

INTRODUCTION

Under the guise of “protecting our free American institutions” William Randolph Hearst through his chain of newspapers and over the radio is conducting a campaign designed to encourage the most vicious nationalism, sanctifying in the name of “Americanism” the vicious onslaught being made on the wages, working conditions, unions and other organizations of the working class.

Included in the Hearstian definition of “un-American” is every single person who does not accept the theory that Morgan, Rockefeller, Mellon, Vanderbilt, Astor, Schwab, Hearst, etc., are the only true representatives of the American people and their interests. The attack on Communists and Communism by Hearst is intended only to pave the way for an assault on the whole front against every elementary right of the working people in the country.

Every economist, every educator, every scientist, every author, every journalist who has spoken favorably of the tremendous advances made in the fields of industry, agriculture, science and culture by the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union by reason of the victorious revolution and its onward march toward a classless society, is under fire from the Hearst press.

Hearst is driving for fascism in the United States – for the destruction of all forms of workers’ organizations. He is driving for war as the way out of the crisis for capitalism. *He is operating with the knowledge, consent and approval of the Roosevelt administration.*

This is what the Hearst drive against wages, working conditions, unions, the right to organize, against Communists and Communism means. It must be exposed, it must be fought, it must be defeated or we will find ourselves choking to death under the stinking black pall of fascism. Unity of *all working-class forces is our only hope* in this life and death battle.

FOREWORD

HOW AND WHY HEARST'S LACKEYS LIED ABOUT LENIN!

THE DEADLY PARALLEL

What Lenin Really Said:
“The dictatorship of the proletariat ... is not merely the use of violence against the exploiters and it is not even mainly the use of violence.” – Vol. XVIII, Page 361 of Lenin’s Collected Works.

What the Hearst Papers Said:
“The dictatorship of the proletariat is nothing else than power based on force and limited by nothing – by no kind of law and by absolutely no rule.” (In Vol. XVIII, Page 361 to which the Hearst Papers referred, no such sentence as the above is to be found.)

Under the pressure of protest letters from all over the country, and as a result of being confronted with a correct quotation from Lenin on the dictatorship of the proletariat by a delegation from the Chicago Workers School – the quotation which Hearst’s fascist writers like Richard Washburn Child, former United States ambassador to Italy and one of Mussolini’s stooges in this country – rewrote to fit Hearst’s anti-labor campaign, H. R. Knott, city editor of the *Chicago American*, told how the campaign started and in addition spilled the beans regarding the “integrity” of the news and editorial material of the Hearst press.

When shown the correct quotation from Lenin, H. R. Knott said: “*Why, this is purely historical.*”

He stated further:

“*You will get no retraction from me. This is not a false statement.* It has been quoted and cannot be retracted.

“*Lenin be damned. This is the United State» and not Russia. It is really of great insignificance whether we misquote him not.... Who is feeding all the unemployed? Not the Communists: but the United State« of America. If the capitalists are so hardhearted as the Communists make them out to be, why didn't they shoot the unemployed long ago instead of bothering to feed them?... Even if the quotation is wrong it is a good thing.*”

The question arises: If Hearst and his high-salaried staff of defenders of fascism and slanderers of workers and the social revolution – with Communists as the immediate target – lie deliberately about such fundamental issues as that of the tactics of the transition period from capitalism to Communism, that is, the dictatorship of the working class, what do they do about ordinary news of workers' struggles and the daily economic and political issues that arise?

Hearst stands convicted of slandering and lying about one of the greatest figures of world history, the greatest leader of workers, the colonial peoples, and the exploited rural population, that ever lived – *Lenin*.

American workers will have no trouble in deciding whose teachings to accept. They will follow the Leninist truth – not the fascist lies of Hearst.

AN OPEN LETTER TO WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST

AT YOUR FORTRESS, CASTLE AND 250,000-ACRE
FEUDAL ESTATE OF SAN SIMEON – GUARDED BY
YOUR PRIVATE ARMY AND YOUR FLEET OF
ARMED MOTOR BOATS:
GREETINGS:

You brought your campaign of slander and provocation against Communists and all other people who resent and resist the coolie level of living to which the working population of this country is being driven by you, the 46 multi-millionaires and billionaires for whom you speak, and by the Roosevelt administration, to a climax on Sunday, Dec. 9.

You wrote and had published in your papers, which cover our land like a pestilence, an editorial headed “*Number One Public Enemies*” which we reproduce here that our readers may know exactly what you advocate, and in which you described Communists as “*more dangerous than the criminals, more demoralizing than the imbeciles – and partaking of the dull and degenerate qualities of both*”.

It is a basic principle of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence that a complainant “*must come into court with clean hands*”. Perhaps from your boyhood days, before your every pore began to exude hatred for all who interfere with the robbery and oppression of the poor by the rich, you may have some dim remembrance of this principle.

In Your Own Language

You, of all people, judged by this one principle alone, qualify as a complainant against Communists, the Communist Party and Communism, or against any other section or organization of workers and their allies.

In replying to you the ordinary courtesies of political discussion must be discarded. One must talk to you in your own language – but without indulging in your favorite methods of slander, distortion, misrepresentation and outright lies. When one replies, because political necessity demands it, to a person whose integrity is that of a Tammany Hall judge, whose viciousness is that of a Paris apache, whose moral code is that of a racketeer, and whose knowledge of economic and political fundamentals is that of a sixth grade pupil

(with apologies to sixth grade pupils), all polite phrases serve only to clutter up the issues. To proceed:

You hate Communists. You endeavor to convince people that Communists are mostly “aliens” of a bestial type. You try to arouse popular indignation that will furnish the background for police raids and fascist terrorism against them – as you did during the San Francisco and Bay Counties general strike which won substantial improvements in wages, working conditions and union organization for the longshoremen, seamen, and other maritime workers in spite of you and your labor-hating sheets.

You know why you hate us – and we know why you hate us, our Party and our International: to give only *one* reason, you hate us because our Party and its press is the only force in the country today which clearly exposes your drive toward war and a fascist dictatorship and organizes the working population against it.

Film Censorship

When you, *you of all people*, started the campaign for “clean films”, with your usual allies – the puritanical Protestant clergy and the Roman Catholic hierarchy – the Communist press at once exposed it as a long step toward censorship of all films showing the slightest sympathy for organized labor and the working class revolutionary movement. We did not have to wait long for confirmation from your own press:

On Friday, November 30, your papers said editorially, after the usual hypocritical slap at “indecent films”:

“In fact, there is little or no objection to be made nowadays as to the moral character of the films. [William Randolph Hearst as an arbiter of morals!] However, a new and equally serious fault is developing, and the Hearst papers warn the producers again that if this fault is persisted in, they may expect even more serious difficulties than they have encountered from the criticism of the churches.

“The objectionable feature of some recent films is their Communistic character. If motion pictures are to be used for Communistic propaganda, it will not be long before the American government will have to step in to censor and suppress such propaganda and directly to supervise the film companies responsible for it and see that they are conducted on a patri-

otic American basis...

“Filth on the screen is a matter which may be dealt with by churches, by parents and public opinion, but subversive and seditious Communistic radicalism *calls for direct action by a patriotic government.*

“However, it is to be hoped that the producers have learned something from the storm of protest aroused over immoral films, and will not bring down upon their heads *the greater disaster which may result from unfurling the red flag of radicalism.*” (My emphasis.)

The editorial quoted is a splendid example of your ethics, business code and political methods. To anyone at all familiar with your particular form of banditry, as thousands of newspapermen and other people are, the implications of the editorial quoted are clear. You are, with that pinch-penny meanness which characterizes your relations with employees – excepting those madams of the press, your high-salaried feature writers – and with the other exception of your fabulous expenditures for the gratification of your personal desires, trying with this one editorial (pardon the mixed metaphor) to kill six birds with one stone:

First, the film companies being owned mainly by rich Jews, you are warning them that *Hearst papers will not find it difficult to duplicate in this country the Hitlerite demagogic propaganda to the effect that the Jews are the chief backers of Communism..*

Second, *you are threatening them with a boycott of any picture which shows the slightest sign of telling the truth about the terrible conditions of millions of American workers and their families, of telling the truth about the Soviet Union, or about the Communists and their activities in this country.*

Third, you are threatening the film firms with government censorship – although you yelp loudly about “the freedom of the press”, meaning, of course, complete freedom for you and your papers to pour out upon a long-suffering people the daily deluge of poison.

Fourth, as you always do, in this editorial you cater to the lowest forms of ignorance and prejudice, under the cloak of “decency” and “morality”, etc.

Fifth, *you are notifying the film companies that now is a good time to increase their advertising appropriations for the Hearst papers, or else – a polite method of blackmail, to put it mildly.*

Sixth, and this is the most important political conclusion, you have taken another step in your campaign for the outlawing of the Communist Party *as the usual preliminary to a new attack on the organized labor movement, wages and working conditions, and on the living standards of the whole working class, employed and unemployed.*

The “American” Method

This method “has been sanctified by custom in the strategy board of the class for which you speak – the class whose system and whose greed brought on the present crisis. It was the method followed in 1919-20 when the post-War open-shop drive got under way. It was the method followed in 1922 when the open-shop drive was extended to the railway shop craft unions. It was the method followed in 1923-24 when you, the rest of the employers’ press and the government, aided by servile labor officials, foisted the “labor-management cooperation” plan – *efficiency unionism* – on the organized labor movement and crippled it for years.

What an altruistic savior of humanity in general and “American institutions” in particular is William Randolph Hearst!

Free Speech – For Hearst!

As we have said, Hearst, you are a great advocate of “a free press” – according to your own definition of it. So concerned are you about your “free press” that you and your chief attorney and mouthpiece – John Francis Neylan – refuse to recognize the American Newspaper Guild because, you say, it threatens “the freedom of the press”. You have fired employees with years of service on your papers merely for belonging to and refusing to quit this recognized union of newspapermen. You brought enough pressure to bear on the National Labor Board to get the ruling reinstating Jennings – *fired by you for membership in the Guild* – reversed.

Oh, yes, you are a great friend of working people – providing they agree with your recent editorial statement that they are “incapable” of running a government.

