council of Catholic Women, Mr. Brophy said:

After all Communism is the outgrowth of the denial of workers' rights, a thing that has grown out of the soil of repression and oppression. Labor unions have to take the workers that the employers have brought together. We don't question a man about his political affiliations.⁶²

It is equally true that gangsterism is believed by many to grow out of the soil of undesirable social conditions. Should gangsterism in a trade union be tolerated simply because it is a natural growth from the soil of poverty and psychological maladjustment? . . . The arguments of Mr. Brophy and the editors of the *New Republic* also spring from a clearly recognizable soil—the soil of perfect congeniality to the presence of communists both in our communities and in the trade unions.

John L. Lewis has been quoted in the press as

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saying that employers hire communists. This statement, too, is entirely without relevance to the issue involved. According to the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee, certain employers have also hired thugs!

In 1934, I was chairman of the Revolutionary Policy Committee which was organized within the Socialist Party on the initiative of Jay Lovestone. In the first issue of the *Revolutionary Socialist Review* published by this group, Francis Henson, who of late has been the administrative assistant to Homer Martin in the leadership of the United Automobile Workers' Union, was designated as acting secretary of the Revolutionary Policy Committee. In an article in this issue of the group's publication, Henson wrote:

The R. P. C. does not shy at the term communist. ... It is primarily interested in building a united revolutionary socialist party with an effective program in the organized labor movement.⁶³

Mr. Henson left no doubt about his views on dictatorship in the United States. He envisioned for the United States a more impregnable dictatorship than exists in the Soviet Union. Mr. Henson, it must not be forgotten, is only one of several thousands of left-wingers now unusually active or occupying high positions in the American labor movement who hold the view that

Once the workers firmly establish a dictatorship of the proletariat in any highly industrialized western state, it will be even more impregnable than the present Soviet Union which grows more able every day to defend itself against all enemies.

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With men like Henson so prominent in the leadership of the CIO, there should be no difficulty in understanding the CIO's use of the revolutionary measure of the sit-down strike. However, the sit-down strike with its arrogant lawlessness is merely a mild prelude to what is envisioned for the future by these men. If they have their way, America's future will be more terrible than Spain's present. Here is what Henson wrote in the first issue of the *Revolutionary Socialist Review*:

Therefore the working class state will be an entirely new type of state based on workers' councils, historically suited to serve as the organs of liberation. Workers' Councils organized in direct response to a growing revolutionary situation shall constitute the basic unit or organ by which the working class can carry through an armed insurrection.

Even the more moderate left-wingers are accustomed to measure progress in terms of industrial strife. For this reason if for no other they are determined to permit no modification of the Wagner Act. The more strife the more encouragement they have for their revolutionary hopes. I have before me a letter from a former comrade which many Americans will find it all but impossible to understand, but here is what it says:

I am more hopeful than ever about conditions around here right now. We have a wave of strikes on that is sweeping the entire state.

The Communist Smearing Technique

Among the Communist Party's most highly developed and most unscrupulous techniques is that of

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smearing its critics. Its smearing is not confined to the use of abusive epithets in its publications. It assumes its most effective form in organized whispering campaigns of unbridled scurrility.

The effective use of the whispering campaign depends largely upon the aid of persons who are not generally known to have any communist connections or sympathies. Such persons are provided with mendacious and criminally libelous stories which they, in turn, circulate as widely as possible among non-communists and even among pronounced right-wingers. Little, if any, responsibility attaches to the filthy work of the whisperer, and the Communist Party proceeds on the assumption that the middle-class world is composed largely of suckers who devour gossip eagerly.

A certain well-known left-wing writer who was once a member of the Communist Party will serve as one example of the whispering campaign. The story is widely circulated by Communist Party members and sympathizers that this erstwhile Party member was expelled for absconding with a sum of \$40,000 which he carried in cash on his person and which belonged to one of the Party's united fronts. I have heard one variation of the story which recited that he lost his senses completely while under the influence of liquor in a house of ill-repute, and the sum was stolen from him by one of the girls. The man who is the object of this particular whispering campaign would find it all but absolutely impossible to track the story down to its original authors or to hold them or any one else responsible for its circulation.

It is the rule to provide conservative and middle-

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class suckers with whatever kind of story they are most likely to find appetizing to their craving for gossip. The desertion of one's children, wife beating, financial irregularity, philandering, habitual inebriation, and stoolpidgeoning are among the favorite bits of gossip employed by the communists and their sympathizers for the purpose of paralyzing the effectiveness of a critic among conservatives and other non-communist groups. The Communist Party, it must be remembered, has thousands of individuals at its disposal for this work of smearing. It relies on the gullibility of that very large group of persons who believe that a twice-heard tale must be true. It counts upon the phenomenon that the truth never or rarely catches up with a lie, and a lie is, therefore, vested with a certain net effectiveness for revolutionary purposes.

I know one prominent person who has waged a tireless campaign against communism and who the communists publicly declare is now confined in an asylum for the insane. Despite the fact that this distinguished anti-communist is a person of extraordinarily sound and vigorous mind and makes frequent public appearances, there are undoubtedly thousands of persons who believe the tale of the insane asylum. The technique works, thanks largely to a pervasive gullibility among conservatives and other non-communists, and workability is the only test of a good revolutionary technique. The Marxian code of ethics is the most cold-blooded pragmatism the world has ever seen.

Of course the classic smearing campaign in which the communists of this country have engaged is that which they have directed against their foremost

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journalistic critic, William Randolph Hearst. The communists have found writers like Ferdinand Lundberg and George Seldes especially useful in this business of answering anti-communist facts with scurrility.

