

FORE 'N AFT

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Maritime Committee for a Communist Party

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FORE 'N AFT ANSWERS TWO YELPS FROM THE WATERFRONT!

Yelp # 1

Waterfront Section, C.P. issues blast on Fore 'N Aft and hastily withdraws it.

We have just read the scandalous sheet put out by the Waterfront leadership attacking Fore 'N Aft. We understand that this sheet was hastily withdrawn. We believe that the rank and file Communists have a right to know what their leadership has to say. Fore and Aft is, therefore, as a public service to Lannon & Co, printing in full this scandalous sheet called: "OLD HACKS IN NEW DISGUISES--A NEW DISRUPTIVE SHEET ON THE WATERFRONT", with our own comments. In our second issue we asked the WF Leadership for clarification of what they considered to be the "left and right deviations" in our first issue. In the usual CP leadership manner, we received no clarification but instead we were attacked with slander. The waterfront leaflet follows, interspersed with our replies and comments.

"A new disruptive sheet called Fore 'N Aft has appeared on the waterfront. Its authors who are afraid to reveal their names because they are supporters of the shipowners 'Rank and File Caucus' within the NMU call themselves the Maritime Committee for a Communist Party. This is camouflage. They are no more Communists than the National Socialists(Nazis) of Germany are socialists. They appear at this time because the Curran Caucus has become exposed to an ever-growing section of seamen as a reactionary shipowner alliance out to capture the N.M.U!"

It is most interesting to note the leaflet calls the Curran Caucus a reactionary shipowner alliance. But that does not stop the waterfront leadership from endorsing on the Communist Party slate six active members of Curran's Caucus including the known Trotskyite, Collins. Any communist learns sooner or later that he does not have to descend to the level of answering all slanderous attacks, particularly Communists on the waterfront who have tasted the bitter fruits of the greatest character-assassinator of them all "Al Lannon."

"Like the publications of other groups, its sheet is sprinkled with very revolutionary phrases. This is not a new tactic. Because the seamen are radical-minded and have a militant tradition, no disruptive opportunist group which showed its real colors would have a ghost of a chance to be heard. It must disguise itself as the 'real' communists. But it is not hard to see through the disguise."

Why doesn't the leadership tell us what are these revolutionary phrases? If For 'N Aft's revolutionary phrases are phony, why doesn't the leadership expose these phrases ideologically instead of using Willie Herst's tactics in name-calling and slander?

"In the first issue of Fore 'N Aft, this group says that the task of today is to fight imperialism and the Marshall Plan. Very well! How would one fight against imperialism and the Marshall Plan in the NMU? Who are those who have lined up with imperialism and the Marshall Plan? Obviously, Curran and his group."

Absolutely correct! But it is important to point out that the National leadership and particularly the WF Leadership only fights the Marshall Plan with lip-service and a telegram on national holidays. At the recent 1947 National CIO Convention the opportunist party trade union leadership helped formulate and voted for the Marshall Plan using the hypocritical and cowardly device of calling it "the CIO Plan." In our first issue we pointed out the correct way for Communists to fight the Marshall Plan in the NMU: "Our program in the NMU must be to smash the Marshall Plan for the domination of the world. To refuse to sail ships destined for imperialist use. We can do this successfully if we don't fall into the error of underestimating the strength of the American working class or the democratic forces of the world, or of the NMU. We can take lessons from our own Maritime industry. Remember 1917--West coast longshoremen refused to load ships destined for intervention against the Soviet Union--Frisco longshoremen who refused to load ships destined for Japanese imperialist expansion."

"It would seem, then, that this group should expose Curran and the Rank and File Caucus as serving the interests of Wall Street. Has not Curran endorsed the Marshall Plan? Is he not lined up with the Carey group in the CIO who are peddling the Marshall Plan? Did he not vote for the Murray position at the National Board meeting of the CIO against Wallace and the 3rd Party?"