You, Hearst, *never earned a dollar in your life by work.* You *inherited* a \$17,000,000 fortune. There is not a single member of the Communist Party in this country who has not created more goods with his two hands and added more to the national wealth of the United States than you have. If every member of the Communist Party had

worked only one day in his whole life this would still be true.

Some Deadly Facts

When you, Hearst, began your campaign for enlarging the detective and spy staff of the Department of Justice, the Communist Party and its press said at once that, under the guise of stamping out “crime” and “gangsterism”, you were trying to establish a huge *secret political police force* in this country, patterned after the Tsar’s Okhrana, Mussolini’s and Hitler’s official bands of spies and terrorists. Once more we Communists did not have to wait long for confirmation from your own correspondents and papers:

Your Universal Service, on December 10, 1934, sent out the following from Washington, D. C.:

“A determined drive to outlaw Communists and members of other organizations which advocate overthrow of government by force, will be launched in Congress by the House Committee on un-American activities, it was learned today.

“The committee has decided to recommend enactment of this twofold program: (1) A law making it a crime to be affiliated with organization dedicated to overthrow of the government by force; (2) *increased appropriations for the Department of Justice, so agents may start a nationwide round-up of Communists and Nazis.*

“Members of the committee explained *existing laws against reds have been practically nullified because an overt act of violence must be proved before a Communist can be convicted. The amendments sponsored by the committee will remove this bar to wholesale prosecution of Communists....*”
(Not Nazis! – W.F.D.)

If the Communist Party and its members are “*automatically outlawed*” as you and your associates and tools propose, its press and that of *all* groups which criticize monopoly capital and its government and its program *fundamentally*, will also be out.

Censorship of the films, prevention of the distribution of leaflets dealing with labor questions and working class political issues, suppression of the entire opposition working class press – this is your program, Hearst!

The Drive Against Workers

Your campaign against “crime”, as our press predicted, Hearst, has become a drive against the Communists, the labor movement, and the entire working class. *It is a means of putting over the new Roosevelt program of reducing living standards – of starving the unemployed to the point where they can be driven into the industries – taking the place of striking workers in many instances, at any wage the employers care to pay.* The first three points new program are:

“1. Shift relief responsibilities from the Federal government to the states and localities. [Throwing the unemployed back on the bankrupt states and cities from which they will get little, if any, relief – W.F.D.]

“2. Concentrate on needed public works which will not conflict with private investment and private industry. [This means little, if any, public work. – W.F.D.]

“3. Set up unemployment-reserves without penalizing industry. [This means that the main burden of these “unemployed reserves” – which are for the dim and distant future – will fall on workers. – W F D.]

“4. *Establish broad foreign markets.*” (Article by Rukeyser – Hearst papers of Dec. 6-7.)

This can be done *only* by reducing “labor costs”, *i.e.*, wages, to a level closer to the European standard, and that of Japan, and making up the difference by speed-up of workers. It is an iron law of capitalism, formulated by Marx, that goods tend to sell on the world markets “at the figure which represents that of the country having the *lowest* “labor costs”, or, rival nations must be crippled or destroyed. War\creeps closer.

The National Labor Board has just ruled, as this is written, that the Roosevelt decision for the automobile industry – endorsed by President Green of the American Federation of Labor with his accustomed allegiance to the interests of monopoly capital – which legalized company unions and established the infamous “merit” clause, a powerful weapon in the hands of the companies against genuine unions and for discrimination and blacklisting of active union men, cannot be re-opened.

This, together with the points of the new program listed here, shows that you, Hearst, and your heroes, Morgan, Rockefeller, Mellon, Swope, duPont, Aldrich, et al., are organizing a new drive, not only against the Communists, but against the entire American working

class and its unions.

Hearst and Dickstein

It will be useful here, for the benefit of the thousands of people who will read this open letter to you, Hearst, to tell of your relations with Congressman Dickstein, of the House Committee for investigating “un-American activities”, whose anti-labor recommendations your papers report gleefully, and especially will it be useful for Jewish people in the United States.

Congressman Dickstein is a middle class Jew. He comes from the lower East Side of New York City – from one of the most poverty-stricken areas of the metropolis. There is a huge Jewish population in his district. The committee of which he is chairman was authorized, *not* to investigate “un-American activities”, but to investigate the *activities of Hitler’s fascist agents in this country*.

But in your Universal Service Washington dispatch, Hearst, Nazis are mentioned *only in passing*. It is the Communists who are *to be outlawed and against whom “wholesale prosecution” is to be launched*. How did this happen?

You gathered Dickstein, this ambitious and venal little Democratic Party politician, into your arms and he now nestles in your bosom. You took him up on the mountain and showed him the world. Your New York sheets had orders to give him plenty of publicity. He got columns of it with his picture run frequently. As a Jew, elevated undeservedly by the Jewish people to prominence, it was his duty to hunt down and expose the Nazi agents in the United States. He devoted little attention to the enemies of his own people and of the working class. He concentrated, together with you, on a drive against the Communists – the only Party which fights uncompromisingly and effectively against anti-Semitism. *In other words, he doubled-crossed his own people*. That you furnished at least *part of the inspiration and justification* for this Benedict Arnold-like performance cannot be doubted. People are featured in your papers, Hearst, for only two reasons: *You are either boosting them or persecuting them*. In both cases your motives are always sordid and anti-social.

Hearst’s Fascist Heroes

To return to your signed editorial of December 9 – “Number One Public Enemies”: In the 41 lines of this front page two-column 12-point type both sides indented editorial there are exactly TWO truthful

statements. They are: One, “We recognize Russia”. Two, “Rights, liberties, opportunities, the people of Russia had not under the Tsar....”

Every other statement in that editorial signed by you, William Randolph Hearst, is a lie. Furthermore, you knew when you wrote that editorial that your statements were lies. Only a person who has doped himself with dreams of unlimited power, actuated by an unquenchable thirst for wealth and still more wealth blinded by a hatred of the working class, its leaders, its teachers. its organizers and its organizations that could spring only from class enmity, would broadcast throughout this country statements that *tens of thousands of people know, from first-hand knowledge, are outright lies* about and slanders of brave and honest men and women who are trying to make this world a better place to live in for the people who do the *work* of the world.

Your purpose, of course, is obvious, just as it is obvious that you are aping the methods of another one of your heroes – *Hitler*. Your *purpose*, Hearst, is the same as that of Hitler and his Nazi. murderers: By picturing Communists – both in the Soviet Union and in the United States – as persons who are lower, more vicious and more degenerate than the most depraved criminals – Hitler and his murder gangs used the same method against Communists, militant workers and Jews – you hope to create *the necessary moral justification* for a new onslaught on Communists first, and on the entire labor movement next, by government agencies and fascist bands.

You say, Hearst: “It is the same old Russia as under the Tsars. It is the same old tyranny under a different name”.

If this is so, why do you continually denounce the Soviet Union, its workers’ and farmers’ government, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Stalin, its leader? You never had any quarrel with the Tsar. He was one of “our gallant allies in 1917.

You never miss an opportunity to say something in praise of Hitler and Mussolini. You always try to picture Stalin as an *absolute* dictator and the Soviet government as the *personal* dictatorship of Stalin and a handful of Communists. When you speak of dictatorships you include Stalin with Hitler and Mussolini. *Bui you know you lie and we know you know you lie.*

If the Soviet government were a one-man dictatorship *you would have no quarrel with it*. It is *not* the abstract question of dictatorship versus democracy that irks you, Hearst. In your own field you are a despot and you are trying to enlarge your field. You have stated

openly in your papers, in a signed editorial, that a fascist dictatorship is the remedy, for Communism.

Why Hearst Hates the Soviet Government

What accounts for your unlimited' hatred of the Soviet government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union? Why are they, and not the dictatorships of Hitler and Mussolini, who rode to power by murder, torture and suppression of the workers, their leaders and their organizations, the target of your barrages of anti-working class venom?

The answer is obvious to any intelligent person, regardless of his political opinions: Hitler and Mussolini changed nothing except *the form and methods of government*. The Russian woovers and poor peasants changed the *class content of their government*. The working class, with its Communist Party at its head, *took over government power* in alliance with the poor peasantry and the oppressed national minorities – including the Jews.

In Germany and Italy the princes and nobility remain to prey on the people.

They still have their estates, and royalty in Italy and Germany still gets its subsidies of millions of dollars – all wrung from toil and sweat and suffering of the working population.

The government in these countries has dropped all the democratic trappings with which the ever-present dictatorship of capital was disguised when it served its purposes best to do so. *Hitler and Mussolini are dictators only by grace of the biggest bankers and industrial lords whose interests are interlocked in this era of finance-capital.*

The *real power* in these countries remains where it always was: in the hands of a small group of coal, iron and steel, oil and chemical kings and financial overlords. They and their fascist governments are supported by you, Hearst, and by their capitalist kindred in this country. Mussolini, for instance, could not have lasted a year without huge loans from Wall Street banks. Wall Street loans backed every step of the reactionary parade toward the present fascist murder regime in Germany.

It is *not* “the same old Russia as under the Tsars” and know it. That is why you hate it.

You could (the Soviet government would probably let you in) travel the length and breadth of the Soviet Union and not find a

capitalist or any other private employer living on the labor of others. The highest paid people in the Soviet Union are foreign engineers – working for the Soviet government. In the last year, Amtorg, the Soviet-American trading company with headquarters in New York City, has received something like 100,000 applications for employment in the Soviet Union – *mainly from engineers and technicians* for whom there are no jobs here.

To deny these things as you do, Hearst, is to fly in the face of established and widely known facts. Surely you have read or heard about the reports of the Soviet Union delegation, headed by Bukharin, to the International Congress of Science, held in London in 1931, where these Russian scientists and technicians, “living under the same old tyranny under a different name” made the British scientists and those of other countries look like children.

It is *not* “the same old tyranny” *and you know it*. We cannot, of course, prevent you from lying in the most vicious and provocative manner about the country, the system, the class, and its party, which alone holds out hope for mankind in this period of disintegration of *your* system. It is the attempt of you and your class to maintain your dying system at the cost of immeasurable misery for the working population that has brought modern civilization, outside of the Soviet Union, to the brink of barbarism, on which it perches precariously.

