

first printing

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FOREWORD

FRANCIS E. WALTER

Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities
United States House of Representatives

*This is the book the Communists tried to destroy.
They had the best of reasons for destroying it.
It tells too much . . .*

Communist leader William Z. Foster's **TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA** is easily the best-known book dealing with Communism by any American Communist. But the Communists themselves suppressed it; and, for all its fame, only a handful of Americans have actually seen the Foster work.

But here, at last, the legendary book is being brought out of hiding. Now it can be viewed in all its fascinating ugliness.

What you see here is not just a reprint. It is a republication. The original text has been followed exactly, including a misprint ("anomoly") on page 15. Even the page numbers are the same. The title has not been changed. There are, however, additions: the story of the book, the story of its author, and comments on the chapters.

It was in 1932 that **TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA** first made its appearance. That year it was issued — separately, and nearly simultaneously — by not one, but two, New York publishing houses. The first was a company of considerable standing in the business; the second, International Publishers, an all-too-busy Communist enterprise which leased the plates and made only one change, substituting its own name for that of the

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original publisher on the title page.

The 1932 copyright expired, and the original publisher neglected to renew. After an appropriate interval, the present enlarged edition is being brought out under a copyright of its own.

When TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA was written, William Z. Foster was an open, admitted Communist. He was, in fact, the National Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States of America. What Foster said in this book was said by the highest official of American Communism. Moreover, his every word had Moscow's approval, or he would not long have remained at the head of the Moscow-directed American Communist apparatus. But he did remain National Chairman for many years, so he must have obeyed faithfully all the while.

A dedicated Communist to the end of his life, William Z. Foster, since 1957 Chairman Emeritus of the Communist Party, USA, died in Moscow, of natural causes, on the first day of September 1961. In a massive state funeral, his ashes were deposited in the Kremlin itself. That made him the third "American" to achieve this dubious distinction: John Reed and Big Bill Hayward had preceded Foster in similar propaganda entombment. Later, however, Foster's remains were removed to Chicago.

A cynical Kremlin thus publicly honored its American branch manager for forty years of service. The hollow mockery of a state funeral suited the purposes of the Communist International. It was tossing a crumb to its people in the United States. For the American Communist Party is simply a chain-store retail outlet

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for a global wholesaler of espionage, sabotage, subversion, and revolution.

William Z. Foster put the text of TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA on paper. The book's real author was Karl Marx, with the collaboration of Nikolai Lenin and Josef Stalin. It is the poisonous ideas, and the destructive plans, of Marx and Lenin and Stalin, not merely those of Foster, that make this book so meaningful and so frighteningly authentic.

For TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA disclosed exactly what those geniuses of evil planned for this country under the hammer and sickle. The plan has not changed. TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA still reveals what your fate under that symbol of slavery is intended to be.

The Foster blueprint for conquest was written when the Communist line was "hard." The masters of the worldwide conspiracy sought openly to Communize the earth by force. TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA is, quite literally, a handbook of violence.

A little later, however, the line changed (as the Communist line continually does). Because the schemers who run the Red International thought it would accomplish their aims more effectively, a "soft" policy was adopted. Instead of battering down our ramparts from without, victory now was to be achieved from within. Trojan Horse tactics would be employed.

In the face of this altered strategy, a book that advocated violence became a liability. Obviously, TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA had to be swept under the rug. More to the point, it had to be obliterated. *Cartago delenda est.*

That is why, for years, the Kremlin's agents, includ-

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ing those in its American section, have been striving to expunge this book from the record. Copies have been hidden. They have been destroyed. They have been burned (oh, yes: Communists burn books — just like their counterparts, the Nazis).

But really indicative of Communism's grim determination to wipe out TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA is the fact that, in a relentless year-after-year campaign, the book has been systematically stolen from the shelves of public and private libraries. The object: to keep it out of the hands of American officials and the American people.

This campaign of illegal extermination has been unbelievably thorough, and unbelievably successful. As an unintentional result, the original TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA has become a collector's item of no mean worth.

The very few copies still extant in libraries are kept (or ought to be) carefully under lock.

Even the original publishing house no longer can find a copy of its own book in its own library. (Most of that publishing firm's other records and files concerning the Foster book have vanished mysteriously, too.)