Yes! We did and do expose the Rank and File Caucus--but also the lipservice of the National and waterfront leadership.

"And is not the factionalism in the NMU the direct result of Curran's attempt to oust the militants and the Communists from the NMU and to make it safe for the shipowners and the Marshall Plan imperialists?"

The answer is not so simple. Both Curran and the waterfront leadership are responsible for the mess in the NMU. Curran is only the result of the bureaucratic, opportunistic waterfront mis-leadership. Curran is only as strong as the Party is weak. This, of course, does not absolve Curran, but neither does it absolve the waterfront and national leadership.

"But this disruptive group which pretends to be for the position of the world anti-imperialist camp, directs its fire not against Curran but against the Communist Party which is fighting militantly against the Marshall plotters."

We ask the Comrades whether they have ever come across anyone who pretends to be for the Cominform? The closest that we can think of is the present CPUSA leadership, which is forced to give lip-service to the Cominform. But we feel that at least the CPUSA leadership *should* discuss with the other parties the question of affiliation to the Cominform since they were decent enough to invite them. A fight against opportunism in the CP is not disruptionist; its a permanently necessary fight to safeguard the integrity of the Party. Is criticism of the opportunistic Party leadership disruptive and an attack against the Party? Was Duclo's criticism of the same Party leadership disruptive and an attack against the Party? The Communist Party belongs to the membership; it belongs to the working class. The Dennises, the Fosters, and the Lannons, Rothbards, Watts, and Weinstones don'T own the Party. Those who disagree with them, those who fight them for a real Party are not enemies of the Party but devoted and loyal members of the Party. If the violation of democratic centralism by the Party bureaucratic apparatus prevents us from expressing our views within the party, then there is only one way out-to appeal to the Party membership from the outside, and the coordination of work for a real Communist Party between the CP comrades and all sincere expelled comrades. Does the leadership believe that service to the struggle against the Marshall Plan, service to the struggle of the colonial peoples, and service in the defense of the new democracies is an attack against the Party? Or perhaps they feel that the interests of the Party were best served by votes for the red-baiting resolution in the CIO Convention, the hounding out of the Party and the expulsion from the Party of "premature" anti-Browderites, the hounding and expulsion of those who have exposed during and after the CIO 1946 Convention, the capitulatory conduct by the party members in the trade union movement.

"Let no one be taken in by the passing reference of this group to Curran's Rank and File Caucus. They say they are against not only the Communist Party but also the anti-working class orientation of the Rank and File Caucus." There is trickery in this phrase. If they are against Curran and his Caucus, why do they not say so, directly and unequivocally.

WE HEREBY DIRECTLY AND UNEQUIVOCALLY SAY SO! But the waterfront mis- leadership fails to show where the trickery was. We did directly and unequivocally say in issue # 1, "we who desire to work towards the development of a real Communist Party on the waterfront, reject equally the opportunistic policies of the present CP waterfront leadership and the anti-working class orientation of the Rank and File Caucus." The waterfront mis- leadership blasts Fore 'N Aft for only calling attention to the anti-working class orientation of the Caucus. To non-Communists like the National Committee this might truly sound equivocal, but to any real Communist the words anti-working class mean: only one thing in any language.

" Anyone who honestly wants to preserve the NMU and build it as an effective instrument of the seamen to defend and advance their working and living conditions must fight to defeat Curran and his group."