We *can* expose your lies and the reasons for them.

(SECOND)

ANOTHER OPEN LETTER TO WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST

PRINCIPALITY OF SAN SIMEON, CALIFORNIA

BOUGHT FROM THE PROCEEDS OF CHICANERY,

FRAUD, INTIMIDATION AND EXPLOITATION OF

LABOR.

GREETINGS:

Your papers, since the first open letter to you, have, by your direction, published (Dec. 12) a murderously provocative cartoon by one of your lackeys Harding. It pictures the dictatorship of the proletariat as a series of “ruthless, wholesale killings”.

You have added to your crimes against everyone who works for wages, and the growing army of the hungry unemployed millions, by once more ascribing to Lenin a definition of the dictatorship of the proletariat that he never made. Lenin was the greatest leader of the poor and oppressed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He was the greatest because he was the best pupil of Marx and Engels. Lenin undoubtedly must be numbered among the half dozen greatest men and benefactors of mankind in all human history.

You spill filth on his name and on his sepulchre. You do this, Hearst, you, in whose whole life there is not the record of one decent or unselfish act.

In spite of all difficulties and hardships resulting from the dislocations of the economic structure during the War and invasions after the revolution, many of them the result of the blockades, boycotts and interventions by the imperialist powers and their agents in the Soviet Union, the masses of the Russian people support the dictatorship of the proletariat headed by the Communist Party *because they know that no capitalist or group of capitalists is robbing them of the fruits of their labor*. They know that the gigantic basic industries that have been developed and those in process of development are for the benefit of the community – not, as in the capitalist countries, including the United States, mainly for the benefit of *a small section of the population – the capitalists and their hangers-on*.

This is another established and widely known fact. It has been stated over and over again by thousands and thousands of engineers, scientists, social workers, writers and economists of all nations – most

of whom do not believe in the theory and tactics of the Communist Parties in their own countries. You, Hearst, know that this is true.

Hearst's Object

Over a long period your papers have been publishing what purports to be Lenin's definition of *Communism* as "The dictatorship of the proletariat is nothing else than power based upon force and limited by nothing – by no kind of law and by absolutely no rule".

You, Hearst, are not worried about sympathy for Communism among members of your *own* class. You are worried by the appeal that Communism is making to *the working class and certain sections of the ruined middle class*. You dare not tell the truth about either Communism or the proletarian dictatorship because of this fact. Therefore, you put words into the mouth of the greatest organizer and leader of the working class that ever lived that he never wrote or uttered. *You defile the memory of our Lenin.*

I will prove that you lie in regard to Lenin's definition of Communism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. That your lie is a deliberate one is shown by the fact that Lenin's *State and Revolution*, published in August, 1917 – only three months before the working class took power – contains Lenin's most detailed description of the form, methods and purposes of the proletarian dictatorship. Almost exactly a year after the victorious revolution headed by the Bolsheviks, a *second* edition was published in Moscow – December, 1918 – with this terse preface by Lenin:

The present, second, edition is published almost without change. Paragraph Three has been added to Chapter II."

Proof That Hearst Lied Deliberately

This is what Lenin says of the proletarian dictatorship in his fundamental work on the subject (the quotation is lengthy but so are your fulminations against the working class):

"Between capitalist and Communist society – Marx continues – lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the former into the latter. To this also corresponds a political transition period, in which the State can be no other than *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*. ...

"What, then, is the relationship to democracy?...

"In capitalist society, under the conditions most favorable

for its development, we have a more or less complete democracy in the democratic republic. *But this democracy is always bound by the narrow framework of capitalist exploitation, and consequently always remains, in reality, a democracy for the minority, only for the possessing classes, only for the rich. Freedom in capitalist society always remains just about the same as it was in the ancient Greek republics: freedom for the slave-owners.*” (My emphasis.)

It is necessary to emphasize this point because this is exactly *your* conception of democracy, Hearst! More and more your papers, your high-salaried special pleaders, and all the privileged hangers-on of American imperialism for whom you speak, strive harder daily to put over *this* conception of democracy: *democracy for yourselves but dictatorship over the working class.*

“If,” continues Lenin, “we look more closely into the mechanism of capitalist democracy, everywhere, both in the ‘petty’ – the so-called petty details of the suffrage (residential qualifications, exclusion of women, etc.) – [in the United States exclusion of Negroes in the South, payment of poll tax in many states, the complicated registration system, the terrorism and corruption in election campaigns and the actual voting and counting of the vote, etc. – W.F.D.] and in the technique of the representative institutions, in the actual obstacles to the right of assembly (public buildings are not for ‘beggars’), in the purely capitalist organization of the daily press, etc., etc. – on all sides we see restriction after restriction upon democracy. These restrictions, exceptions, exclusions, obstacles for the poor, *seem slight, especially in the eyes of one who has himself never known want and has never been in close contact with the oppressed classes in their mass life (and nine-tenths, if not ninety-nine hundredths, of the bourgeois publicists and politicians are of this class), but in the sum total these restrictions exclude and squeeze out the poor from politics and from an active share in democracy.* [My emphasis.]

“Marx splendidly grasped this *essence* of capitalist democracy when, in analyzing the experience of the Commune, he said that the oppressed were allowed, once in every few years, to decide which particular representatives of the op-

pressing class should be in parliament *to represent and repress them!*”

The facts of life in America today prove this statement.

One question here, Hearst: Answer this question truthfully – if there is any truth in your fascist organism:

Has President Roosevelt, by birth, fortune, training and conviction, anything in common with the masses of the people of this country who work for wages or moderate salaries? You know he has not. His latest program, outlined in his message to the Congress, is a program for more intense exploitation of the working people. It calls for cutting millions of unemployed from federal relief rolls – throwing them back on bankrupt ‘states and cities. It proposes such low wages for relief work that workers will be glad to take jobs in industries at practically any wage the employers decide to pay. *It is more open and vicious than the first N.R.A. program but it still does not go far enough in this direction to satisfy you, Hearst! You want, and are campaigning for, fascism in this country now!*

It is true that you have not as yet dropped all your democratic demagogy, that you still speak of “Americanism” as synonymous with democracy for “all the people”, but your continual and systematic slandering of the working class, your press and publicity alliance with the most reactionary elements in American life today – whose statements approving of your attacks both on the American working class and the working class and its government in the Soviet Union your papers publish at length – show that you are preparing to drop all pretense of democracy, except, of course, “a democracy of slave-owners”.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, Marx, Engels and Lenin show, *does away* with this slave-owner-democracy. That is why you hate the working class and Communism.

Lenin wrote further:

“Again, during the transition from capitalism to Communism, suppression is still necessary; but it is the suppression of the minority of exploiters by the majority of the exploited... This is compatible with the diffusion of democracy among such an overwhelming majority of the population, that the need for a special machinery of suppression will begin to disappear.” (My emphasis.)

These extended extracts from Lenin’s description of the dictator-

ship of the proletariat, why it is necessary, how it works, and how it disappears when no longer needed, give quite a different picture of Communist theory and practice than your fascist lies.

It has been stated that you lied deliberately. The proof of this is that *STATE AND REVOLUTION* is one of Lenin's best known works. It has been on sale in this country for at least fourteen years in every city of any size, and is to be found in all libraries worthy of the name. *You know this. But your object is to poison, not to enlighten, the minds of those who have not read State and Revolution – to poison the minds of workers especially. Once more I say to you that you are following the methods of Hitler and his sadistic "storm troopers" recruited from the cesspools of the underworld.*

The Work of a Provocateur

Let's return now to your signed editorial of December; 9 – "Number One Public Enemies". Taking the foul murder of Kirov, one of the great leaders of the working class revolution in Russia, as your text – although not mentioning it directly – you endeavor to whip your readers into fury, *not* against the members of the former nobility, *not* against the organizations and members of the counter-revolutionary White Guards, aided and abetted by the agents of the imperialist powers, who plotted and carried out this murder, *but against the Soviet government, against the proletarian dictatorship, against the C.P.S.U. and its leaders.* You say:

"There is the same old protest by assassination against cruelty and tyranny. There is the same old wholesale massacre of *opponents of the despotism*, whether those slaughtered be guilty or innocent of crime. ..."

"Rights, liberties, opportunities, the people of Russia had not under the Tsar and *have not under Stalin.*" (My emphasis.)

What is it, exactly, that you are doing here?

You, Hearst, are attempting to justify and condone the murder, by agents of tsarist and imperialist reaction, of Kirov, a worker revolutionist, 30 years of whose life had been spent in organizing his fellow workers, in teaching them, in leading them through heroic struggles to victory. Years of his life had been spent in tsarist prisons and in Siberian exile.

Kirov was a worker, an organizer, a fighter, a revolutionist, a hero.

He was a Communist – a pupil and a comrade of Lenin. He was everything that you are not and never could be. He was a man!

Hearst Chooses “Real” Representatives for the Russian Masses

Your heroes in the Soviet Union today are *not* these men and women of the working class, or those intellectuals who at the turn of the century identified themselves inseparably with the working class, who braved all the terror of the Tsar and his secret police (you are now campaigning to establish the same kind of a force in this country) to win freedom for the working population.

Hearst Hails the “Princes”

According to your theory, by which any foul act against the Soviet government, its leaders and supporters can be justified, the real representative of the people of the Soviet Republic of Georgia, for instance, is not the Georgian revolutionist Joseph Stalin (Djugashvili) but the family of Georgian ex-princes – the Mdivanis. (One of them is now married to Barbara Hutton, heiress to the multimillions her father wrung from girls working at starvation wages in his huge chain of five-and-ten cent stores. This huge fortune is now available for the counter-revolutionary Mdivani “princes” to finance conspiracies for the assassination of Soviet leaders.)

It is very interesting to note in this connection that one of those tried and sentenced to death after the murder of Sergei Kirov, as part of the process of stamping out counter-revolutionary conspiracies, was ex-Prince Machivaniani – a former “noble” pal of the Mdivanis. (United Press Moscow dispatch, Dec. 12.)