In the memorable Smith Act trials of leading US Communists some years ago, the principal charge was conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. And there simply couldn't have been a piece of evidence more likely to nail down the case against the Communists than Foster's TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA. From first page to last, it is an order for force and a demand

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for violence. Accordingly, the Department of Justice put out what journalists like to call a dragnet — *and could only locate a handful of copies in the entire United States!*

Fate decreed that one of the twelve top Communists due to face trial in the first Smith Act case was William Z. Foster. And of course Foster had written the very book the Government wanted to use as evidence against him.

However, Foster pled serious heart trouble. He was allowed to slip off the hook when his doctors insisted he probably would not live through the rigors of a long trial.

He lived another thirteen years.

During the trial, with Foster abed at home, United States Judge Harold Medina sent a court representative to ask certain questions. The invalid was required to answer them under oath.

In his replies, Foster admitted that the Communist line wriggles like an eel. As far as the official Red position, at the time he wrote TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA, was concerned, he provided the court with a beautiful sample of Communist double-talk:

“ . . . we understood that to propose a Socialist Government as the alternative to Capitalism would surely be met by the most extreme violence on the part of the capitalists, and we proceeded to warn the people accordingly. . . .”

Translated, that Aesopian language goes something like this:

“When a Communist mob sets out to seize the government of a given country, and sheds blood in the

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process, this is not overthrow by force and violence. Communism *always* proceeds peacefully. But if the more responsible citizens are so foolish as to oppose that takeover, and people are killed and property destroyed, why, Communists are not to blame. It's those selfish, greedy Capitalists: they shouldn't have resisted. *They* employed the force and violence. Therefore, *they* are the guilty ones. So they are the ones who must pay."

Here was one of the most staggeringly dishonest arguments in the whole Communist arsenal of lies and distortions: this perversion about poor, peaceloving Communist conquerors having to defend themselves against inexplicably resisting victims. Lenin himself had warned that the "ruling classes" never would surrender their power voluntarily. In other words, the capitalist system, the system of free enterprise and free men, must permit itself to be wiped out without even putting up a fight! Lenin said the "ruling classes" would resist. And, he went on, the more the owners of property resist, the greater the violence *they* compel Communists to use in crushing them.

Lenin's twisted rationalization has persisted. In the new Communist Manifesto proclaimed on the sixth day of January, 1961, Nikita Khrushchev declared:

"... if the ruling classes counter revolution with force and are unwilling to bow to the will of the people, the proletariat must break their resistance. . . ."

With that brutal statement in 1961, the circle was complete. World Communist strategy was back where it was in 1932, when William Z. Foster wrote TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA. The hard line under which he wrote it had given way, about 1935, to a soft one. Now the soft has given way, in its turn, to the hard. Force and violence again are the order of the day.

As a matter of fact, Khrushchev boasted in that Jan-

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uary speech that the new-old program was entirely official:

"The path to Socialism lies through proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (What *we* call Communism, Communists call Socialism. They like to think that true Communism is so exalted a condition it cannot be attained until after Communism's preliminary, Socialism, has been utterly perfected. Only then, according to the high priests of Marxism, will a Communist become a Communist.)

Judge Medina's official asked the ailing Communist Chairman about TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA.

William Z. Foster thereupon publicly renounced the book that was embarrassing world Communism. He said TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA was obsolete; it ". . . no longer represents the tactical line of our party and is not used in any sense as an indicator of present policy."

Foster could orphan his book, but he could not wipe out what it reveals about Communism. With the revival of the era of force and violence, TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA once more has come into its own. Again it fits the international Communist line. And again it threatens the United States with the stark horrors of becoming a conquered province, under the bayonets of a Red Army.

The Communist line changes often. The Communist purpose — to conquer the world — does not change at all.

William Z. Foster was born in Taunton, Massachusetts, in 1881. He was one of twenty-three children, all the progeny of the same mother and father. At ten, the boy quit school and went to work. He knocked about

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the country for a quarter-century before settling into a rut of Leftist leadership.

When he was nineteen, in 1900, Foster formally became a Socialist. What he joined, incidentally, was the genuine Socialist Party, not a Communist Party wearing a Socialist label. The Socialists ejected him eight years later on the grounds that he was too Radical for them.

Foster moved to the still more Radical IWW (International Workers of the World).