We are not supporting Curran and we are not supporting the Caucus. We want the Party to fight the Caucus and to fight Curran on the basis

of issues, but we want it to be a principled fight. Criticism of the CP waterfront leadership has always been construed by the Lannons, the Rothbards, the Immermans, the Weinstones, and the ninth floor as attack against the Party. It is only natural that we discuss the achievements, the mistakes and methods of work of Communists on the waterfront in branch meetings of the waterfront section. We cannot successfully fight against Curran and Co. by agitating one another in name-calling within the Branch. We made our appeal to those who for principled reasons have left the Party.—Those who for ideological reasons were expelled from the Party.—Those who for their criticism of the Party leadership have been hounded out of the Party. We appealed to Party members to purge their ranks of the capitulators to the Reuthers, to the anti-Soviet and red-baiting elements in the CIO, to purge their ranks of the economists, the rejuvenated Browderites, and the scandal-mongers, in order to be able to conduct a struggle against the corrupt and reactionary leaders in the trade union movement. We are trying to bring the burning issues of the waterfront, of the country and of the people to the membership of the Party and to all sincere Communists. We want to expose and fight the bureaucratic and opportunist self-admitted practices of the present Party leadership, who are the former notorious revisionists, opportunists and liquidators of yesterday. We consider them opportunists and liquidators now. We asked the waterfront leadership to clarify what they meant by right and left deviations. What we got in return was name-calling. Why did the leaflet avoid giving an answer to our questions? (See issue # 2)

"The reason this group does not say that they are against Curran is simple. It is because they are lackeys and supporters of Curran. They are doing their job for Curran and the shipowners at this time by seeking to confuse, demoralize and disrupt the left-wing in the union from within. That is why they call themselves "real" Communists and angle for contacts in the left-wing. That is why they pretend to be critical of the Curran caucus."

Hogwash ! First we are told we are not against Curran, then we are told that's why we pretend to be against Curran. This we would like to define technically as a "Dennis double-take." We could call this kid stuff if it were not dangerous. All we ask you is to judge us by our program, and more so by our future activities. We like to point out that Communists must be judged by their deeds not by their talk, and that not even an issue of Fore 'N Aft can prove that we are real Communists. The proof is in the pudding. If we don't fight for our program in practice then we are just as much hot air bags as the National Committee, the Weinstones, the Lannons etc.

"Scratch out the radical phrases used by this group and you find that their whole position in the NMU is just like Curran's. They say also that the Communists, not Curran and Stone, seek to elect pie-card officials; that the Communists, not the shipowners, resort to gangsterism. There you have it; --all the tripe spread by the Fred Woltmans and similar bosses agents."

This has always been a stock reply of the waterfront leadership to any criticism. "Why blast the leadership? Look at what Curran is doing? Curran is only as strong as the Party is weak. When the Party works correctly the opposition is not born that can defeat it. That is why

our main criticism is directed against those who are supposed to be the vanguard of the workers. We are compelled to quote from our first issue of Fore 'N Aft: "Correct Communist leadership should not be the building and perpetuation of an intricate pie-card apparatus. Instead, responsible Communists must project correct policy and thereby earn the respect and trust of non-Communists and Communists rank and filers alike." We would again like to repeat that both machines are responsible.

"This group claims that it intends to unite all Communists on the waterfront, expelled as well as those in the CP? Who are the expelled? They are the Stones, Lawrensons, and the Keiths. They are the Rays, the Robinsons, and other renegades. Are not the Stones and the Keiths and their kind red-baiters and imperialist stooges? What kind of group is it, then, that claims to be anti-imperialist in policy and at the same time, is for unity with the labor agents of imperialism organizationally? They are an unprincipled grouping whose alleged anti-imperialism is a sham. No one should be taken in by their claims of being Communists. In reality, they are people who want to give stooges like Stone and Keith the name of Communist in order to aid their disruption from within. People who make the Communist Party their main target of attack help the stooges of imperialism and have nothing in common with Communists. They are old Hacks in new disguises. They seek to disrupt where others have failed. That is why all progressives and honest union members must be warned against them and fight them as the stooges, allies and lackeys of Curran and enemies of the National Maritime Union."

