

When men follow an ideal, they should bravely stand forth as advocates of that ideal. When Mr. Browder was sent to prison I delivered an address among some so-called liberals—including many socialists—protesting against a political imprisonment. And they naturally booed me, for being liberals, they were confused. I respect Mr. Browder because he stands for what he believes and takes what comes with it. But I have no respect for those who call themselves Republicans, Democrats, New Dealers, and even no names at all, but who serve the Communist program in public and in private life. They are cowards and they are a menace to the United States.

Fortunately the Communist line of thought and action is so clearly stated in the *Daily Worker* and in the *NEW MASSES* that we can trace them by their conduct. This infiltration into the capitalist structure of Communist ideals and tactics and methods is definitely menacing to the rehabilitation of the capitalist economy for the United States. And most Americans want to see capitalism, private enterprise, a free economy functioning again unfettered by the confusions of a government that controls when it wishes to regulate and substitutes disorderly despotism for orderly controls.

THERE is one more word: Soviet Russia is today our ally. It is none of our business how the Russian people want their country managed and how they want to live. We may have academic opinions on the subject, but we have no right to impose our way of life upon any people. It is equally none of their business how we manage our affairs. We send no political missionaries to them. It is not their business to send any to us. We are allied to no political party in Soviet Russia; they must not be

allied to any political party in our country.

All Americans of whatever party or of no party at all are enthusiastic over the Russian achievements in this war, but it is no secret that many Americans—perhaps even most Americans—speculate on the prospect of a socialization of their own country as a result of our alliance with Soviet Russia. Some even feel that that would be too great a price to pay for Soviet Russia's military services.

I disagree with the writer in the *New Republic* who advised the Communist Party to commit suicide. Only a *New Republic* liberal could be guilty of such baby talk. Men who are convinced that their course is right will fight for it against any odds. I recognize in the Communist Party an enemy of everything I hold sacred. I recognize in it a menace even to friendly relations between the United States and Soviet Russia because it engenders suspicion where there should be trust and friendship. Recognizing it as such a menace, I do not ask the Communist Party to commit suicide. I only ask it to fight all its battles in the open so that the American people, by ballot, at a free election for free men, will decide which is to be the American way of the future—the socialistic internationalism of the Communists or the nationalistic capitalism of the Americans who adhere to a constitutional representative republic.

I WISH to thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for your generous attention. I know that I have said many things today that have offended most of you. But I was not invited here to a tea party and I know that you would prefer me to present my point of view candidly.

I am happy to have had this opportunity to present another point of view and I want again to thank you for your courteous and fine behavior.

MR. BROWDER

IN TAKING up the negative argument on the issue "Is Communism a Menace?" the most elementary considerations of fair play demand that I shall concede the fact that my opponent is placed under a handicap here today. It is true that, by background, training and natural inclination, he is eminently fitted to uphold the affirmative. Yet he is inhibited from making full use of the armory of arguments at his disposal, and to do him full justice we must take this into consideration. He is, so to speak, if one may vary the metaphor, fighting in today's ring with but one arm.

To make fully clear why my opponent does not come in fighting with right and left, with everything he has, allow me to quote his own words, published on April 14, 1942:

"It has been growing clearer to me that

it is impossible for private citizens to oppose the foreign policy of the government during war, even when that policy involves a conflict with conscience. After a quarter century of opposition to Soviet Russia, I now face the cold fact that to oppose the ally of one's country is to give comfort to her enemies. That forces me to decide that while my country is allied to Soviet Russia, I am allied to Soviet Russia, no matter what my private opinions."

We must applaud my opponent's patriotism which is so strong that it even overcomes his conscience. He is thereby inhibited from using his most powerful arguments in this debate, because to use such arguments would obviously give comfort to the enemies of the United States, and giving comfort to the enemy is the definition of treason. Such arguments,

therefore, are no longer to be made in public, but are relegated to the position of "private opinions."

This would seem to leave our debate in the position of a performance of *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark appearing, and no one to carry on the play except the ghost, which in this case is the well known specter of Communism that disturbs the sleep of comfortable citizens.