In 1912, at the age of thirty-one, he was out of the IWW and founding the first of various small independent labor organizations he would try to launch. Most of them failed. But Foster was stubborn.

By 1917 he was a member of an organization he had once fought bitterly: the American Federation of Labor. Here he discovered that he was a talented labor organizer, after all. Within a year he had unionized two hundred thousand meat-packing employees. Within two years he was leading four hundred thousand steelworkers in a colossal strike. William Z. Foster built himself a reputation.

In 1920, Foster was out of the AFL and occupied in putting together another of his labor independents. This time it was the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL). He was not a Communist. But the Communists had their eyes on him. Only a year earlier the country's extremist Radicals had come together to create, for the first time in this country, a recognizable Communist movement. It needed numbers, and it needed leaders — especially labor leaders who knew how to organize. In a word, the new Communist groups needed William Z. Foster.

In Chicago, Foster learned that Moscow was drawing together a worldwide organization for far-Left trade

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unions. In 1921 he went to the USSR — as an observer. When the international labor network (it was called, for the sake of convenience, the Profintern) was brought into being officially, Foster was watching. He could envision vast horizons in the United States for a man like himself, with a world labor organization behind him.

Always the opportunist, William Z. Foster let it be known that he could be persuaded to join the US Communist Party. There was, however, a condition. He would join only if the Kremlin would build its American operations around his TUEL.

The Kremlin was willing. A bargain was struck. However, Foster insisted upon a few subordinate clauses. For instance, he demanded that there be no public announcement of his conversion for several years (and there was none, until 1923). As a result of another of Foster's ideas, Moscow was obliged to make it plain to the heads of the youthful American Communist apparatus that labor henceforth was to be as important as all the rest of the organization's activities put together. It was further decreed that, while political headquarters might remain in New York, a parallel, co-equal headquarters for Communist labor operations was to be opened in Chicago. Naturally, it would be under the command of newcomer Foster.

More or less concurrent with Foster's advent into Communism, there was a merger of the two nationwide branches of the American movement — the Communist Party of the United States, and the Communist Labor Party. Together, they called themselves the Workers' Party.

In 1924, a brief year after Foster had made public the fact that he was a Communist, he was named as the Workers' Party candidate for President of the United States.

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Though he tried five successive times to hoist the hammer and sickle over the White House, William Z. Foster never entertained the faintest idea that he could become the duly elected President.

He knew how he could become the Communist dictator of the United States, though. He told all about it in TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA.

In 1923-1924, not long after Foster joined the Communists, an Austrian fanatic behind prison bars in Germany was busily scribbling a book. It was called MY STRUGGLE — or, as it is somewhat better known, MEIN KAMPF. For all its literary faults, MEIN KAMPF is one of the most important books ever written. For it revealed, in detail, exactly what Adolf Hitler intended to do.

At the time of publication, a single minor official who read MEIN KAMPF *and believed it could have stopped Hitler before the ex-corporal grew strong.* Such an act would have prevented World War II; would have kept such ghastly names as Auschwitz, Belsen, Buchenwald from defiling history's pages; and would have saved human lives by the million.

But no one believed. No one acted. Even after the power-mad house painter began his rush to heights from which he could threaten the whole world, Western statesmen paid no more attention to Adolf Hitler's book than if it had never existed. Yet there it was, in black and white — the outline, the statement, the whole incredible future as Hitler planned it.

(One terrible result of this negligence toward Hitler, among countless terrible results, is that it put the Soviet Union in a position, after World War II, where it could

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thereafter play Russian roulette with civilization itself.)

The book you hold in your hand — TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA — is the American Communist MEIN KAMPF.

In 1932, the fateful volume put the United States squarely on notice. Never again could this nation say it hadn't known what Communism had in store for it. America was warned by Foster exactly as Europe was warned by Hitler. It is all here, between these covers. We are told that the Communist International is working to overthrow our Government. We are told how this is to be accomplished. We are told what is to happen, after that, to our nation, our society, and ourselves.

Foster's TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA is not simply a book; it is a roadmap to Terror.

In 1957, Foster, a sick man, was pushed aside. One of the toughest Communists ever to give orders took over the direction of the conspiracy in the United States. This was a Moscow-trained, bred-in-the-bone revolutionary born Arvo Mike Halberg, but calling himself Gus Hall.