There are some ex-Party members in the NMU who have forgotten they ever were Communists, but we refuse to fall for the National Committee trick of lumping both sincere and fake Communists in the same category. The working principle of the Soviet Communist Party towards expelled Communists is not to damn and ex-communicate them from all activity, but on the contrary to rehabilitate them whenever possible. Those former Party members who have no connection with the Caucus are nevertheless assigned and banded into the Caucus by the slander of the CP waterfront leadership. It would seem as if the waterfront leadership wanted every former Party member to be in the Caucus for the promotion of their own slander. The waterfront leadership uses the old technique of lumping the good with the bad in order to slander the good.

Those who have fought opportunism in the Communist movement from its inception have always been accused of helping the enemy, of promoting splits etc. Lenin who fought opportunism all his life was accused of this all his life by the opportunists. To fight to prevent the cringing of the CPUSA before the bourgeoisie is to be accused of helping the Bourgeoisie.

Again we repeat: "Judge Fore 'N Aft by its program, and by its efforts to implement that program, and help it get a real Communist Party."

Yelp # 2:

N.Y. State Board of C.P. and
Knitwear Manufacturer's Sweater Girl
Point to renegacy on the Waterfront

About a year ago the Sunday Worker puzzled us with the statement that it "has always supported sex". At the time, we could only guess generally that since the best service the CP leadership gave anything was "lipservice", that SEX was one sphere where lipservice did have some agitational value--at least. Ever since, the Worker has been agitating us with "cheesecake", pinups, and lurid tales.

Industry by industry, the Worker hands out free advertizing in return for the right to promote the bathing beauty. The picture of Stalin, which once brightened the pages of our dull paper, has given way to such delicacies the pinup over the caption:

"Rosemary Carpenter of Davenport, Ia, holds the winner's trophy after being chosen 'Miss Miami Beach'. Quite a pretty real estate ad." (D.W. 3_30-48)

We have a sneaking suspicion that a lifelong study of Marxism-Leninism would not reveal why the Worker has to advertize real estate--especially Miami Beach real estate. The Worker, vanguard of "cheesecake", has now matured in its support for sex. In the Worker of Monday April 5, 1948, (over the caption: "Elaine Stritch, stage actress, was chosen 1948 sweater girl by knitwear manufacturers at the national convention in New York") we see a sweated young lady--through no intention of her own--"directing" our attention at a great expose article:

"LIST 15 RENEGADES FROM WATERFRONT C.P."

The Worker felt, obviously, that the article was of great importance and should be read in a state of excitement,* but not because the bipartisan vanguard of the New York State Board and the knitwear manufacturers pointed seductively at it. We were excited because the expose reflects the real hysteria of the National Committee caused by FORE 'N AFT'S dent on the waterfront. The expose was written rather hastily and carelessly and a few slips towards the end betray the real motives and the real troubles of those who wrote it. We are interested in analyzing rather than answering the slanders in this CPUSA character-assassination morgue. As you follow our post mortem, we hope you will realize that such slander provides a good case for libel action. We suppose that if we had the legal-itis of the CP hacks, if we had the currently popular desire to be homemade "movement" lawyers, we'd say: "TAKE IT TO COURT AND SUE THE DEGENERATE..." But, unlike the Dennis Corporation, we don't place the problems of the class struggle at the merciful feet of lynch legislators in the halls of the pillars of Capitalist justice. We'll take our case as we have in the past, to the seamen, and our fitting revenge (a truly constructive revenge) will be the achievement of a real CP in this country and the destruction of the fake CP leadership.

(errata: "We did read the expose in a state of excitement--but" etc.)

SLANDER # 1:

FORE 'N AFT is labeled: "Trotskyite, ACTUer's, anti-Negro, anti-Semitic elements, FBI agents and company stool pigeons."