A Schedule of Revolution

The manner in which all of these united front, trade union, and other activities of the Communist Party are integrated into its whole strategy should be sketched briefly. The Party aims ultimately at revolution—the complete overthrow of the system known as capitalism and the liquidation of the bourgeoisie. This ultimate aim is, however, to be attained in stages which are conceived to follow logically one upon the other. These stages must be understood in order to comprehend the meaning of any communist tactic at a given moment.

The present stage in communist strategy is the united front phase. This is the period during which the Party extends its influence in the many devious ways which I tried to elucidate—a little radicalization here, a little there, boring, penetrating, infiltrating, ceaselessly manoeuvring for some gain however slight. The program is aimed more at winning an enormous number of sympathizers than at increasing the card-holding membership, although the latter should not be underestimated.

In the next stage, the Communist Party hopes to contribute no little help in bringing about a disintegration of the Democratic Party by driving a wedge between its so-called liberal and its so-called conservative wings. Before the Communist Party can hope to advance far toward its revolutionary goal, it under-

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stands rightly that there must be a sweeping realignment of political parties in this country. That realignment is sought at the price of the very existence of the Democratic Party. Out of the chaos of the Democratic Party's destruction, it is expected that a national farmer-labor party would emerge. The backbone of this new political grouping would be the industrial unions, a single bloc numbering millions and susceptible of being moved as chess pieces upon the political board. The two communist authors of *Men Who Lead Labor* already see this stage of the revolution arriving. A year ago they wrote:

What lay ahead was clear. . . . As industrial unionization advanced, as groups battered by political issues found their new positions in the transformed political scene, the progressive forces within the disintegrating Democratic Party, in alliance with the already existing farmer-labor groups, would evolve into a national Farmer-Labor Party—an American People's Front.⁶⁴

The effort of the Communist Party will be everywhere to hold a commanding influence—not necessarily a numerical majority—in these industrial unions and consequently in the farmer-labor party. The desired place of the Communist Party in this development was defined by Lenin many years ago, when he said:

The Communist Party is the organized political lever by means of which the more advanced section of the working class leads the whole proletarian and semi-proletarian mass.⁶⁵

The two communist authors of *Men Who Lead Labor* have hailed Heywood Broun's contribution

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to this politicalization of the labor movement, in these words:

Broun stressed the need to politicalize the labor movement, to build a Farmer-Labor Party that would rally all liberals and progressives in the middle classes to the support of a militant working class.⁶⁶

With a farmer-labor party in power, the Communist Party would exert every ounce of its influence to use that party as a means to the sabotage of the capitalist system of production by placing upon that system burdens of restrictive legislation and enervating taxation. These ends would, it is hoped, be achieved by the slogans of social security, unprecedented sums for relief of every conceivable sort, until the collapse of the currency and the drain upon production induced a major crisis in the working of the economy. Meanwhile vast political power would be built upon these governmental hand-outs—a veritable monster of politics insatiable in its appetite for compensation without toil. Not only upon the economy's currency but upon every other front of the capitalist system, this incessant sabotage would do its work until finally the system would require a receiver.

The Communist Party would then step in as the most militant, cohesive, and highly disciplined minority available to take over the functions of government. Thus would the dictatorship of the proletariat—no longer any pretenses about democracy—inaugurate a Soviet America. The reactionary property holders and the idealistic believers in democracy and civil liberties would have to be slaughtered—not because the communists love violence and bloodshed

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but because they look upon themselves as the fashioners of a new destiny for mankind.

So far on the road of this development, the Communist Party is doing remarkably well, thanks to substantial assistance from many quarters, but somewhere before the end of this schedule there is, without any doubt, an unscheduled stop. Whether that point is reached soon or late will determine whether or not America is to be spared the fate of those European states which ignored the peril of communism while educational methods were still sufficient to cope with it.

¹ *Daily Worker*, August 30, 1938, p. 7.

² Lenin, *Lenin Speaks to Youth* (New York: International Publishers, 1936), pp. 13, 16.

³ A. Lozovsky, *RILU Magazine*, February 15, 1932, p. 245.

⁴ Lenin, *Left-Wing Communism*, p. 38.

⁵ Reinhold Niebuhr, *Reflections on the End of An Era*, p. 272.

⁶ *The Social Questions Bulletin*, Methodist Federation for Social Service, January, 1937, p. 1.

⁷ *Daily Worker*, February 9, 1938.

⁸ Bennett Stevens, *The Church and the Workers*, p. 31.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 27f.

¹⁰ Corliss Lamont, *Soviet Russia and Religion*, p. 21f.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 19.

¹² Karl Marx, *Deutsche Brusseler Zeitung*, September 12, 1847.

¹³ *Daily Worker*, January 14, 1938, p. 6.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, January 21, 1938, p. 6.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, January 24, 1938, p. 6.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, February 16, 1938, p. 6.

¹⁷ *The Communist*, October, 1935, p. 923.

¹⁸ Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, p. 73.

¹⁹ Lenin, *Two Tactics*, p. 21.

²⁰ Lenin, *The Paris Commune*, p. 54.

²¹ James W. Ford and James S. Allen, *The Negroes in a Soviet America*, p. 14.

²² Georgi Dimitroff, *The United Front*, p. 74.

²³ *Ibid*, p. 75.

²⁴ *Daily Worker*, June 1, 1938.

²⁵ Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?*, p. 83f.

²⁶ Georgi Dimitroff, *The United Front*, p. 76.

²⁷ Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, p. 111.

²⁸ Organization Hand Book, American League Against War and Fascism, p. iv-3.