Gus Hall became General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA. Foster was given an honorary title (National Chairman Emeritus), and, as the new National Chairman, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, an antedeluvian party hack, became the first woman to preside over the Communist conspiracy in this nation.

A man more appropriate to a hard Communist line than Gus Hall would have been hard to find. Said FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover of Hall's ascendancy:

"... an energetic, coldly calculating, aggressively pro-Russian ex-convict now is directing the visible forces which are dedicated to the destruction of individual

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freedom in America. Gus Hall is an utterly ruthless Communist. He believes that the ends of communism justify the use of any means to achieve those ends."

Where does the loyalty of such a man lie? Even *before* the swing back to a get-tough policy, Gus Hall had testified:

Q. But you would prefer . . . to be in Russia?

A. I prefer America with a Soviet government.

Q. Are you willing to fight and overthrow this government?

A. Absolutely.

Q. And you are willing to take up arms and overthrow the constituted authorities?

A. When the time comes, yes.

Gus Hall meant it, too. He is a throwback. He belongs to Communism's Neanderthal wing: the Communism of brass knuckles and shortened baseball bats. Hall is ideal for the job — if it is a tough job that requires a tough man to handle it.

Communist boss Foster did not merely want the workers of this nation to arise. His dangerous text advocates merciless revolution. The book calls for the complete and final destruction of the United States as Jefferson, Franklin, Adams, and the rest conceived the country . . . and as we are fortunate in knowing it.

According to the book, overthrow would be followed by still more force and violence. A permanent Red Terror would be imposed. Private property would be abolished; schools turned into vast vats for brainwashing; churches boarded up; whole skyscrapers emptied of their lawful tenants and handed over to the "proletariat"; private automobiles and private watercraft

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taken from their owners and given to a new aristocracy shoved up from the bottom; social and fraternal organizations crushed; the well-to-do as well as the wealthy stripped of every possession even before being exterminated . . . and, as rapidly as possible, the United States of America turned into the United *Soviet* States of America, a distant and enslaved province of the all-victorious USSR.

The Kremlin, global headquarters for the international Communist conspiracy, is wholly convinced that it shall have its Soviet America. Nor does Moscow greatly care whether the US is conquered by a "hard" method or a "soft" one; whether victory is won by force and violence or achieved through subversion.

Foster's book tells what will happen if the takeover is accomplished through force and violence. Would the result, for America and Americans, be any different if this country fell to Communism the "soft" way? No, it would not. Freedom still would be wiped out. The bourgeoisie — the vast middle *échelon* — still would be crushed. Private property still would be seized. Capitalists (and to Communism a Capitalist is not necessarily a man of great wealth) still would be shot. Religion still would be stamped out. Children still would be torn from their parents, to be brought up as Red zombies. Slave camps still would flourish. Women still would be turned over to the victors. Iron dictatorship still would be imposed.

Worst of all, there would be no hope. For there would be no one, anywhere, to rescue us.

That is why *TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA* is every bit as important today as it was when first it appeared.

There was a time when the international Communist line called for openly naming Communism's objectives, openly stating how Communism proposed to achieve

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them, and openly boasting about what was to happen when Communism was victorious. William Z. Foster wrote the book in that time of arrogance.

The time of arrogance is back.

. . . *Revealing so much, is it surprising that TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA became the book the Communists tried to destroy?*

PREFACE

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

National Chairman, Communist Party
of the United States of America

THERE is a great and growing mass demand in this country to know just what is the Communist party and its program. The masses of toilers, suffering under the burdens of the crisis, are keenly discontented and want to find a way out of their intolerable situation. They are alarmed at the depth, length and general severity of the crisis. They begin to realize that "there is something rotten in Denmark," that there are fundamental flaws in the capitalist system. Their growing realization of this is further strengthened as they see the spectacular rise of Socialism in the Soviet Union. The masses are beginning rightly to sense that Communism has an important message for the human race, and they want to know what it is.

Capitalism is deeply anxious that the masses do not get this message. Hence, from the outset it has carried on a campaign of falsification of the Russian revolution entirely without parallel in history. There has been a veritable ocean of lies in the capitalist press against the U.S.S.R. The American Federation of Labor leadership and the Socialist party, defenders of the capitalist system, have outdone even the capitalists themselves in this