At the risk of being accused of lack of sportsmanship, I must insist upon calling Hamlet to the stage to speak his lines. The Soviet Union today, in blood and fire, is preserving civilization for all of us, and is giving to the world the most compelling negative to the question "Is Communism a menace?" Communism, not the disembodied ghost but the full-blooded Communism embodied in the Soviet Union, is indeed a deadly menace to the enemies of our country; but by killing millions of Nazis while our country still pleads its inability to get at the enemy to engage him in force, this Communism has proved itself in life to be the greatest friend-in-need our nation has ever found.

Is this central fact of history really an "accident," is it purely fortuitous, inexplicable, without rhyme or reason?

Or is it not rather the inevitable working out of the deepest forces of human progress?

THOSE who look upon the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition in this war as an "accident"—even an "unfortunate accident"—are thereby condemned to the unhappy conclusion that the universe is a chaos, in which effects exist without causes, in which there are no principles or logic, no reason and no sanity. Far deeper in fundamental understanding of the essential orderliness of history was the conclusion reached concurrently by the high councils of the Greek Orthodox, Jewish, and Moslem churches in the Soviet Union, that Stalin had been sent to earth by Divine Providence for the express purpose of defeating the Nazi hordes of aspiring world conquerors. That is, at least, an advance of the human mind over elementary chaos and anarchy.

Even my opponent, with his twenty-five years of uncompromising hatred of the Soviet Union and at the cost of violating his conscience, is ready to proclaim himself an ally of the Soviet Union. Clearly, then, the Soviet Union is not the source of the "menace of Communism"—or can it be that a chief menace to our country can at the same time be a chief ally of our country? Can it be possible that what is necessary to our continued national existence is at the same time a menace to that same national existence?

It is not so long ago that we were being told that it is preferable to go down to defeat than to be victorious as the ally of Russia. We were told that no point of policy, no antagonism to Hitler, no enmity

to Japan, no aid to Great Britain—absolutely nothing could justify a choice between Hitler and Stalin, or quench the hatred against Soviet Russia. That course led Britain and the United States so close to defeat that we could “see the whites of its eyes”—and only then did we belatedly change our national course.

Now that the Soviet Union is our ally, since it has become treasonable to give public expression to that old hatred and it must therefore be retired to the realm of private opinion, a new fashion has sprung up. The Communists of the Soviet Union are okay, since they are indispensable, but that does not mean that we need tolerate them in the United States—or China, or France, or Yugoslavia, or any other country.

May I suggest that this new version is as false and damaging as the old one, in which hatred of the Soviet Union took front rank.

How about China? The Japanese Imperial Headquarters communique of last Wednesday gave the results of February fighting in North China. This showed that of 1,446 combat engagements, 356 were with Chungking troops while 1,090 were with the so-called Chinese Communist troops, that is, the former Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies; in these engagements were 97,000 Chungking troops and 111,000 Communist troops. These figures may be accepted as typical of the more than five years of active war in China.

ARE these Chinese Communists a menace, either to their own country or to the United States? In terms of fighting our common enemy, the Japanese, it looks as though the Chinese Communists are just about the best allies we have in the field now. From the viewpoint of defeating Japan, we should be sorry there are not more Communists in China. Perhaps the reason there were not more Chungking troops fighting the Japanese in February, is that about a million of their best trained soldiers were occupied for the past years in blockading the Chinese Communists. You see, Chungking does not accept the gentle suggestions from our State Department to join with the Chinese Communists and to fight against the Japs unitedly; Chungking prefers to follow the United States *example* rather than our *precept*. Yes, the old bogey of the Communist menace continues to fight on the side of Japan with great potency—it is worth millions of troops to the Mikado and his militarists. Tokyo rejoices every time it hears the words “menace of Communism” uttered in the United States.

Can this idea of the “menace of Communism in China” be useful in any way to the United States? Only under the condition that the United States wished to preserve the bridge to a common political idea with the Japanese, as the means of facilitating, if possible, a compromise ending of

the war in place of a victory. If that is the thought in any mind, then the “menace of Communism in China” will be tightly held, against any and all argument and evidence.

Are the Communists of France and Yugoslavia a menace? They are in the front lines of guerrilla fighting against the Axis in their countries. They are officially included in the Free French Council, and the principle of their inclusion has been endorsed by General Giraud. They are in the Cabinet of the Yugoslavian Provisional Government, along with all other parties, which government has regained about half that country from the Nazis. It is impossible to organize the mass struggle against the Nazis anywhere in occupied Europe without including the Communists, without rejecting the idea they are a menace.