This is an old story. No American Communist ever fought corruption in his Party without receiving such "battle ribbons" from the bureaucracy. Do we mail our readers the Cominform organ for Trotskyite propaganda purposes? Do we mail New Times for company stool pigeon insinuations? Do we refer our readers to the classics of Marx, Engles, Lenin, and Stalin for anti-Negro, anti-Semitic impregnation? The hacky hacks should remember that our effective distribution of literature in the NMU is an effective laboratory for dissecting such insane slanders. Lannon should trouble himself with the picture of an NMUer testing the Party slander against the literature we send. The wild Sears & Roebuck mail order catalogue of name-calling drawn up by the hacks proves an important point: FORE 'N AFT members, pushing a real Communist policy in an old Party-led union, have hit CP opportunism in a vulnerable spot--a vital spot, and the Lannoneers have yelped! Principled Communist policy always makes opportunism yelp. The yelp is a welcome message from the National Committee that our movement for a real CP in the NMU and in the country is really beginning to take hold. We expect more yelps--and more blood curdling ones.

SLANDER "2:

The N.Y. State Board accuses FORE 'N AFT of being published by the CURRAN RANK and FILE CAUCUS. It accuses the Maritime Committee for a Communist Party of being set up by the Caucus. It accuses the members of FORE 'N AFT of being leaders of the Caucus.

No member of F&A belongs to the Caucus! No member of the Rank and File Caucus may be a member of Fore 'N Aft. Those Communists who have joined the Caucus or loaned their names to it have consciously or unconsciously undermined what principled Communists were trying to do. Some so-called Communists in the Caucus were never real Communists in the Party; they have concentrated their efforts on continuing their careers and found a good operating joint in the Caucus. These we are not concerned with. However, we know that there are honest but misled Communists in the Caucus through their own confusion. With varying degrees of consistency they continue to fight for correct policies. But their place is not in the Caucus. We hope that one day soon, they will kiss the Caucus goodbye, analyze their mistakes frankly and openly, and again become a credit to the movement.

The secret that many Communists have to learn today is the ability to face defeats as a principled minority. Out of a lifetime of defeats, Lenin fashioned the greatest victory in all history--the first Socialist country. Lenin did not have to work with a majority--or even with a sizable "machine". He had to work with principle. We are sure that the better Comrades in the Caucus know that they are not working with principle--but rather with day-to-day maneuvers.

It is interesting, on the other hand, to remember that FORE 'N Aft is slandered from another angle for its attitude of working with honest CP members. On this score it is accused by Dowling's NCP of being the CP's 5th column in the expelled movement. One good slander deserves another.

Why doesn't FORE 'N AFT check the list of 15 renegades listed by the CP and separate the angels from the devils? The CP attack is a shot in the dark--a feeler. The Lannons, Rothbards, and the shady Immermans, would give their tails (the symbol of their opportunist leadership) to find the ----- who put F&A out. We refuse to help. It is enough to say that the statement has listed 15 radically different people and has lumped them all in exactly the same category. We won't fall for the gag and start subdividing--even in self-defense. The seamen know their seamen. We think they know enough to judge them not by the slander that falls on them from day to day--but by their deeds.

This lumping of FORE 'N AFT with certain unsavory individuals is the old corny psychological gag of forcing us into the Caucus for comp any--for protection--out of anger, etc. If the gag were to "take", the fake leadership's job would be simpler; there would be no correct Communist line in the NMU. We can't oblige them in this respect, even though we know that if we were to fall into the Caucus we might stand the chance of getting official Party support. (Remember the CP does support 6 Caucus candidates--one open Trotskyite, Collins.)

Another CPUSA shot in the dark is the accusation leveled at trusted Party members that they are members of FORE 'N Aft. This also reflects the real hysteria that grows on the 9th floor. We know that we have won the respect of many members of the CP and sincere members of the Caucus. This is our potential strength--and the potential destruction of the power of opportunism on the waterfront. This is our perspective and we keep our eye trained only on it. No cheap tricks, no violent slander will draw more than a sneer from us.

SLANDER # 3:

The last paragraph states: "Some of these elements still attempt to maintain connections with honest workers and members of the Communist Party. It is for this reason, and especially because of the sharpness of the struggle, because of the increased attacks of the imperialist reaction upon the working class and our Party using every weapon at their disposal, that the State Board feels it necessary at this time to reveal the names of these individuals". (Our italics.)