²⁹ *Daily Worker*, February 3, 1938.

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- ²⁰ New York *Herald Tribune*, April 16, 1936, p. 14.
- ²¹ The *New Republic*, August 31, 1938.
- ²² New York *Herald Tribune*, August 27, 1938, p. 1.
- ²³ *Ibid*, August 24, 1938.
- ²⁴ *Business Week*, November 20, 1937, p. 56.
- ²⁵ *Social Justice*, October 5, 1936, p. 15.
- ²⁶ Lenin, *A Letter to American Workers*, p. 14f.
- ²⁷ Browder, *Communism in the United States*, p. 115.
- ²⁸ Browder, *The New Republic*, February 2, 1938.
- ²⁹ *Daily Worker*, January 5, 1933, p. 3; September 16, 1933, p. 4.
- ³⁰ Browder, *Democracy or Fascism*, June 24, 1936, p. 25f.
- ³¹ *Daily Worker*, September 28, 1933, p. 4.
- ³² *Fight*, November, 1933, p. 11.
- ³³ *Labor Age*, December, 1931, p. 22.
- ³⁴ The *Communist*, November, 1934.
- ³⁵ A. Lozovsky, *Marx and the Trade Unions*, p. 25.
- ³⁶ Norman Thomas, *America's Way Out*, p. 265.
- ³⁷ Lozovsky, *Marx and the Trade Unions*, p. 105.
- ³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 175.
- ³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 41.
- ⁴⁰ Roger Baldwin, *The Socialism of Our Times*, p. 77.
- ⁴¹ Lozovsky, *Marx and the Trade Unions*, p. 137.
- ⁴² *Ibid*, p. 134.
- ⁴³ Marx, *Poverty of Philosophy*, Collected Works, Vol. xviii, p. 34.
- ⁴⁴ Engels, *Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*.
- ⁴⁵ Lenin, *Teachings of Karl Marx*, p. 34.
- ⁴⁶ Lozovsky, *Marx and the Trade Unions*, p. 135.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 134.
- ⁴⁸ David J. Saposs, *Left Wing Unionism*, p. 147.
- ⁴⁹ Isobel Walker Soule, *The Vigilantes*, p. 9.
- ⁵⁰ David J. Saposs, *Left Wing Unionism*, p. 171.
- ⁵¹ The *New Republic*, January 26, 1938, pp. 323-324.
- ⁵² The *Sunday Worker*, January 23, 1938.
- ⁵³ The *Revolutionary Socialist Review*, November, 1934.
- ⁵⁴ Bruce Minton and John Stuart, *Men Who Lead Labor*, p. 245.
- ⁵⁵ Lenin, stenographic report of the Second Congress of the Comintern (Russian edition), p. 369.
- ⁵⁶ Bruce Minton and John Stuart, *Men Who Lead Labor*, p. 142.

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Without regard to what it may reveal in the way of intellectual instability, I have acknowledged the embracing of a succession of panaceas. By describing my past beliefs as panaceas, I do not mean to say that I now reject all of their ideas and ideals as totally worthless or lacking in validity. I do mean to say that in each, as I understand it, there was a large and varying admixture of error, and, furthermore, that the manner in which each was held and espoused gave it the form of a crusade.

I claim partial justification for my past crusading temper in the observation that enlisting in crusades is a peculiarly American disposition. *What* we join may be, and, indeed, often is, un-American, but the *act* of joining is typically American.

I do not believe that the psychology of the social crusader has been adequately analyzed. Its essential quality is that of intoxication with a feeling of power, even though the power may be experienced only in imagination. The thought of thoroughly overhauling or pulling down a social structure and of rebuilding it according to one's own plans involves the exercise of vast power. The mere thought is enough to intoxicate its possessor. Men in the modern world, as well as the ancient, have gone mad with the idea, not to mention their driving whole nations to the brink of destruction in their efforts to translate thought into deed.

The way some Americans made a round of the speakeasies in the 'twenties and early 'thirties had its

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striking similarities to this going from panacea to panacea. Each panacea provides its own degree of intoxication, and many who begin to make the round of the panaceas are certain to make their final stop at Sloppy Joe Stalin's before they swear off and decide upon a course of political sobriety.

In my successive selections of panaceas, framework after framework dropped away, but the central idea persisted that I must contribute my share toward remaking the world. (Many Americans will recall that one of the prominent figures of the New Deal's earlier days wrote in his youth: "I will roll up my sleeves and make America over.") I moved from religious fundamentalism to the social gospel. From the social gospel with its earnest humanitarianism, I went to political reform. From political reform *a la* La Follette the Elder, I moved to pacifism. After pacifism came socialism of the Norman Thomas brand. I went, finally, from socialism to communism.

The inevitable feeling of inadequacy with respect to each succeeding panacea suggested that some more potent dosage of social medicine was required by the patient. I have no difficulty in understanding those Americans of former generations who came under the spell of the traveling medicine shows. The communist soap boxer is the patent medicine barker in a 1938 edition.

The atmosphere surrounding each crusading enterprise was that of urgency. Whatever was to be done had to be done "in this generation." Originally, it was "the evangelization of the world in this generation." Finally, it was the communization of the world in this generation.