The Russian people, with the exception of the comparatively few out of 170,000,000 who still dream futile dreams of the conquest of the Soviet Union by imperialist and monarchist reaction, hate “with the same implacable hatred” all attempts to restore the old tyranny and “the tsarist rule of blood and iron”.

This is exactly what the conspirators who murdered Kirov were trying to do. You know it, Hearst. We know you know it. That is why you rush into print in their defense. They plot and raise funds for their pointed slanders of the Soviet Union in Washington and New York – with the knowledge of the U. S. government – just as they do in all the European and Far Eastern capitals. They raise money in the U. S. for their campaigns of sabotage and murder in the Soviet Union. You know that this is so.

It Was Different with King Alexander

Let us make a comparison here with another recent assassination – the assassination of *King Alexander of Yugoslavia* – which brought southeastern Europe to the verge of a new war and which contained the threat of a new world war.

King Alexander was the head of *monarchical fascism* in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes – one of the economic, political and territorial abortions of the peace treaty of Versailles, St. Germain and Trianon.

King Alexander carved a crimson record for himself in the flesh and bone of the working class and peasantry of Yugoslavia, he wrote in the blood of the Croatian national minority a chapter of history so horrible as to make the flesh creep. *One has to go back to the decadent days of the Roman Empire to find a parallel to it.*

The fascist Alexander massacred, jailed and tortured to death, killed by secret assassination – not hundreds, but thousands – of workers and peasants. The best and bravest of the working population were butchered off like sheep in a slaughterhouse to preserve Yugoslavian capitalism and its fascist government, with a king for dictator, and the imperialist interests he served.

The economic and social conditions of the Yugoslavians masses are *unspeakable*. There is permanent mass hunger and starvation. The jails and prisons are jammed with workers and peasants. All opposition parties were outlawed. *French imperialism* financed this monstrous regime, its army and its secret terroristic police. In your parlance, Alexander was a great “patriot”! (All these facts are easily available. Read the voluminous reports of the various non-partisan commissions from other countries that have investigated the conditions of worker and peasant prisoners. Read the reports of fascist terror in Yugoslavia in the *International Press Correspondence*. Read Louis Adamic’s book, *The Native’s Return*. Read his article in *Current History*. Read his pamphlet published by John Day Company.

If the death of King Alexander solved no political problems for the Yugoslavian masses, it at least revealed your fascist character, Hearst, in a new clear light:

You, who gloat over the murder of Kirov, a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, for whose death the lives of ten thousand kings could not atone, turned your papers into mourning sheets for the fascist monarch

who made his country a combination tomb and prison for the working population.

How a Working Class Government Acts

How did the Soviet government and the C.P.S.U. act when the brilliant, brave, and devoted Sergei Kirov was assassinated?

They made no threats against any other country or people, although they knew very well that the murder was *not merely the act of an individual* but, like the murder of Soviet Ambassador Vorovsky; like the shooting of Lenin; the wounds from which brought about his death; like the raids upon Soviet offices and jailing and murder of Soviet representatives in China and other countries; that *behind the actual assassin stood the slanders and provocations of the press of the imperialist countries*. They knew that former dukes, counts, and princes are given haven for their counter-revolutionary plottings in all the capitalist nations; *they knew that their conspiracies and overt acts are financed by such gigantic concerns as the Royal Dutch Shell Oil Company and Deterding, its head*; they knew that these White Guards receive subsidies from Japanese capitalists; they knew that this tinsel nobility is accepted in high social circles in Washington, in spite of the recent recognition of the Soviet government; they knew that tens of Billions of gold dollars belonging to the Soviet government were turned over here to the White Guard Bakhmeteff – the pseudo-Russian ambassador – over a period of years and squandered by him in financing counter-revolutionary propaganda and acts against the proletarian republic and its people to which it belonged.

The fascist government of Yugoslavia threatened Europe with war when its king was killed. The Soviet government acted with dignity, restraint, Bolshevik resolution and Leninist understanding:

It stated calmly that the murderer of Kirov and his associates were “social enemies”. It said that the murder was not a personal but a political crime. It rounded up the conspirators, tried, sentenced them, and executed a considerable number of them.

The Soviet government and the Communist Party did more than this – and the other thing they did is by far the most important. They took the case of the counter-revolutionary conspirators to the masses of the people. The workers and peasants gave their verdict by turning out in millions all over the Soviet Union – not only in Moscow – when the funeral of Sergei Kirov, head of the Leningrad Soviet, took place.

This gigantic demonstration, *the largest in the history of the world*

since the death of Lenin, not the trials and executions of the murder conspirators, was the real answer to the murder of their leader and comrade of the workers and peasantry of the land of the proletarian dictatorship where, you say, Hearst, there “is the same old tyranny under a different name”. You lie, of course, and you know you lie!

Some Established and Well Known Facts

It is an established fact, well known to thousands of students of economics and politics in the Soviet Union who are not Communists, that giant steps have been taken toward the abolition of classes in the Soviet Union. It is expected that by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan social classes will have been eliminated entirely.

The land has been nationalized. The collective farms now embrace by far the greater proportion of the agricultural industry in all its branches together with the Soviet farms. The wealthy peasantry which *was the well spring of capital accumulation at the expense of the poor peasantry and the working class*, is no longer a powerful economic and social force.

All factory industry is nationalized. So are telephone and telegraph. So are the railways. So is shipping. So is the raw material industry – mining, oil wells and refining, lumbering, fishing, etc. So is the electric light and power industry. So is printing and publishing, with the exception of the trade union press.

The robbery of workers through private and corporate ownership of the natural resources, the factories and machines has been abolished. The surplus produced by workers over and above their wages goes into the common fund for developing more natural resources, building and expanding the huge industries that amaze the engineers of the capitalist countries, into more and better dwellings, schools, universities, rest homes for workers, parks, playgrounds, nurseries, hospitals, etc. – all of which are, *not* the property of rich and idle capitalists, but of the whole community, *the property of the nation and its people*.

This is the economic and social foundation of the proletarian dictatorship.

Hearst’s Despotism

You are, apparently, very fond of the words “despot” and “despotism”, when applied to the Soviet government – the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In Fascist Germany and Italy schools and universities are being

closed. In the Soviet Union new schools and universities and scientific academies are being opened daily. In twelve years of fascism under Mussolini there has not been produced a single scientific, artistic, literary or cultural achievement of any merit. (See the article by Quigley, an English electrical engineer, in the May, 1933, issue of *Current History*.) Every intelligent person in the world knows that fascism in Spain, Yugoslavia, and Germany drove and continues to drive the whole cultural level back toward that of the middle ages and even further back – towards barbarism.

But the achievements of the people of the Soviet Union in biology, medicine, and surgery, in Arctic exploration (the Chelyushkin expedition and rescue, for instance), in meteorology (the stratosphere flights, etc.), in agriculture, in the theatre and moving pictures, in the field of literature, in music, in chemistry, in ethnology, etc., have amazed the world.

There is systematic education of the whole people in the elementary requirements – reading, writing and arithmetic. *Before the revolution something like 80 percent of the population was illiterate.* Today, only about 10 per cent are unable to read and write, and, by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan, it is believed that no one except the very old people will be unable to read and write.

These are strange things for a despotism to be doing. Since Marxism-Leninism is the theory and practice of the working class revolution, since it furnishes a guide for the politics and tactics of the daily struggles of workers and their organizations against “the constant encroachments of capital” as well as to the policies, program and tactics of the decisive struggle for government power by the working class, despotism which educates the masses in Marxism-Leninism would simply be preparing its own speedy downfall.

There are something like 20,000,000 *workers in the Soviet Union organized in industrial unions.* It was *Lenin* who described the unions as the *main basis* of the Soviet government. You, Hearst, contend that workers and their elected representatives from unions and other organizations, from factory councils, etc., cannot run industry and government. But life itself has disproved your fascist contention.

Production Up in Soviet Union – Down Under Capitalism

While the national economy of all other nations is on the downgrade, or remains frozen at a crisis level, *production and distribution in the Soviet Union go rapidly and steadily upward.* Its production of

basic commodities *now exceeds that of any continental European nation*. In some industries its production exceeds that of the United States. (The figures on which these estimates are based are not mine nor those of any other Communist. *They are the figures of the United States Department of Commerce.*)

Workers and a worker's government can and do run industry, agriculture and government in a country twice the size of the United States, with a population exceeding that of this country by 45,000,000. They run it far better in all respects than the capitalist governments do.

This kind of a "despotism", a "despotism" through which *more millions of working people find expression, work, hope, education of the highest type, and constant advance toward still higher social and cultural levels than ever before in human history*, is the dictatorship of the proletariat, led by its Communist Party, of which the murdered Sergei Kirov was one of the outstanding leaders!

Where Hearst's Sympathies Are

You, Hearst, are greatly exercised over the death sentences passed on the conspirators after Kirov's murder. But you carefully avoid any mention of the tens of thousands of Communists, workers and peasants and their leaders resisting fascist and imperialist oppression *throughout the whole world*, who have shot down, jailed, tortured and murdered in hideous ways that only the degenerate mercenaries and hangers-on of the capitalist class can devise when egged on to their horrid deeds by the rulers and beneficiaries of a decaying system determined to hang on to power and privilege, even though it means that the blood of millions of slaughtered workers and poor farmers rises above foundations of the capitalist structure.

No Classless Society for Them!

After the end of the first Five-Year Plan many of the restrictions placed by the Soviet government on the activities of former members of the nobility, former employers, on various groups of the intellectuals of the old regime, were relaxed.

The answer of the counter-revolutionists to this new step toward a classless society was the murder of Kirov. This is what you, Hearst, call "the same old protest by assassination against cruelty and tyranny". This is what you say is the result of "the same old implacable hatred by *the people* of rule by blood and iron." (My emphasis.) You Hearst, your heroes are the counter-revolutionary murderers, they are

the *enemies* of the people, your hero the White Guards and their allies who want to bring bade the old reactionary rule by “blood and iron”.

You know, Hearst, and we know you know, that if the Soviet government would open up the vast rich territory and hand over this 170,000,000 people for exploitation by capitalists of the imperialist countries, if it were to denationalize industry, dissolve the unions, if it were to liquidate its government monopoly of foreign trade – in other words, if it were to cease to be a government of, by and far the working class and its allies, the peasantry and national minorities, if it were to become the despotism you try to picture it, you would hail Stalin and the Communists as the greatest statesmen in the world.