Everywhere in Europe the United States is faced with the problem, *either* to recognize and deal with the democratic mass movement which includes the Communists as full equals, not a menace, *or* do business with all the secondhand fascist rats who desert the sinking Axis ship, with the seedy aristocrat remnants of a semi-feudal Europe, and with the profit-greedy profiteers ready to operate under any flag that promises them business. We must choose one or the other; we cannot have both.

Perhaps it is only or chiefly in the United States, then, that Communism is a menace. And that would be the strangest conclusion of all, overthrowing at one blow all the laws of logic of whatever school. For it would mean that where the Communists are strong, very strong indeed, in the Soviet Union, they become most desirable allies necessary to our national existence; where they are not so strong, but still enough so to lead armies in the field and be in governmental cabinets with other parties, as in China, France, Yugoslavia, there we say the “menace” must not be exaggerated. But in the United States God forbid that a single Communist shall be tolerated in even the smallest clerkship in Washington, or even allowed to work in the war industries! You see, according to this strange Alice-in-Wonderland logic, the Communists become more and more of a menace the weaker they are, and they are more and more warmly welcomed as allies and given the status of equal human beings as they grow stronger and stronger. The stronger the Communists, the less they are a menace; the weaker the Communists, the greater their menace—that is the strange axiom that emerges from an analysis of the current “menace of Communism” in the United States.

Doesn't it sound a little foolish? But there is a deep truth hidden here in this paradox. The weaker the Communists in any country, the more possible it is for interested parties to substitute a ghost, the specter of Communism, for the real flesh-and-blood thing. Everyone knows that

ghosts are very terrifying things so long as there are persons to believe in them. But when and where the Communists become strong, they are able at long last to force attention to the flesh-and-blood, and to expose the ghost for the fraud that it is. Which means that the only real danger is the bogey man, the ghost, and not the real Communists.

This ghostly character of the menace becomes clearer when we examine a description of “the Communists” as penned by an authoritative, authentic, and experienced purveyor of the Red scare. Here is a picture of American Communists from the pen of such an authority:

“Communists are not like other human beings. They are part of an international conspiracy which rigidly accepts orders from an authority in (a foreign capital, name deleted by the military censor). They have disrupted American industry. They have affected our schools, our universities, our theaters, our newspapers and magazines; they have corrupted our textbooks; they have debased trade unionism; they have bewildered and befogged and confused our so-called liberals.”

In a nation of more than 130,000,000, less than 100,000 Communist conspirators have been able to commit all these dire crimes. How did they accomplish such miracles? I will tell you. By hiding themselves. That is what we are told with a straight face! These Communists distributed millions of papers, pamphlets, leaflets, all of which inculcated support of the most worthy causes—but that was all camouflage, hiding their dark conspiracy to subvert, undermine, and finally to destroy by force and violence the great and glorious American way of life! For the real truth of these Communists, these hypocritical and rascally Communists, read the opinion of Attorney General Biddle in the Bridges deportation case. Or better yet, since that is a bad translation, read it in the original in the *Berliner Voelkischer Beobachter*.

These Communists are actually carrying out a second American revolution right under our noses, in secret! They do it by remote control. I quote: “The real center of this second American Revolution is the President himself.” Its method is a “Democracy that translates itself into a Rooseveltian socialism.” Yes, I have this on the highest authority, one I am sure my worthy opponent would hesitate to contradict!

Thus the Communists combine the qualities of Superman, Svengali, Dracula, Flash Gordon, and Dinky Dinkerton—all very blood-curdling and thrilling, and providing a comfortable living for the artists who draw the pictures and write the romances. And all with a very practical purpose, to advance the “private opinions” and interests of persons who have plenty of money to spend. There is a living to be made in spreading fear of the Red specter, by those with a talent for it and a conscience that knows when to take orders.

Let us turn our minds away from this "comic strip Communism" for a moment to ask what is it that makes revolutions, that grim reality for which the "Red menace" as currently presented is a comic relief. Let us assume that we all wish to avoid the catastrophe which is the companion of revolution, and ask ourselves how this can be done. The answer of history is clear: No ruling class in any nation has ever been overthrown by revolution unless and until it had brought disaster upon that nation by false policies, mistakes, shortsighted and overreaching greed, and incompetence. No people ever took the path of revolution until its ruling class had blocked every other path to the solution of its problems. No revolutionary party or leadership ever gained power or mass following, except as the direct result of the crimes of the old ruling class. Therefore, the first step to avoid revolution is to give the people a reasonable hope of remedying the false policies and mistakes of their ruling class, of curbing their greed, of raising their competence for the tasks of the nation.