In the course of these twenty-five years of enlisting

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in one crusade after another, I had other interests. Crusading was, for the most part, an avocation. During many of those years I was engaged in linguistic work which required the most meticulous regard for accuracy. I acquired something of a Dr. Jekyll's appreciation for scholarship, even if I did not attain the intellectual stature of a scholar. I had the advantages of working under and with some of the distinguished scholars of our time. There is a high moral quality in the respect which true scholarship has for facts—even for little and often apparently inconsequential facts. In my work as a Mr. Hyde of the revolution, I was forced by the Marxist code to ignore facts or to do them violence by misplaced emphasis. I learned eventually that Marxists are "virtuous" liars—men who lie for a Cause whose claims upon them are paramount. Sooner or later Mr. Hyde's "virtuous" lying had to come to grips with Dr. Jekyll's reverence for facts, with a resulting spiritual crisis which could be resolved only in the death of the one or the other. When I now assert that Mr. Hyde of the Marxist revolution died in that inner personal conflict, it is not, I hope, with any claim to ethical uniqueness. It was simply that deeper personal satisfactions or more preferred pleasures arbitrated the issue in favor of Dr. Jekyll's mode of life.

Throughout the entire period of my fellow traveling with the communists, I had serious differences with the Communist Party's leaders. I was, apparently, not as good a Marxist as I thought at the time, despite the numerous flattering references to my work which are a part of the Communist Party's own record and which it cannot at this late date expunge from the columns of the *Daily Worker*.

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I call attention only to those differences between the Communist Party and me which are a part of the public records and which cannot, therefore, be regarded as *post facto* inventions of mine designed to justify my present repudiation of communism and all its works. One of these incidents occurred in 1933, another in 1934, and the final one in 1935. The first of them I have already discussed under the heading of *Committee for Investigating Conditions in the Furriers' Union*. In that episode, the communists faked my name as a signatory to the investigating committee's published report. I publicly repudiated that signature, and my repudiation may be found in the files of the *New Leader* of the time. The second sharp difference which arose between the Party and me resulted in my resignation as the national chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism. That, too, I have discussed under its appropriate heading, and it is also a matter of record in numerous documents available to the public.

The third and final breach which, like the other two, was based primarily on ethical grounds occurred in the summer and fall of 1935 in connection with a so-called strike at Consumers' Research.

For a number of years, I had been a member of the board of directors of Consumers' Research and also its vice-president. Early in the history of that organization, I became acquainted with its founder and present president, F. J. Schlink. Consumers' Research as conceived and administered by Schlink is an organization engaged in making comparative ratings of consumers' goods and in publishing these ratings as a confidential service to ultimate con-

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sumers. Whatever may have been the political viewpoints of some of us who were connected with Consumers' Research, the only political view which could possibly be implicit in the organization's own nature and functioning is one which presupposes an economic system of free, private, and competitive enterprise. Under a totalitarian or collectivist state in which politicians assume all control over the production and distribution of goods, there could not and would not be tolerated any independent agency for testing and rating consumers' goods. Under a communist state, there are no competing brands whose relative merits may be considered. All the evils long associated with monopoly are present in the highest possible degree in a society where the state becomes the absolute monopolist—the lone capitalist, if you please—in production and distribution.

For many years, the communists took the position that consumers as such could not be organized for revolutionary purposes. It neglected, therefore, to set up any united fronts whose purpose was to exploit consumers' interests, on behalf of Moscow. In 1935, this position was reversed and the communists decided to launch a whole new series of united front organizations for consumers. I have related already how I was called into consultation on the formation of the League of Women Shoppers. That organization was the Communist Party's first venture into this field.

Arthur Kallet and Susan Jenkins were the Party's advisors-extraordinary in this enterprise of gulling consumers into the peripheral movements of communism.

In a prospectus of the *People's Press*, a radical

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paper of which he is one of the editors, Arthur Kallet was described as the "leader" of the strike at Consumers' Research. Kallet, in turn, described Susan Jenkins as the leader of the same strike, in an article which he wrote for the *New Masses* of September 17, 1935. The fact was that the two of them were co-leaders of the strike.

Kallet denies publicly that he is a member of the Communist Party; and he told me under circumstances which would lead me to place complete credence in his statement that he did not carry a Party card. At the same time, he assured me that he took his "political directives" from the Party. In connection with launching the Communist Party into the field of consumer agitation, Kallet informed me that he had been in frequent touch with a certain Mr. Siskind whom he described as the Communist Party organizer for New York City. I had not heard at the time (July 7, 1935), of any one by the name of Siskind who was among the high functionaries of the Communist Party, but I have since learned from the *Daily Worker* (January 3, 1935), that a George Siskind was known officially as "agit-prop director of the New York District of the Communist Party."

Whether Kallet holds a Party membership card or not is of no special significance. The cumulative evidence of his public statements and activities leaves no doubt about his being a communist in his views or about his closeness to the Communist Party. In a statement on consumer cooperatives which he wrote for publication, he said:

Cooperation does provide a splendid escape from participation in the day to day struggles against the capitalist system; it permits a great many people to

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express their resentment by "playing store." But the emphasis is not on "tomorrow a new society" but "tomorrow maybe we'll be able to begin paying dividends." As consumer cooperatives are generally run they are a business, not a revolution.

The foregoing view of Kallet's was the orthodox Communist Party position on consumer cooperatives at the time it was written. Since that time, however, the Party has changed its "line" on the subject, and Kallet has altered his view accordingly. Both have been busily engaged in recent years in an effort to bring consumer cooperatives within the Party's united front movement. In some instances, they have had notable success. Nevertheless, the statement which I have quoted from Kallet is a clear exposition of communist ideology and should leave no doubt concerning its author's political allegiances.

One of the Communist Party's numerous united front publications is a magazine called *Health & Hygiene*. Kallet is currently listed in this magazine as a member of its editorial board.