It is *the working class content* of the Soviet government that you hate.

At the risk of some repetition it is necessary to say that you prove the case against you over and over again. How? It is a matter of common knowledge that in fascist Germany and Italy *the unions have been destroyed*. It is a matter of common knowledge that wages have been reduced again and again. (The latest wage slash in Italy was 20 per cent. Your own papers carried the news – not very prominently. At the same time your fascist correspondent called the obvious lie that the cost of living was also to be reduced.)

It is a matter of common knowledge that there are huge armies of unemployed in these countries and that unemployment is increasing. It is a matter of common knowledge that unemployment relief has been reduced again and again!

It is a matter of common knowledge that in these fascist countries *workers have no rights whatsoever*.

It is a matter of common knowledge that Hitler and Mussolini keep the air throbbing with threats of war, that fascism contains today the greater menace of a new world war.

Hearst – The War Monger

Yet you and your press miss no opportunity to apologize for and even praise fascist’ regimes.

The preliminary engagements of a new imperialist war *are being fought now*: by Japan against the Chinese people in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, by various imperialist-backed forces in Central Asia, by Italian imperialism against Abyssinia, by American and British imperialism using the puppet governments of Bolivia and Paraguay in carrying on the bloody war in the Gran Chaco, etc.

The new war is also being prepared by you, Hearst, your papers and your fascist heroes and associates by exactly the kind of anti-Soviet and anti-working class agitation and propaganda contained in your signed editorial of December, 1934.

It is essentially *war* propaganda intended to establish the moral justification for new onslaughts against the Soviet Union and all workers who defend the first proletarian republic, against all people who denounce and resist your war propaganda and program and your drive for fascist suppression of the press, unions and other organizations of the working population fighting against the growing power of monopoly capital and its steady reduction of mass living standards.

Such a program *must* be resisted – or slavery accepted.

Hearst and American History

It would be very nice if your implied contention – although put forward with studied hypocrisy – in your signed editorial were true: You ask the rhetorical question:

“Is it not about time for *all* of us Americans to realize that *peace and progress and happiness* only thrive in the soil of *liberty and free democracy*?” (My emphasis.)

There are three main points to be considered here: First, that there was a time in this country when there was comparative peace, undoubted technical and economic progress and some measure of popular “happiness”; this, in spite of the fact even in the best of times a considerable section of the population lived at or near the poverty level.

Second, how was this condition brought about? What the causes?

Third, where is “peace and progress and happiness” today for the majority of the American population?

Inveighing against the execution of aristocratic and imperialist-inspired murderers and murder conspirators in the Soviet Union (but condoning by silence or sophistry the mass slaughters and tortures of workers, honest intellectuals and national minorities by fascism in Germany and Italy) you refrain with the greatest meticulousness from any analogy American history furnishes.

No ruling class ever voluntarily surrendered its privileged position. No important nation or people has ever won freedom from subjection to another without struggle in all these fields. This holds true for the Thirteen Colonies – from which grew the United States – in the Revolutionary War against England by which political independence

was gained and a form of government, *new to the world at that time*, established.

Some Facts About the American Revolution

It is known to all *real* students of American history that the War for Independence was fought chiefly by laborers and mechanics, by pioneer farmers and frontiersmen. It is a historical fact that the *majority of the wealthy people were opposed to the war and supported the English whenever possible*. (Some estimates are as high as two-thirds of the well-to-do and wealthy who took the Tory side actively or passively.)

The revolutionary government and army found it necessary to take special repressive measures against these counter-revolutionists. Many of them were shot, hanged, or imprisoned. Others had their property confiscated.

The formal history that is taught in American schools says nothing about the clash of *social* forces in the Revolutionary War. It says nothing about the division of opinion among the colonial population on the issue of independence. Every attempt is made to picture the War for Independence as having the unanimous support of the entire population. It is a false picture. For instance, merchants, plantation proprietors and ship-owners who would not furnish supplies to the hungry, ill-clad and poorly armed Continental Armies, sold supplies to the British at good prices.

A revolution is either right or wrong according to which side one is on. You, Hearst, are against the working class revolution, because it would deprive you and your class of privilege and power, of the power to rob and rule the overwhelming majority of the population which works for a living – or hungers when industry shuts down because no profit can be made.

One expects you to oppose the transfer of power from the capitalist class and its government to the working class, its allies and its government. But do not try to base your opposition on moral grounds when it springs solely from a desire to hang on to wealth you never created and to power too enormous for one man to wield – power that comes from your property and not from your ability and achievements.

Revolutions spring from necessity. They cannot be made artificially. It was so with the American Revolution against the English monarchy. It was so with the Russian Revolution against tsarism and capitalism. Both had to suppress people and classes who opposed, sabotaged

and aided the enemy against the purposes of the revolution.

The wealthy groups who supported and led the revolution wanted only freedom from the monarchy and the abolition of the restrictions it placed on their development as a ruling class.

The poor people, who furnished the bulk of the colonial fighting forces, wanted their economic burdens lifted. They wanted the opening up of the frontier for their small farms, etc., by which they were enabled to escape from the status of indentured and bond servants and poorly paid wage laborers.

But hundreds of former soldiers were thrown into prison for debt after the war. It was not until 1830 that the property qualification for the franchise was partially' abolished – fifty years after the end of the War for Independence. It was only after the lapse of about six decades that free public schools began to be established. These reforms were secured only by bitter struggle.

At the Constitutional Convention* there was not a single representative of the poor people. The only person who spoke in their behalf was Benjamin Franklin. The War for Independence was “progress”, and the defeat of the monarchy made possible a higher stage of society. *At the same time it entrenched rising capitalism and the young capitalist class in positions of power in the Northern states.*

The American Counter-Revolution

The American Revolution, however, did not disturb the Southern aristocracy whose wealth was based on chattel slavery of Negroes. Part of this semi-feudal class was allied with the revolutionary forces. George Washington was one of them. Chattel slavery continued.

But it became more and more incompatible with the growing capitalism of the North, the increase of factory production and the “free” farmers of the westward moving frontier. There were constant clashes between the reactionary chattel slavery landlord class and the Northern capitalists whose system was based on wage labor and in that period represented “progress”. Efforts were made to extend chattel slavery to the newly organized and settled territories – Missouri, Kansas, etc.

The Southern slaveholders carried on a constant struggle in and

* The Convention was secret. Its proceedings were never made public. Nothing would have been known of them had not James Madison kept a diary which was published after his death.

out of Congress for chattel slavery under the guise of “States’ Rights”. The legislation of this period represents a compromise between the interests of the slave-holders, those of the increasingly powerful capitalist class, and those of the frontier groups.

By 1860 it had become impossible to reconcile the interests of the two diametrically opposed economic systems. This brought on the Civil War or, as Southern historians and politicians refer to it, “the war between the states”.

The Southern ruling class started the war. They started an *armed insurrection* against “progress”, Hearst. They started *armed counter-revolution*. They received moral, financial and material support from wealthy Englishmen and from the English government. It is an established fact that negotiations were carried on with the British Foreign Office, leading at least to an alliance of the confederacy with Britain, and probably to some ‘such an arrangement for Dominion status as now exists between Canada and Britain.

This counter-revolution, to defend and maintain the institution of chattel slavery and semi-feudal state governmental forms, to maintain a system which even antedates feudalism, *was put down by armed force in a war that lasted over four years*. The most severe repressive measures were taken by the Union government after the war to prevent a new counter-revolutionary outbreak. The basis was laid for drawing the Southern states into the orbit of American capitalism.

Therefore, it is clear that the question of what class, slave-owning landlords or capitalists, was to rule the American nation after it had gained political independence was *not* settled by the Revolutionary War.

This question was not definitely settled *until 75 years after the Revolutionary War* – and it took a far larger and bloodier war to settle it then.*

Yet you, Hearst, denounce in unmeasured terms the Soviet government for proceeding on a far smaller scale, and with one-thousandth part of the cost in lives, in much the same manner that Northern capitalism proceeded against the Southern slave-holders and their counter-revolutionary attacks. Only 17 years have elapsed since

* *Bimba*, History of the American Labor Movement, *International Publishers, New York City*; *Oneal*, Workers in American History; *A. M. Simons*, Class Struggles in American History.

the proletarian revolution in Russia. This was not merely a nation establishing its independence from another nation, nor was it the rise of capitalist “democracy” without a monarch. *It was a revolution in the fullest sense of the word – the replacement of the monarchy, the feudal nobility and the capitalist class as the ruling classes, by the working class.*

The Russian revolution could have occurred only because the capitalist system has outlived its usefulness. Capitalism, beginning as a system of “progress”, now threatens to drive the human race back to barbarism.

The Civil War placed American capitalism in the saddle. It had to share its power with no other system but it left the Negro people still enslaved. Today they are a subject race – doubly oppressed, especially in the South.’ They have no rights that the ruling class is bound to respect, not even the right to vote for representatives of the ruling class.

In this sense the proletarian revolution in Russia was also complete: It freed and gave full equality to the national and racial minorities who were enslaved under the Tsar.

Just as the ruling classes, the capitalists, the kings and the nobility, of most European countries supported the counter-revolution of the Southern slave-holders, while Karl Marx, the International Workingmen’s Association,* and the working class – especially of England – aided the war against it, so today the monarchs, the nobility and the capitalist classes of all countries without exception, slander, conspire and engage in counter-revolutionary acts against the Soviet Union and the proletarian dictatorship.

But to a greater extent than in the case of the Civil War, millions of workers, their organizations, and their allies – the Negro people, the colonial peoples, poor farmers – support and will defend the first workers’ republic against all enemies – including William Randolph Hearst.

* See “Address of International Workingmen’s Association” – drafted by Marx and sent to President Lincoln.