It is here that the CPUSA statement slips badly on its own oily deck. Is this an expose of F&A or a self-imposed strip-tease by the bawdy bureaucrats? The real motives behind the slander are pretty well exposed here. Throughout the expose, the 15 are referred to as "these renegades". They are pronounced a solid category. But suddenly, in the last paragraph the solid category is neglected and some of these elements are emphasized. Which? The ones who maintain connections within the CP? In other words--FORE 'N AFT. "It is for this reason" that the expose had to be produced. It is for this reason that some of these elements have to be misrepresented by identification with the Caucus, the Trotskyites, etc. etc. etc. We must admit that just as some inconsistent people become religious only immediately before death--so does the leadership become frank only in the last paragraph. May we suggest that in the future, CP exposes read more clearly, more simply and to the point. For example: "We are about to assassinate FORE 'N AFT. Loyal

Comrades must realize that to do this we must misrepresent them, identify them with the Rank and File Caucus, and attack them for what they are not. Loyal Comrades must realize that their beloved Party is in a compromised position in the opinion of its brother parties (even now, in #11 of the Cominform, we are attacked--and worse is to come), and so we must strengthen our case by calling the anti-opportunist opposition Fascist."

SLANDER # 4:

The CP statement accuses F&A of "wrecking anti-union, anti-Party activities", of "a vicious red-baiting attack upon all progressive maritime workers", of the program of the Caucus "to defeat all steps toward unity of the Maritime unions", of "a policy of capitulating to the enemies of the Party in the face of vicious enemy attacks."

We say: Lannoneers, "ship or get off the pot". Quote! Name one case of F&A redbaiting. Put up or shut up. Party Comrades have received our literature and they have not read any red-baiting--unless we mimeograph our cunning red-baiting in invisible ink, which the N.C.FBI trained specialists decode by slow heating over Dennis's pipe. To paraphrase a solid bit of philosophy beloved of the American school kid--

We never saw a purple cow--

We hope to never see one

But this we will say anyhow--

We'll see a purple cow before we see proof of our red-baiting. Scratch an opportunist and he hollers "red-baiting"--even if he has written the CIO red-baiting resolution himself. Damn both unprincipled machines and be accused of wrecking the Party.

Who capitulates, who wrecks, who weakens the Party--FORE-'N-AFT or the opportunist leadership? Who wrote the CIO red-baiting resolution? Who votes against the UN veto, who boycotts the Cominform. Who dissolved the CP. Who tried to liquidate the NMU strike fund based on post war harmony between the shipowners and the seamen, F&A or the revered leaders of the CP? The CP red-baits more dangerously than the Caucus does--it redbait itself. Self-pollution.

F&A stands for the unity of all the maritime unions. We know that chances of this were seriously injured during CMU days by the back room maneuvering of the CP waterfront leadership designed to outmaneuver Curran through the collection of "Party" machine strength in the Maritime unions. Who on the waterfront does not remember Blackie Myer's famous words: "I'M LINED UP FOR A BIG JOB IN CMU!" Fore and Aft will continue to fight for Maritime unity but will expose any attempt to set up a "machine" pie-card apparatus.

Fight for the integrity of the Party and be accused of weakening it in the face of Wall Street repression! This old gag has been so exposed by now in Marxist literature, that one could consider it a Leninist identification of opportunism. Leninism is simple: fight opportunism whenever it raises its ugly head--and don't be afraid to fight it in full view of the enemy.

SLANDER #5:

The rejuvenated browderites accuse us of trying to undermine the powerful Wallace and Third Party movement among the seamen; to sell to the maritime workers the imperialist war policies of the Truman administration, especially the Marshall Plan and behind a whipped-up anti-Communist hysteria to capture the National Maritime Union for the shipowners".