Herbert Hoover, the man who lives in pathological fear of revolution, is the man who brought our country to the brink of revolution in 1929-1932, precisely because he saw nothing but the Red specter, and hated every new thought as smacking of Bolshevism. Hoover's methods of combating revolutions actually multiplied them. But Franklin Roosevelt reduced the country's fever almost overnight when he replaced Hoover, precisely because he gave the people a reasonable hope of remedying their intolerable conditions, and because he did not fear the masses as bearers of the "Red menace." Of course, Mr. Roosevelt has paid the inevitable price, of being himself called a "Red." That is one of life's little ironies.

Now what about the real "Reds" in the United States, the members of the Communist Party? Strange as it may seem to addicts of the writings of Martin Dies

and similar detective fiction, most of the activity of the Communist Party is directed toward remedying the conditions that make for revolution. For example, the Communist Party for years stood almost alone in the fight for unemployment insurance and a federal relief system; advocacy of these measures was a sure sign of being an agent of Moscow, a standard "stigmata" by which to recognize a "dangerous and subversive Red." But suddenly, almost overnight, the main body of the country swung over to support of these measures, and their application turned the country away from revolutionary developments. Communists are continuously advocating better conditions for workers in industry, and to the degree that these things are achieved the workers are reconciled to the existing system and rendered immune to revolutionary impulses. The Communists are the most zealous and selfless workers for the removal of conditions making for revolutionary unrest among the masses; the Communists are in this sense the truest conservatives in the population.

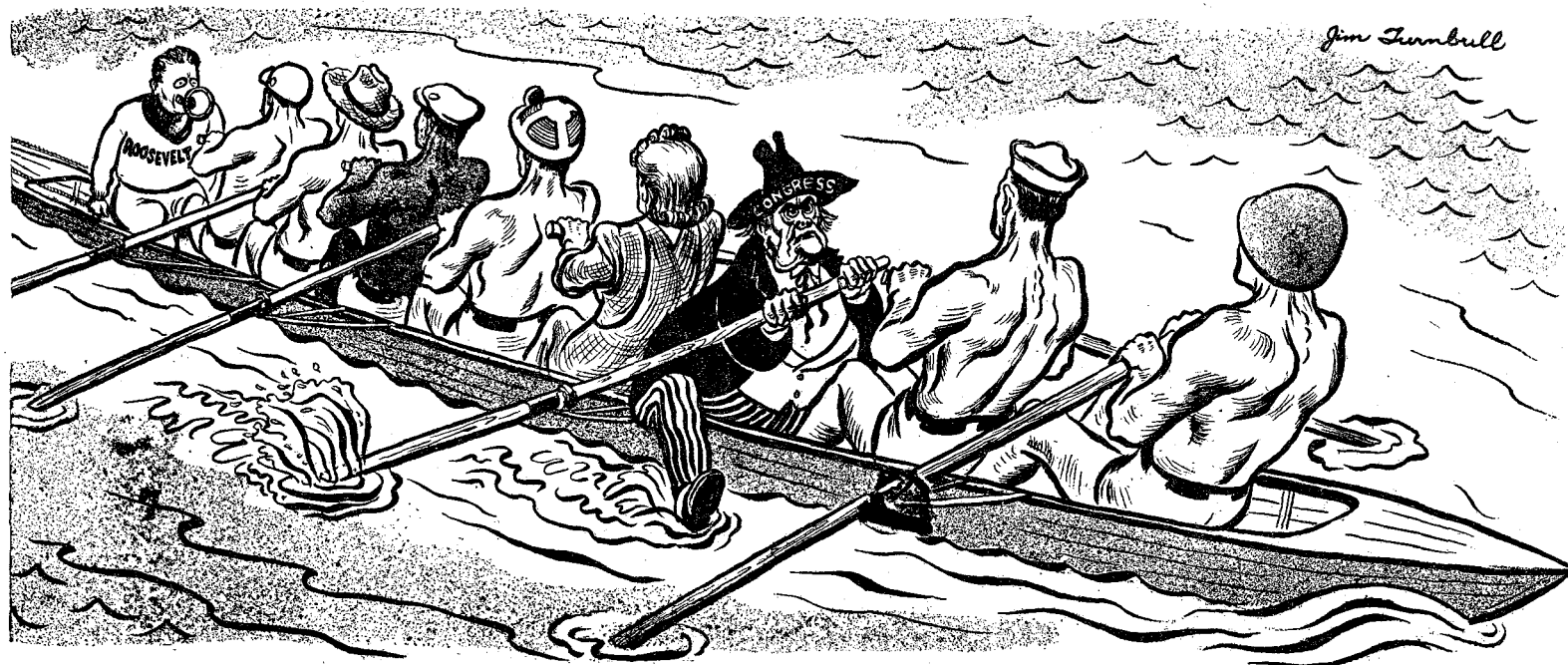
ALLOW me to go even further in challenging the popular misconceptions as to the Communists. We "Reds" and "Bolsheviks" have much more confidence in the strength of capitalism in this country than has, for example, Herbert Hoover. I am sure that in this same sense I have more faith in capitalism than has my opponent in this afternoon's discussion. Mr. Hoover, in his latest book, laid down the thesis that American capitalism cannot endure if a different system, such as socialism in the Soviet Union, is maintained in any important part of the rest of the world. I am sure that Mr. Hoover does capitalism an injustice; that system is not such a fragile flower as Mr. Hoover would have us believe. It will not curl up and die of chagrin at the sight of socialism, even a successful socialism, in the Soviet Union. It is in fact a stubborn system, this American capitalism, with much strength and