A THIRD OPEN LETTER TO WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST
GENEROUS PATRON AND GENIAL OVERLORD TO
ALL WELL KNOWN WRITERS WILLING TO SELL
THEIR ABILITIES TO THE ROBBERS AND
OPPRESSORS OF POOR PEOPLE:
GREETINGS:

On January 5 you delivered, over a national hookup under the auspices of the NBC, an address you called “*Government by the Proletariat*”. This speech was published the next day by all your daily papers. You called the statements made in this speech, composed of deliberately fabricated lies, half-truths and distortions of facts, “*the plain uncensored truth*”.

You took as your text the murder of Sergei Kirov – over which you gloated – and the execution of members of the riffraff of counter-revolution carried out by the Soviet government. You said:

“One hundred and seventeen *so-called conspirators* have been executed *for protest* against what they call a government of cruelty and incompetence.” (My emphasis.)

You and your papers, your special writers like Richard Washburn Child (with whom we will deal a little later), Isaac Don Levine, etc., tried to make popular heroes of these White-Guard conspirators, the murderers of Kirov, and of their allies and dupes operating in various circles in and out of the Soviet Union.

Your Own Papers Refuted You

Unfortunately for you, Hearst, the same issue of your papers (notably, that of the *San Francisco Examiner*) which published your broadcast carried the following Associated Press Moscow dispatch: (In the *Examiner* it was published at the bottom of Page 6 on Sunday, January 6):

“Moscow, Jan. 5. (AP) Pravda, Communist party organ charged editorially today that an unidentified ‘*big country*’ was behind the ‘*small country*’ whose consul was recalled allegedly for giving money to Leonid Nicolaiev, executed for the murder of Sergei Kirov.

“The newspaper said the unnamed country was preparing

‘by means of violence to change the present frontiers of Europe’.

“After reviewing Nicolaiev’s announced testimony that he prepared documents in an effort to make it appear that the murder was a crime of personal despair, Pravda said it was ‘curious’ that *exactly the same position was taken by the German press*, which ‘repeated that Nicolaiev acted through personal motives’.” (My emphasis.)

So, Hearst, *something else* besides arrests and executions took place in the Soviet Union after the vile murder of Kirov – which you welcomed and condoned. *A consul was deported*. (It was the Latvian consul. He was deported for financing the murder of Kirov and for other counter-revolutionary acts. It is clear from the above dispatch (conveniently ignored by you in your broadcast) that back of the Latvian consul stood German fascism – another government of monopoly capitalism’s gangsters which you boost and defend at every opportunity.

Truth Has No Charm for You

You, Hearst, are enough of a politician to know that such charges as those made by *Pravda* and quoted in the A.P. dispatch are not made lightly – nor are foreign consuls recalled without reason. Up to date the Latvian government has made no public defense or explanation of the recall of its Leningrad consul. It has maintained a guilty silence.

But for you, Hearst, the truth has no charm when it comes to the question of laying the basis for an extension of the use of fascist measures against the working class of this country, against its organizations, and for discrediting the Soviet Union and its proletarian government as a step toward war on it by your friend Hitler and your latest savior of civilization – Japanese imperialism – whose every war threat against the Soviet Union you applaud.

Your Witnesses and Your “Proofs”

In your broadcast, attempting to prove your major premise that the working class cannot and must not be allowed to govern, that “*it is the least able successfully to manage its own affairs*”, that in ancient Rome “this class was without property of any kind and without the constructive or executive ability to acquire any” you pretend to show that the counter-revolutionary murder conspiracy had its roots in mass

resentment against constantly worsening economic conditions. You drew a picture of mass starvation in the land of the proletarian dictatorship.

You made your case by accepting the statements of one *Dr. Ewald Ammende*, a White Guard and fascist ally, as the truth, and by misquoting, distorting and making a liar out Harold Denny, Moscow correspondent of the *New York Times* – a dirty piece of business in which you managed to surpass even your usual sliminess:

Who is this Dr. Ammende?

He calls himself the chairman of the “Vienna Aid Committee.” He is connected with the Skuopardski group of Ukrainian White Guards. This committee is an agency of Italian and Austrian fascism and of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church for carrying on propaganda against the Soviet Union under the guise of aiding “famine victims.”

Dr. Ammende maintains close relations with the fascist Cardinal Innitzer of Vienna. It was almost at the very moment that the fascist Dollfuss was shooting down Vienna workers and their families in Vienna that the “Vienna Aid Committee” intensified their propaganda against the Soviet Union.

For you, Hearst, Dr. Ammende is an authority on starvation in the Soviet Union. You quoted him liberally. You did more than that. You worked in a few quotations from Harold Denny’s dispatches to make it appear that this *New York Times* correspondent corroborated Dr. Ammende’s lies.

The exact opposite is the case:

Denny Proved You Lie

In a letter to the *New York Times* in August, 1934, Dr. Ammende stated that people were dying of starvation in the streets of Kiev, in the southern Ukraine. The *Times* evidently received sufficient protests against this outright lie to cause it to cable its Moscow correspondent for a statement. On August 23, 1934, *Harold Denny cabled an unreserved denial* of Ammende’s statements; Denny cabled:

“This statement certainly has no foundation. Your correspondent was in Kiev several days last July about the time people were supposed to be dying there, and neither in the city nor in the surrounding countryside was there hunger.”

On October 15, 1934, Denny cabled as follows:

“Nowhere was famine found. Nowhere even the fear of it. There is food, including bread, in the local open market. The peasants were

smiling, too, and generous with their foodstuffs. In short, there is no air of trouble or impending trouble.”

Harold Denny, correspondent of the *New York Times*, whom you tried to conscript for your anti-Soviet and anti-working class campaign, in this way shows that *you are just a cheap and not very clever liar*, Hearst; that your Dr. Ammende is a liar and that you are a sponsor for fascist liars.

This is sufficient comment on this portion of your broadcast of “the plain, uncensored truth.” (It only remains to say that a section of the counter-revolutionary press in Yugoslavia and the United States – Denikin organs – not only boast of their murderous conspiracies but actually predicted the murder of Kirov.)

You concluded your broadcast with the following statement:

“The truth is that government by the proletariat, government by the *least capable, and the least conscientious element of the community* – government by tyranny and terrorism – government by the mob, government by ignorance and avarice – ‘despotism’ limited by nothing, by no kind of law and by absolutely no rule – is the fearful failure it needs must be, and definitely deserves to be.” (My emphasis.)

Your Main Problem

The wish, of course, is father to the thought. But it is quite clear to any intelligent person that first of all you admit that the government of the Soviet Union *is* a government by the working class – and that you hate it for that reason. Second, if it were “the fearful failure” you try to picture it, you would not be using so much time and money to slander it and bring about its overthrow.

You are driven frantic by the progress of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, you fear the effect of its example to the workers in this country. You therefore are forced to put the issue squarely and the issue, as far as you and the system of monopoly capital for which you speak are concerned, is that you and your fascist friends are determined to continue to rule and rob the working people of this country no matter what the cost may be in misery and blood for the workers who *made* this country.

Part of the problem you have to solve – and a very large part of this problem – is how, in the face of permanent unemployment of millions and rapidly lowered living standards – the bottom level has not yet been reached – in the face of the proven inability of you and your class, Hearst, to run the capitalist system in a “normal” manner, *i.e.*,

the growing instability of the whole system of production and exchange under monopoly capitalism, *to keep the working class and its allies convinced that this is the best of all possible worlds.*

Your Propaganda Methods

How do you, Hearst, proceed to this fundamental task?

If it depended upon *your* writings only few people would pay any attention to your vicious maunderings. But you have millions of dollars. You buy writing ability. You use this purchased talent to forward your fascist schemes.

One of the favorite excuses of your bought and paid for special writers has in the past been that you did not interfere with their views as long as they stuck to their special subjects. They were supposed to live in a sort of Hearst ivory tower. Those writers who wore the Hearst livery with some little remaining sense of shame worked this excuse overtime.

If it ever were true all has been changed. *They are now, for the most part, out on the sidewalks soliciting, performing with all the shamelessness of a water-front prostitute when the fleet is in port.* It is necessary to mention here only a few of the members of your staff of open and covert advocates and defenders of your policies – advocates and defenders in one way or another of fascism, fascist regimes, fascist methods and upholders of your main theory of the incurable mental inferiority of the ‘working class as a whole. Among those well-known writers now on your payroll are:

Some of Your “Entertainers”

H. L. Mencken, whose studied contempt for workers and farmers for years found expression in the pages of SMART SET and the AMERICAN MERCURY. In the division of labor which prevails among your feature writers his specialty is ridiculing the American labor movement – especially Communists, Communist writers, Communist sympathizers, the Communist Party, and the entire working class. To anyone familiar with the smell of fascism Mencken’s articles stink with it.

Isaac Don Levine, author of a slanderous “Life of Lenin”, professional anti-Soviet propagandist whose article headed “Many Assassinations Reveal Soviet Youth Revolt Against Stalin” appeared on December 16, 1933 in your papers on the same page with an article by Mussolini – published with flattering pictures of this fascist murderer of workers and farmers.

Quoting liberally from counter-revolutionary papers published abroad, Levine in his article listed a large number of murders of Soviet officials in the provinces. By this he tried to establish the fact of mass revolt. Actually he succeeded only in proving that the executions of conspirators which followed the murder of Kirov were the result of the proof in the hands of the Soviet authorities that they were confronted with a new wave of counter-revolutionary terrorism organized and financed from abroad.

Benjamin DeCasseres, one of Mencken's food, wine and liquor experts, who has become a political writer. His main achievements to date have been to confuse the League for Industrial Democracy – a Socialist Party organization – with the Communists and to describe the Soviet government as “*capitalistic-imperialistic*”.

O. O. McIntyre is one of the shining examples of what inmates of the Hearst ivory tower are capable of when pushed by the paymaster. Most of McIntyre's stuff assays high in just ordinary snobbery. But on October 7, 1933, when you, Hearst, were in difficulty with the American Newspaper Guild (you still are, for that matter, having refused to reinstate Jennings and Burgess who were fired for Guild activity) McIntyre was sent into the front line trenches, cane, spats and all, to deliver the following little message of lying reaction:

“A friend of mine in New York sends me the printed statement about a famous New York newspaperman – although I find no one ever heard of him – who rose at a newspaper banquet and said:

““We newspapermen are tools and vassals of rich men behind the scenes; we are jumping jacks; they pull the strings and we dance. Our talents, our possibilities and our lives are all the property of other men. We are intellectual prostitutes.”“

“Such twaddle,” says the free and happy McIntyre, “is dandy stuff for soap box spewers of sedition, but it is unvarnished bunk.... Mostly it's the venom of newspaper failures.” (The “newspaperman” McIntyre never heard of was the late John Swinton, of the old *Herald*.)