Perhaps this is the simplest point at which to expose the CP statements dishonestly. Obviously every issue of FORE 'N AFT makes it clear that we stand for the Third Party and for Wallace. But F&A also stands against the CP tailism which always puts a good movement into the pocket of leaders. F&A believes in a real workers and farmers party with a membership base and membership control. F&A condemns the Caucus' attacks on the Third Party. It condemns the CP lipservice to the Third Party--its sabotage of the 3rd Party prior to Wallace's Chicago acceptance speech.

As for the hogwash on the Marshall Plan, F&A has made it clear in its previous issues that it wants to fight the Marshall Plan by refusing to sail ships carrying the MP imperialism to Europe--to China, etc. The CP lipservice is implementing the Marshall Plan. We are sure that Marshall knows that NMU strikes in support of democracy all over the world can break the bones of his plan but names can never hurt him.

TRUTH #1

"Some of them try to capitalize the prestige your party (sic) by still calling themselves Communists"

To this charge we plead guilty. We certainly do capitalize on the word Communist. It is the most highly respected, most powerful, and most-meaningful word in the world today. Not to capitalize on this word is really to capitulate. This the N.C. will never learn. They fear the word and the deed, "Communist" like the plague. Today, in the U.S. the "spectre of Communism" frightens most of all the National Leadership.

Communist ideology is not protected by copyright laws anywhere in the world. We certainly do not recognize the property rights of the CPUSA to the word Communist. The Dennises and the Fosters hold a justifiable patent only on opportunism--a heritage from the Kautskys and the Browders. We prefer that our heritage come more directly from Marx and Engels--the secret of Communist will and guts--that he who needs Communist ideology is free to own it.

It's pretty late and time for sincere American Communists to face their disreputable, confused whining history. Are we waiting for repeat performances from abroad? Anti-opportunist blasts from foreign parties have always been welcomed by American Communists. We never graduated from the "mannequin" stage. What a disgrace that American Communists are always following without their heads, without vigilance, without responsibility to safeguard their Party. Always looking for the an easy rut. We know that so many would like to follow the principled road. But when confronted with more doubletalk from machine powerful leaders, they somehow have not the equipment to object, to demand, to take control of their Party. Isn't it time for those Communists, who still have the guts to fight the bourgeoisie to learn how to fight the opportunists within

(errata): continue: "but we never learned to follow up--to learn how to think like Communists."

the Communist Party. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin made one thing crystal clear--that there is nothing more important than the fight against opportunism day by day. When opportunism takes over, the Party becomes capable only of cringing. It becomes a neurotic mess which hands its fate to highly paid lawyers. America has handed a new irony to the graveyard of opportunism: we have produced a workers vanguard of wealthy lawyers feeding on the impotency of revolutionary movement and destroying the militancy of whatever they assume command of. The people no longer fight; they collect funds so that lawyers may PLEAD their case before the opposition.

And how do our lawyers--not just those who have passed the bar, but all the beleaguered, self-converted, home-made lawyers fight? They fight with a phrase: YOUR HONOR? I OBJECT! To the smear artists of the CP corpse, we say: YOUR HONORS? WE DON'T OBJECT: WE APPROVE. We approve of your expose because it exposes you. because it instructs us in the quantity and quality of our work. Your yelps indicate to us that our principled policy begins to "take" effectively.

Your honors of the N.C., we don't whine "strike that from the record." WE want it in the record--all the slander and all the degeneracy. We will bury you with that record. That record will prevent more artistic switching on the 9th floor. It will be a school for Communists to learn vigilance from for a long time to come. It will help us insure our revenge: that the CP we will soon get will be a real one and stay a real one by virtue of understanding every mistake we've made. So raise away and navigate by the \$ sign in the fight for your pie-cards. Our fight is to--even belatedly--capitalize on a little Communist ideology and make this year--the 100th anniversary of the Communist Manifesto--the birthyear of a real American Communist Party.