In the November, 1937, issue of *Scribner's* magazine, Don Wharton wrote an article on Kallet, in which he said:

He [Kallet] will tell anyone that he dislikes our economic system, that he feels it is doomed, and that he hopes the Russian experiment works out so well that we shall be compelled to adopt it. He denies that he is a member of the Communist Party and so does many a man whose name is right there on the party rolls.

In the February, 1938, issue of *Scribner's*, Kallet published a reply to Wharton's article, but nowhere in

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his reply did he repudiate, directly or indirectly, this description of his communist views and hopes.

In the December, 1937, issue of *Sales Management*, Kallet was quoted as saying that he was a "New Dealer 'way over on the left." That is as good a description of present-day communists as one can find. It fits Earl Browder as well as it does Kallet.

The first strike-office which Kallet opened in New York at the time of his attempt to capture Consumers' Research was at the headquarters of the *New Masses*, known to all as a Communist Party weekly publication.

Shortly after the calling of the strike at Consumers' Research, Kallet held what was called a "public trial" of F. J. Schlink and me in Town Hall in New York. Heywood Broun was named as "presiding judge" and Vito Marcantonio as "prosecuting attorney." It is a matter of public knowledge that Broun and Marcantonio are fellow travelers of the Communist Party.

When Kallet proposed a list of names of persons to act as investigators or arbitrators of the strike at Consumers' Research, he included, along with those of well-known fellow travelers, the name of Clarence Hathaway, editor of the *Daily Worker*. Norman Thomas was irate at my refusal to accept any of the names which Kallet had presented.

Among the sponsors whom Kallet chose to adorn the letterhead of the western branch of his present communist united front, Consumers Union, was Harry Bridges.

I have gone into the *documentary* evidence of Kallet's relation to the Communist Party at some length, because it is not possible otherwise to indicate clearly that I had my final break with the Communist Party

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over the issue of the strike at Consumers' Research.

Susan Jenkins, Kallet's co-leader in the strike, admitted under cross-examination in the Chancery Court of New Jersey that she had worked for the *Daily Worker*, and further that she had omitted to state this fact in her application for employment at Consumers' Research.

Among other ends which Kallet and Susan Jenkins had in view in furthering the work of the Communist Party in the field of consumer agitation, was the capture of Consumers' Research as an auxiliary for the Party. Kallet maintained, however, that it would be necessary to eliminate F. J. Schlink from the organization in order to do this, or at least to deprive him of his dominant control over it. Kallet alleged that Schlink was a fascist.

Occupying the influential position which was mine in the many united fronts of the Communist Party, as well as my position in Consumers' Research, I was naturally called into the deliberations to lay plans for eliminating Schlink. I refused, and refused with emphasis, to go along in the scheme, for precisely the same reason that I denounced publicly the Revolutionary Policy Committee, of which I was chairman, when I believed that it was a manoeuvre of Lovestoneites to split the Socialist Party. At no time in my numerous left-wing political activities did I consciously engage in any of the conspiratorial moves to wreck or seize control of other organizations. I believed in a *genuine* united front of all radical groups and persons, not in united front ruses such as characterize the history of the Communist Party from its beginnings.

I was duly warned by Kallet and others that a

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campaign of character assassination would follow my refusal to serve the Communist Party in the manner proposed. Sheer decency, even revolutionary decency as I conceived it, left me no course but to fight Kallet's move to capture Consumers' Research. I continued up until the moment that the strike was called to hope that my high standing with Communist Party leaders would cause Kallet to hesitate in carrying out his plan.

Nevertheless, the strike was called on the pretext that three employees at Consumers' Research who had written contracts for temporary jobs with the organization had received notice of the termination of their employment on account of their union activities. Two of them had contracts which expired at the end of the summer and the usual routine notices, three weeks in advance of the date of expiration of these contracts, were sent them. The third man was employed on a six months' trial basis, and, having been found unsatisfactory, he, too, received the usual advance notice of the termination of his contract. The union under the leadership of Kallet and Susan Jenkins demanded the reinstatement of these three men on the ground, as Miss Jenkins herself stated on the stand at the hearings of the NLRB, that "human rights" took precedence over "the fact that under the terms of their contract, Consumers' Research had a right to dismiss them when they did." Despite this frank and unqualified admission on the part of Susan Jenkins, the National Labor Relations Board eventually ordered the reinstatement of these three men (as well as all those who had gone on strike) and the payment to them of \$3,106.75 as back salary. When a government agency assumes the power to order an

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employer to make permanent a temporary job for which there was a written contract freely entered into by both contracting parties and explicitly stating the temporary character of the job, then we must conclude either that a revolution in the fundamental law of the land has occurred or that the government agency is guilty of unlawful conduct. At least two of these contracts for temporary employment were signed before the law which set up the National Labor Relations Board was enacted. The NLRB, therefore, assumed the power to alter a contractual relationship which existed prior to its own being. It is clear enough that the NLRB brushed aside all questions of the legality of these contracts and entered the business of falsely imputing motives for whose existence there was not the slightest evidence.