Here we have it, Hearst. It is not only Communism that you are driving at. *You are out to kill off all expression of insurgent opinion among people who work for wages.* To say that publishers color news, that newspapermen are made to write, or have their stuff rewritten to suit the aims of profit making institutions, is “twaddle,” such state-

ments are fit only “for soap box spewers of sedition.” It took McIntyre of the Hearst ivory tower to give the broadest definition of sedition we have ever encountered – but no doubt you agree with it. *You would like to create a situation where it would be seditious to say anything derogatory about your life, your lies, your methods or your profits.*

Child – Paid Fascist Agent

Richard Washburn Child, former U. S. ambassador to Italy, who contributed until his recent death a daily editorial breathing the fervent fire of militant “Americanism” was perhaps your prize exhibit, Hearst. *His “patriotism” was impeccable.*

So concerned was Richard Washburn Child with keeping bright and shining the escutcheon of 100 per cent Americanism that daily in your papers, Hearst, he thrust right and left at all and sundry who gave the slightest intimation that they doubt that you, the profit system and love of country are synonymous.

Child called continually for the “preservation of our free American institutions.” He campaigned with all the weapons at his command – including murderous anti-working class provocation, lies, slander and distortion – against the Soviet Union. He was one of your chief inciters of war. He demanded the suppression of all militant working class organizations. Especially did he advocate enthusiastically the outlawing of Communists, their press and their party.

Mussolini’s Hired Man

The New York *World-Telegram*, January 21, 1935, published the following news story on Page 2 under the 8-column headline: “*Spectator Charges Richard Washburn Child Is U. S. Agent of Il Duce.*”

“The *Spectator*, Columbia University undergraduate daily, which with other student papers is agitating for a Congressional investigation of William Randolph Hearst’s campaign against radicals in universities, today charged that Richard Washburn Child, former ambassador to Italy and now a special writer for the Hearst newspapers, *is an agent of Mussolini in this country.*’

“‘Mr. Child,’ the *Spectator* said, ‘is stripped of his impartiality’ by the newspaper’s disclosure, which, it added, is based on documentary proof. Mr. Child, according to the student daily, declined to answer the charges.

“He, however, dictated the following statement to the World-Telegram:

“‘I have been representing Mussolini in the sales of his book and motion picture rights in the United States. This was done because I was the one who induced him to write his autobiography. Before doing so I consulted President Coolidge, who told me it was quite proper to do so. *I am not in favor of fascism in America, nor do I think Mussolini is. Nor do I think Mr. Hearst or myself think there is the slightest danger of it.* We do feel, however, that there is a danger of communistic doctrine being spread from undisclosed sources.

“‘As for Paul Yaselli, he was the one who approached me with the idea of sharing motion picture rights. After investigation I turned him down.’

“Mr. Yaselli, former assistant United States Attorney, negotiated with Mr. Child for the picture rights, says the *Spectator*, publishing copies of letters in proof.

“An uncompleted contract between Mr. Child, as ‘selling agent’ for Mussolini, and Mr. Yaselli is part of the newspaper’s exhibit.

“Mr. Child described the potential rewards of a Mussolini picture as ‘a great opportunity... for an inspirational and commercial success’.”

In the light of such irrefutable proof as this, Hearst, not only is your 100 per cent American specialist and professional anti-working class ex-ambassador “stripped of his impartiality,” but he is disclosed as *a paid agent of the head of the Fascist Italian government*, stained to his ears with the blood of workers and peasants, murdered in the interests of monopoly capital.

Hearstian Hypocrisy

You, Hearst, *knew these facts all the time you employed Child* – as a cover for his fascist propaganda. You yourself have espoused the cause of Hitlerism and you have openly advocate fascism in the United States “if necessary”.

Your inherited fortune of \$17,000,000 undoubtedly entitles you to interpret Americanism to men and women whose food, clothing and shelter are earned by the sweat of their brows. Of course you admire fascism and hate Communism. Under a working class government

your feudal estate would be turned into a sanitarium and vacation resort for workers.

Your newspapers would be taken from you and turned into instruments for enlightening working people instead of the instruments for the perpetuation of ignorance, prejudice and racial and national hatreds that they are used for today. No wonder you hate and fear the Communists and their revolutionary program.

More About Your Distortion of Lenin's Writings

At this point, Hearst, because of your continued publication of a distorted quotation from Lenin's writings in regard to the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is necessary to give some further extracts from Lenin on this subject.

The quotation which your red-baiting specialists jerked from its context, and distorted in addition, occurs on *Page 19 of "The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky," English translation by the International Publishers, Little Lenin Library, Vol. 21 – the translation being made from Vol. IV of Lenin's Collected Works.*

Lenin here is answering Karl Kautsky on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In his usual brilliant and incisive style he is pointing out how and why Kautsky made what Lenin termed "*this monstrous distortion of Marxism.*"

"One must only distinguish," says Lenin on page 18 of the above edition, "*a serious and honest approach* to a question from a dishonest one. Anyone who wanted to be serious in approaching this question ought to have given *his own definition* of the 'word'; then the question would have been put fairly and squarely. But Kautsky does not do that."

"'Literally,' he [Kautsky] writes, 'the word "dictatorship" means the abolition of democracy.'

"In the first place this is not a definition. If Kautsky wanted to avoid giving a definition of the concept of dictatorship, why did he choose this particular approach to the question?

"Secondly, it is obviously: wrong. A liberal naturally speaks of 'democracy' in general; but a Marxist will never forget to ask: *for what class?* Everybody knows, for instance (and Kautsky the 'historian' also" knows it), that the rebellions of and even the strong ferment among the slaves in an-

tiquity immediately revealed the fact that in essence the state of antiquity was the *dictatorship* of the *slave-owners*. Did this dictatorship abolish democracy *among* and *for the slave-owners*? Everybody knows that it did not.

“The ‘Marxist’, Kautsky, uttered absolute nonsense and an untruth, because he ‘forgot’ the class struggle....

“In order to transform Kautsky’s liberal and lying assertion into a Marxian and true one one must say: *dictatorship does not necessarily mean the abolition of democracy for the class that exercises dictatorship over other classes; but it certainly does mean the abolition (or very material restriction, which is also a form of abolition) of democracy for that class over which, or against which, the dictatorship is exercised.* But however true this assertion may be, it does not give a definition of dictatorship....

“As a result, we find that having undertaken to discuss dictatorship, Kautsky has said a great deal which is contrary to truth, but has not given us a definition! Yet, without trusting his mental faculties, he could have had recourse to his memory and taken from his ‘pigeon-holes’ all those instances when Marx spoke of the dictatorship. Had he done so, he would certainly have arrived either at the following definition, or one in the main coinciding with it:

“Dictatorship is power, based directly upon force, and unrestricted by any laws.

“The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is power won and maintained by the violence of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, power that is unrestricted by any laws.

“And this simple truth, a truth that is as plain as noonday to every class-conscious worker (representing the masses, and not the upper stratum of petty-bourgeois scoundrels who have been bribed by the capitalists, such as are the social-imperialists of all countries), this truth, which is obvious to every representative of the exploited classes which are fighting for their emancipation, this truth, which is indisputable for every Marxist, has to be ‘extorted by force’ from the most learned gentleman, Mr. Kautsky....

“If Kautsky had wanted to argue in a serious and honest manner he would have asked himself: Are there historical laws governing revolution which know of no exception? And

the reply would have been: *No, no such laws exist. These laws only apply to what typical, to what Marx once termed the 'ideal', in the sense of average, normal, typical capitalism.*

“Further, was there in the seventies of the last century anything which made England and America an exception in regard to what we *are now discussing*? It will be obvious to anyone familiar with the requirements of science in the domain of historical problems that such a question must be put. To fail to put it is tantamount to falsifying science, to engaging in sophistry. And the question having been put, there can be no doubt as to the reply: The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is violence *against the bourgeoisie*; and the necessity for such violence is *particularly* created, as Marx and Engels have repeatedly explained in detail (particularly in *The Civil War in France* and in the preface to it) *by the existence of militarism and bureaucracy*. But it is precisely these institutions that were non-existent in England and America in the Seventies of ^{the} nineteenth century when Marx made his observations. (*They do exist in England and in America now.*)”

Having placed the *correct* quotation (which your hirelings distorted) from his polemic against Kautsky in its proper position (from which your hirelings jerked it) it is clear as daylight that Lenin is purposely emphasizing the *suppressive side* (against the capitalist class and its allies) precisely because such necessary measures of the revolutionary struggle *were what Kautsky was trying to conceal – and distorting Marx for this purpose.*

(In the quotation from *State and Revolution* Lenin describes the broad democracy under the proletarian dictatorship for the majority to whom under the capitalist dictatorship it is denied or greatly restricted.)

Who Makes Force Necessary?

Communists are not blind worshippers of force. But only Communists have fully grasped the historical truth that force exercised by the organized working class is necessary for the victory of the proletarian revolution. This is so not because Communists will it but because the capitalist class and its hangers-on never have and never will refrain from the use of armed force – of all suppressive instruments of capitalist government – against the working class to maintain their

robber rule.

You, Hearst, say that the working class is composed mainly of fools. (Let us hope you think so.) But only a fool or incurable liberals and reformists can believe that a working class – such as the American working class – meeting always in its daily struggles just for a little more butter on its bread, the force and violence of the military forces, police, bands of corporation paid gangsters and the vigilante squads whom you delight in hailing as the saviors of American institutions, that daily faces in its fight to maintain even the present hunger standard of wages, gas, machine guns, shotguns and clubs in the hands of mercenaries recruited by the various agencies of monopoly capital, will retain many illusions regarding a “peaceful” transfer of government power from the capitalist class to the working class.

The Hard Lesson of Fascism

The rise of fascism – the State power of capitalism in decay – is wiping out the last of the illusions regarding “democratic” processes.

A working class leader who does not understand and teach these historical truths, a working class leader in America today who does not point out to his fellow workers that, as Lenin does in the last sentence quoted, the conditions which *might* have made possible a relatively peaceful transfer of power in the United States and England have vanished with the advent of imperialism, and that in their place stands the capitalist class with its specially organized and constantly expanding instruments of suppression, is a menace to his class and can lead it nowhere except to disastrous defeat.

This is the hard lesson taught by every important strike and by every revolutionary struggle of the working class and its allies from the Paris Commune sixty-five years ago, through the victorious Russian revolution, to the present date.

These “Dull and Degenerate” Reds

And now, Hearst, we come to the conclusion of this correspondence. We have not forgotten that in your editorials you said that Communists were more dangerous than criminals and more dull and degenerate than the imbeciles.

Dangerous? Yes! To the entrenched privileges and private ownership of the fabulous wealth sweated from millions of toilers whom you and your class claim the right to rule forever, yes. *Dangerous* to working people and their class interests? No!

If we were you we would be shrilling our praises louder than you now yelp for outlawing and suppressing us.

Who Are “Criminals” and “Degenerates”?

No, Hearst, these are not dullards and degenerates – not criminals – and well you know it. You are trying to bulwark the class enmity of your capitalist kindred and its hangers-on with the terrible weapons of brutal ignorance and savage prejudice. You are sowing the wind and you and your class will reap the whirlwind.

Just who are you to speak so carelessly of “criminals” and “degenerates” – and apply these terms to workers and their leaders?

At the very beginning we said that the usual rules of political debate do not serve in formulating a reply to you. You do not come into court with clean hands.

Before you became so powerful, Hearst, powerful enough to couch your form in a White House bed chamber – creating the necessity for the president to burn down his residence in order to purify it – before you became powerful enough to insult Rasputin-like the decent people of a whole nation by being entertained by its head, some peculiar things happened.

Perhaps you remember, Hearst, that some two decades ago a small California community – Sausalito – earned lasting honor for itself because, sickened by the continual orgies in your palatial home, whose stench drifted over the whole town, the citizenry rose almost as one man and forced you to leave.

Perhaps you also remember that you were expelled from the Pacific Union Club of San Francisco although the membership of this club, then as now, took a very liberal attitude toward *ordinary* lapses from the conventional moral code.

How Pure Are Your “Patriotic” Motives?

You, Hearst, and the chief cultural exhibit on your staff of writers – Arthur Brisbane – appear to have divided the fertile field of armaments. You take the navy and all types of warships and Brisbane takes war aircraft.

You are both insatiable in your appetites for armament increases. *Scarcely a day passes that Brisbane does not find some new and terrifying reason for an unlimited increase in the fighting and bombing planes for the army and navy.*

You, Hearst, and the editorial writers under your direction, yell

continually for a larger navy – more battleships, more cruisers, more destroyers, more submarines, etc. If ten new warships are authorized you scream for twenty. If twenty are authorized you shriek for forty – and so on. The United States has the biggest peace time appropriation both for aircraft and warships in its history. It is doubtful if the total appropriation, running close to a billion dollars, has ever been equaled or exceeded by any nation or group of nations in a so-called peaceful period.

Your constant demands for more and ever more armaments are so well known that quotations would be superfluous. You deliberately and systematically try to keep the populace in a state of constant alarm over the mythical danger of invasion.

Would War Add to Your Wealth?

We are not concerned here with your “*right*” to advocate such measures although you are one of the powerful individuals who menace the peace of the world, every issue of whose papers holds over the heads of millions of working people the menace of a new world slaughter for profits and new areas for robber expeditions. What we are concerned with here is the mixture of motives that may prompt you to this course. We know that you are an unscrupulous, defender of the most reactionary policies of the capitalist system.

But curiosity is aroused by the persistent vigor with which you carry on the campaign for ever larger armaments. Surely, Hearst, it would not be amiss for you, in the public interest, to answer truthfully if you can, the following questions:

Have you any considerable amount of stock in or bonds of corporations that profit greatly from the manufacture of increased armaments? (Such as U. S. Steel, Bethlehem Steel, etc.)

Has Arthur Brisbane any stock in or bonds of aircraft companies that would profit greatly from the carrying through of the aircraft program he advocates? Have you?

Have you substantial interests in any concerns producing raw materials (copper, for instance) that would profit greatly from a major war? If you have any such investments, would it be too much to ask you to make them public?

In other words, Hearst, can you give any guarantees at all, negative or positive, of the sublime purity and patriotism of your motives when you continually spew forth slander of the Soviet Union and its peace policy, campaign continually for fantastically large armaments

in the air, on the land and the two oceans, and ceaselessly provoke the chief imperialist rivals of the billionaire ruling class of this country?

Always for Wars – That Other Men Fought!

Your record, Hearst, speaks for itself:

You, as much as any one man could be, were responsible for the Spanish-American war, the loss of life and the bitter nationalism and hatreds that grew out of it. Your infamous cable to the artist Remington in Cuba is a matter of public knowledge: “*You furnish the pictures and I’ll furnish the war.*”

You favored the brutal occupation of Haiti. You called for the occupation of Nicaragua. Only recently your papers in editorials and by war-inciting cartoons were demanding the construction of a new canal through Nicaragua.

In 1916, you, *the reputed owner of some 1,000,000 acres of land in Mexico*, took the lead in the campaign that led to the invasion of the sister republic from the North preceded by the bombardment and occupation of Tampico. You took the lead in this infamous imperialist adventure for which every American working man and woman, every Mexican worker and peasant, must suffer from the creation of a new series of nationalistic prejudices and hatreds.

It is true that you opposed the entry of this country into the World War – on the side of England and France. *But only because you wanted American imperialism to support German imperialism as against British and French imperialism.* But you quickly swung into line and outdid the allied jingoes in blood-thirstiness and in your drive against “unpatriotic” working men who did not see why they should get shot up for the glory and profit of the House of Morgan.

How to Blunt Your Fangs

All in all, Hearst, you assay away above the average of the leaders of your robber class in sheer undiluted anti-working-class poison. *What is to be done to blunt your fangs and reduce the potency of your verbal poison as much as possible?*

What we intend to do will be far more damaging to you, Hearst, both personally and as an outstanding representative of the innate and increasing rottenness of capitalism. We intend – this little pamphlet is only a first step – *to collect all information on every act of your life that is relevant to the class struggle.* There are scores of people who are now ready and willing to tell of that part of your career of skull-

duggery that they know about. In the aggregate this will make a pretty exhaustive biography.

We have the people who can carry out such an investigation. Some of them have worked for you at one time or another and in this special task that will be far from a handicap.

We will publish this material. We intend to strip your leprous, jingo, profit-worshipping, ghoulish soul bare before the people of this country. If you get our legal press suppressed, as you are trying to, we will find other means of publishing it.

To us it is a sacred revolutionary duty placed on us by your vile lies about Lenin and the rest of our glorious dead and your slanders and provocations against the organized labor movement, the working class, and its Communist sections in all countries who took the torch of freedom forward no matter what the cost.

If, when we have held your scabrous career up for all the world to see, you feel impelled, by your own hand, to rid the world of the livid menace of your fascist presence, it will be all right, believe me, with hundreds of thousands of workers, farmers, intellectuals and other decent people, and, sincerely, with

WILLIAM F. DUNNE.

The following dispatch, published in the "Daily Worker" and given to the capitalist press on February 26-27, shows that Hearst's anti-Soviet lies were refuted by the head of his own Moscow News Bureau.

MOSCOW, Feb. 6. – Mr. Lindsay Parrott, the Moscow correspondent of the International News Service and the Universal Service, both of which belong to William Randolph Hearst, recently returned from a trip to South Ukrainian U.S.S.R. In a talk with a representative of *Izvestia*, Mr. Parrott gave his impressions of the trip. He said:

“In the summer of last year I visited the Volga region – from Astrakhan to Saratov; I visited the Friedrich Engels Kolkhoz in Marksstadt and one of the fishing kolkhozes, whose good organization, order and cleanliness astonished me. I have recently completed a trip to other important agricultural regions of the Soviet Union – to the South Ukraine – where I saw new kolkhozes. This second trip made an even greater impression than the first.

“Nowhere in any of the towns or villages on the way did I see signs or traces of the famine about which the foreign press likes to speak. Moreover, the present is the very time of the year when famine, if existent, would sharply appear.

“I visited kolkhozes *not according to the prearranged plan*. During my stay in the Odessa region, I spent a whole day in the villages of the kolkhozes, Grosliebental and Kleinliebental, in the Spartakov District.

“I happened by chance to sit at the dinner table of a kolkhoznik and taste kolkhoz food. I was returning to town by automobile, which got stuck in deep snow. We could not proceed and it was necessary to return to the kolkhoz. Naturally the kolkhoznik did not expect us, but we met with a hearty welcome, hospitality and a good supper. We were treated to pickled herring with onions, vegetables, pork schnitzel with egg, and coffee. We also tasted good kolkhoz wine.

“The kolkhozniks of Grosliebental probably lived better last year, when there was no drought, than this year, but at the present they are living like average peasants, who have sufficient. Moreover, I found that 80 per cent of the peasants of Grosliebental were poor peasants before collectivization. The percentage of poor peasants corresponded approximately to the percentage of illiterates. Now, in Kleinliebental, for instance, ten schools have been established and there are no illiterates. The village is clean, with trim, well-built houses, painted in various gay colors. The kolkhozniks are dressed quite well. Their

horses are in good shape and seemingly are well attended and cared for. All machinery is in sheds, sheltered from bad weather. The number of livestock in the kolkhoz increased from 3,500 head to 5,000 head in two years.

“In these villages we heard the sound of church bells, which are no longer heard in the cities. Lutheran and Catholic churches continue to exist.”

Mr. Parrott finished his talk, which lasted nearly an hour, with the following phrase: “I don’t know how the kulaks feel, but I am convinced that the poor peasants in the kolkhozes have begun to lead a well-to-do life.”

Published by
WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS
New York City
March, 1935