As a matter of fact, not one of the three men or any of the strikers was ever reinstated. Furthermore, the sum of \$3,106.75 which the NLRB ordered paid as back salary to the three men was never paid. In an eventual settlement of the case out of court, there were discussions—no written evidence—to the effect that two of the three men should receive \$50 each. According to the letter of settlement, it was stated that this claim of \$3,106.75 “has been amicably adjusted by the payment of \$1,500, which also covers other matters.” The clause, “which also covers other matters,” meant that the three men were to receive a sum whose lower and upper limits were one cent and \$1,499.99. How much of the \$1,500 was for the “other matters,” and what were the “other matters”? The answer to these two questions is left, so far as the letter of settlement is concerned, in Stygian darkness. Naturally, the question now arises

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as to why a government agency spent thousands of dollars in "defense of workers' rights" and ultimately agreed to a settlement which left the amount of the material compensation to the allegedly wronged workers in complete darkness somewhere below the level of \$1,500. That question, too, is easy to answer. The communists set out to take over a consumers' organization or, failing in that, to organize one of their own united front manoeuvres to draw consumers, as such, into the sphere of the Communist Party's influence. By the time the above settlement was made, the communists had already failed completely in their first alternative and had succeeded in the other. Their own united front for consumers was functioning, and there was, therefore, no longer any useful service which the NLRB could perform for them by attempting to enforce its preposterous order. Such are the ways of the Communist Party, and such the ways of government in this new age of the abundant life!

Rarely have I derived more satisfaction from a job than that which I experienced in helping to defeat the communist conspiracy to capture effective control of Consumers' Research. I had not at any time considered myself a permanent member of the organization's staff, but when Kallet and Susan Jenkins cooked up their little plot to take over the organization I remained on the staff long enough to see the matter through to its final conclusion. When the settlement was finally made, I offered my resignation immediately, and on June 30, 1938, I severed my staff connections.

I have already said that my experience with this communist effort to obtain control of Consumers'

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Research did not cure me of my addiction to left-wing panaceas. My exchange of letters with Harry F. Ward, six weeks after the strike began, is documentary evidence of this. It is easy enough to say that I was incredibly stupid not to learn faster. It would be still easier to say that I was just as stupid for ever becoming a leftist or a fellow traveler with the communists. But, as I have already tried to make clear, I believe that a man who has acquired his political faith over a long period of years and at no small disadvantage to himself is not likely to part with it the moment he runs into personal difficulties on its account. I did not repudiate the Marxist position, which I thought I held, because my name was faked to the report of the fur investigating committee. I did not renounce communism because of the shabby affair of the Madison Square Garden riot which prompted me to resign the chairmanship of the American League Against War and Fascism. All of these conflicts with communists, including the final one which headed up in the strike at Consumers' Research, had their cumulative effect in my eventual disillusionment with the Marxist panacea. But it was not until months after the strike began that I had an opportunity to begin a thorough re-examination of the fundamental postulates of the communist movement, and it was then through a systematic study such as I had not before undertaken in my life that I found myself a political and economic conservative.

Once again I am a dissenter. From the drift of the age toward stateism, or government interventionism, or collectivistic regimentation, or whatever it should be called, that plagues the nations of our

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time, I am in dissent. I cannot hope that my dissent will carry weight, but if the tragedy of my personal political odyssey throws any light upon what communism is and how it works I shall be satisfied. Communism, whether judged by spiritual, or intellectual, or economic tests, is, I am convinced, the most complete illusion ever born in the human brain.

WITNESS

Reporting my testimony before the Dies Committee, a leading New York newspaper said that I described myself as "a disgruntled communist." Wholly apart from the fact that this was a journalistic invention, I must protest that I did not have any cause for being disgruntled. Up until the moment that I myself reached the decision to break with the comrades on grounds of personal conviction, I was the object of their emphatic approval, as the evidence which I have adduced makes clear. At the very hour that I was beginning the fight against Kallet's manoeuvre to capture Consumers' Research, the office of the Friends of the Soviet Union called me by long distance telephone to ask me to be the principal speaker at a mass meeting in Cleveland. Diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States were unharmonious due to a charge by the Roosevelt Administration that the Soviet Union was violating the agreement which was made at the time of recognition. This was early in September, 1935. The Friends of the Soviet Union planned a national protest rally in Cleveland, and it was for this rally that they wished me to speak.

Of course, it ought to be plain on the face of things that even if I were "a disgruntled communist," I would not describe myself in such a manner. It is hard to avoid the suspicion that the writer responsible for the error in quoting me was moved, consciously or unconsciously, by an impulse to discredit my testimony. This suspicion is supported by numer-

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ous instances of the same kind of incorrect reporting of my statements. Serious attention is not likely to be accorded one who is merely disgruntled.

Testifying before the Dies Committee was something of a liberal education, although I cannot claim to have had many surprises—least of all any surprises with respect to the manner in which members of the Newspaper Guild handled the news of what I said. Too well I knew the extent to which communists and their fellow travelers have penetrated into the press organizations of the country, as well as into every other institution where indifference or pseudo-liberalism leaves a door open.

On hundreds of occasions I have spoken at public gatherings, on college campuses, in churches, and before civic clubs when the burden of my remarks was to assail the economic system which underlies our institutions. I cannot recall any instance, under those circumstances, when my remarks were distorted or ridiculed in the press. Ponder this situation: when one attacks the capitalist system from the standpoint of a communist philosophy, he is widely received as one of the intelligentsia; but when he attacks communism from the standpoint of a capitalist philosophy, he is widely rejected as a crank or an alarmist who has some axe to grind—a poor disgruntled victim of ugly complexes.

Despite this extraordinary situation, I still believe that, taking the press the world over, the American press is the most untrammled and the most efficient in reporting the news accurately. It cannot long remain so, however, if the ambitions of the present leaders of the American Newspaper Guild are realized.

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The American Newspaper Guild is not only a labor organization, and, therefore, hardly in a position to handle impartially the news which grows out of disputes to which labor is partisan; it is also affiliated with a particular faction of organized labor. It is, furthermore, not only affiliated with a particular faction of organized labor; it is also aligned through its present leadership with the extreme left-wing of its own labor faction. The president of the Newspaper Guild, Heywood Broun, is demonstrably a communist fellow traveler, and at least one of the Guild's vice-presidents, Gunnar Michelson, is an alien communist. Under these circumstances, it is sheer nonsense to believe that the American Newspaper Guild, considered as a whole, is anything more or less than a new and dangerous propagandistic force in our journalism.

How cleverly left-wingers do their propagandizing has its classic example in the Institute for Propaganda Analysis. Of all the possible names for a *propaganda* agency, *that* is undoubtedly the most completely disarming.

I do not wish to leave the impression that I think the press should have given more space to my testimony or to that of any other witness who has appeared before the Dies Committee. On the whole, the Committee's hearings have received the ample space which they merit. The point which must be made, however, is that communists, fellow travelers, and other left-wingers are widely distributed in strategic journalistic positions where they avail themselves of every opportunity to "slant" the news according to their own political views.

One of the oldest and supposedly most reliable

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newspapers in America recently dismissed the testimony which I presented to the Dies Committee with the airy observation that it stood up only until the accused had time to formulate their answers. These answers have been amazing. A few typical examples should go a long way toward establishing the *accuracy* of the testimony.

In a recent appearance before the Dies Committee I cited an article written by Paul Sifton, assistant administrator of the Wages-Hours Administration. Mr. Sifton wrote: "The whole capitalist shell game can sink and be damned." Mr. Sifton acknowledged the authorship of the article, but answered to the effect that it was written for an anti-war magazine to which many non-communists contributed. If that is to be considered an *answer*, then the dictionary is in dire need of revision. Let us imagine that Mr. Sifton inscribed his statement on the Pearly Gates. That would still leave him something less than pro-capitalist! His so-called answer did not contain a word which even intimated a repudiation of the view expressed in his article.

I also cited an article written by David J. Saposs, chief economist of the National Labor Relations Board. The article contained such passages as "bourgeois democracy is a sham" and "if another war occurs the workers will destroy capitalism." Mr. Saposs and his superior, J. Warren Madden, answered that the article was an objective piece of reporting, that the views expressed were those of others and not the reporter's. Despite this answer, the article contains ample evidence of the reporter's own views. However, it may be pointed out that Mr. Saposs, at the time of writing the article in question, was a

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member of the national executive committee of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and, as such, subscribed to a program calling for "the complete abolition of planless, profiteering capitalism, and the building of a workers republic." It will be interesting to read Mr. Saposs' and Mr. Madden's answer, if any, to that!

Perhaps the most significant exposure made as a result of the work of the Dies Committee was an indirect one—the self-exposure of the Roosevelt Administration in its unprecedented hostility to the work of the Committee. Nothing which has been brought out directly before the Committee itself is half so significant as having the New Deal show its hand on the subject of communist activities in this country. If the American people had spent ten times \$25,000, they would still have learned inexpensively something that is of the utmost importance about their present government.

America owes Martin Dies and his congressional associates a debt of everlasting gratitude. If the work which they have begun—for it is, indeed, only a beginning—receives the support which the people and the Congress will undoubtedly give it, the light of pitiless publicity may yet be the only necessary curb upon the communist program to sovietize the United States.

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I had an inheritance of conservative traditions. Now, after almost twenty-five years of political nomadism, I am back at the beginning. But political and economic conservatism is no longer merely an inheritance. It is a personal faith.

Many others have reacted against socialism and communism, only to fall back to some less extreme position where a more vaguely defined collectivism professes more moderate aims and relies upon milder methods. I am of the opinion that they have failed to raise fundamental questions regarding the nature of collectivism. Their assumption appears to be that there was nothing wrong with the collectivistic idea as such. It was simply misapplied by malevolent leaders. I believe that collectivism itself engenders malevolence in its leadership.

It is my conviction that the collectivistic cure for the ills of a free society inevitably brings on greater maladies than those for whose treatment it is prescribed. The collectivistic dose is not one which will kill *or* cure. It is invariably lethal, without a possible alternative outcome.

I see America faced, in the twinkling of an historical eye, so to speak, with the imperative necessity for conserving on the economic side the gains of the industrial revolution and on the political side the achievements of the American Revolution. The danger is not so much that sinister plotters motivated by ill-will are at work to rob us of these gains as it is that reformers are on the rampage, reformers itch-

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ing to roll up their sleeves and make America over. The objective result of their work will not be different, if they continue in authority, from what it would have been if they were men of sinister design.

Only a static mind will see no possibility for progress and correction in the best of human societies. There have been many things to set right in the course of our national development. But progress and correction are safe only in the hands of men who are first of all devoted to the principles that have made America great.

The type of reformer most common in the world, and in America today, is the one who throws the baby out with the bath. As a matter of fact, it should be stated the other way around: he throws the bath out with the baby. Getting rid of the dirty water is, for him, only incidental to getting rid of the baby. This is plainly apparent from the fact that he proceeds at once to fill the tub with even dirtier water—minus the baby. It's the baby, not the dirty water, that he dislikes.

Monopoly, for example, has long been a political scapegoat. Americans, for at least two generations, have found monopoly distasteful, and in the past there have been political leaders who fought monopoly and at the same time defended private initiative and enterprise. Today, the run of anti-monopolists want to throw out private initiative along with the dirty water of monopoly. In fact, there is ample evidence to indicate that they are interested only in getting rid of private initiative and not at all in getting rid of monopoly. For they come right back with proposals for even greater monopoly—the absolute monopoly of the collectivis-

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tic state. For private capitalism with its relatively small monopolies, they propose to substitute state capitalism with its Gargantuan monopoly. Laugh at a communist or any other collectivist when he denounces the monopolistic tendencies in a system of free enterprise. Laugh at Harold Ickes when he delivers his verbal assaults upon sixty mythical families, and then, without blushing, donates his oratory to the service of communist united front gatherings where the assembled comrades all believe in a system of one-family real monopoly.

Or, for another illustration, take wage slavery. There have been, and are now, trade unionists whose objectives were the greater independence of wage earners and the keeping open of the doors of opportunity for men of initiative and ambition. But how different are these from numberless administrators of collective-bargaining statutes and leaders of organized labor in the United States today, men who find our collective-bargaining rights merely a useful instrument on their way to a collectivistic state where wage slavery is made absolute. The most disadvantaged wage earner in America today is a wonderfully free man by contrast with the wage earners in the communist Utopia. Yet twelve of the forty members of the new C.I.O. Council are communists or fellow travelers, and some of the others are reckless of the values in the American tradition.

Unquestionable devotion to the principles of the industrial revolution and the American Republic is the indispensable prerequisite for those who may be trusted with progress and correction in our society.

The mark of a conservative is unqualified and primary concern for the *methods* of government.

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Objectives are of lesser importance. The most wholesome objective uttered with the vocal sweetness of a skylark is still nothing more than a combination of syllables. The charlatan does not live who cannot frame ideal social objectives, in words, as rapidly as a modern power press hands out newspapers. The totalitarian states are teaching us that "due process" is, perhaps, the most precious right embodied in the American Constitution. Men live primarily by methods. Methods of government are the real factors conditioning the people's freedom and happiness. Noble objectives have meaning and value only as they are rigorously incorporated in methods which are correspondingly noble. Some of our present-day governmental agencies of administrative law have objectives which are noble enough, but they look with contempt upon the methods of "due process" by which alone our liberties may have their maximum safeguard. Destroy "due process," and the best objective is lost with the method.

Not long ago an Irish humorist went up in an airplane and suddenly found himself an American hero. I apologize for using his daring feat to explain a contemporary political phenomenon about which there is not the slightest humor. In aviation one may actually reach a given objective on the earth's surface by starting out in the opposite direction. Starting from New York on a course set toward Dublin, one will reach Los Angeles if he flies far enough, thanks to the rotundity of the earth. In politics today there is an alarming degree of Corriganism. Political leaders are asking us to believe that their course is set for a given objective while they are actually moving in a direction away from it. Politics differs from

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aviation in this respect: it is not possible to reach a given objective, no matter how far one travels, by moving constantly in the opposite direction. In politics you do not get more freedom by destroying freedom. In economics you do not get more goods by producing less. Even a phrase such as the more abundant life will not work that miracle.

In one important respect, however, aviation and politics are similar. In both, one may go into a tailspin and crash.

I believe that the essential soundness of private enterprise has been demonstrated anew in the tragedies of every collectivistic experiment of our time.

I believe that political freedom and economic free enterprise must go hand in hand, and are nowhere found the one without the other.

After the evidence which the modern world offers, I do not understand how men can look upon the promised security of collectivism as anything more than a snare of insecurity. At no other point is the moral degeneracy of many modern young people so apparent as in their preference for security over opportunity.

I believe that reliance upon the state is a deadly substitute for individual initiative, and, furthermore, that it is an economically destructive force in society.

Once I wrote of profit as "pirate king." I am convinced now that the fashionably-berated profit motive is the steadiest and most practicable stimulus to business; and, further, that the profit motive acquires a hitherto unsuspected nobility by contrast with the alternative motives of collectivism.

I believe that central planning by the state, of whatever form, is a fabulous vision and, wherever

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attempted, will produce a chaos that can be controlled only by extremes of physical force. To me it is clear that the automatic planning of the free market (the freer the better) comes nearer to producing a balance of all economic factors than any amount of state intervention to obstruct its working.

I believe that business institutions are national assets, that their health is the nation's wealth, and, further, that a demagogue, by whatever political name, who deliberately seeks to prejudice the public mind against business, as such, is as dangerous as any communist could be to the welfare of the people of America.

I believe that stark tragedy for America lurks in any crusade to salvage civilization in other parts of the world, and that, if civilization is to be saved in this generation, there is plenty of work for every American at home.

I *know* that conservatives who would oppose successfully the left-wing illusions of our time must drop their divisive interpretations of what lies back of the communist and socialist movement.

In opposing the collectivistic movements and tendencies of the day, I do not believe that misrepresentation can be successfully answered with misrepresentation, or hate with hate. Many years ago, I taught in a Chinese Confucianist school. I learned there something of the great Chinese conservative sage and his law of measure or balance. It was when I neglected this precept that I stumbled into the left-wing politics of this distraught age of ours where men are in such frenzied haste to make the world better that they seize upon hatred, vulgarity, and immoderation as means toward their end. I marvel

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at the facility with which communists have put forth mere hoodlumism as an ideal, have dressed the naked lust for unearned power in the garb of a utopian impulse; but for myself, I have confidence in the wisdom of the ages, and I must, therefore, put aside both haste and hate as the self-defeating urges of barbarians who have not shared in the cultural heritage of mankind.

I do not propose either quietism or defeatism in the presence of the colossal conceit of bolshevism. I wish only to express the belief that the advance of communism can be stopped in this country before it reaches the stage of the barricades and civil war, and that our ability to accomplish this depends in large measure upon our own care for facts and our own coolheadedness in confronting a foe who is anything but collected despite his philosophy of collectivism.

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