will to live. It cannot be subverted by anything except incompetence in its own ruling circles, the refusal to face the new problems of the world and work out their solution.

Let me hasten to add, however, that there are alarming signs of incompetence in our American ruling class, particularly in that part of it most afflicted with the "Red scare," most fearful of the "menace of Communism." This phobia is running wild, "purging" the ruling class of its brains, so to speak. It is most dramatically expressed in the laws on our statute books, denying to the government the services of any man intelligent enough to learn something constructive from the experience of the Soviet Union and courageous enough to admit it in public, on the putative ground that so much intelligence and so much courage are "subversive" to the American way of life. We have an elaborate secret service in the country and a congressional network searching out such persons and eliminating them from the public service. This puts a premium on stupidity and hypocrisy in public life.

If one wants to get a faint inkling of how disastrous this is to our national intelligence, how it becomes a threat to our very existence, remember how the only American official who reported from the Soviet Union, before the war, the true strength of that country's army, was recalled and retired to "inactive duty" on suspicion of having been contaminated with "Bolshevism." As a nation we drastically punish anyone so bold as to tell us the truth about the dangerous world we live in.

It is easier to see the mote in the other fellow's eye than the beam in our own. So just imagine for a moment that the Soviet Union had taken a similar attitude toward the United States, refusing to learn anything from us, punishing anyone who learned from us, and holding completely false opinions about our strength. Clearly, such a Soviet Union would have



been "duck soup" for Hitler, and would have disappeared from history before this. As a matter of fact, the Soviet Union pursues an opposite course. It put in its post of chief leadership the man who proclaimed his basic policy as "the combination of the wide Russian revolutionary range of action with American efficiency." Under such leadership the Soviet Union has studied, minutely and sympathetically, every phase of American life with the conscious and declared purpose of adapting its lessons to their own problems and needs. That is why the Soviet Union became strong, that is why the Soviet Union became our most valuable ally in this war of survival. The United States would be much stronger if it had as healthy an attitude toward the Soviet Union as the Soviet Union has long had toward our country. For it is truth, even if the truth is subversive, that we do have something to learn from the Soviet Union, especially in the most difficult of all the arts, the art of survival.

Up to this point I have said nothing directly on the question of the merits of Communism as a social, economic, and political system. I have contented myself with pointing out how the universal facts of life confound and put to shame that medieval witchcraft imported into the twentieth century as "the menace of Communism." Now, having paid my respects to the venerable ghost, it is in order before concluding to say a brief word about Communism (or more accurately, socialism), as the theory and practice of human progress.

THE Communist, or socialist, movement has from its inception with the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848 been democratic: In the words of the Manifesto, the Communists "labor everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries."

The Communists recognize that the basic factor in the rise of the democratic forces in society was the break-up of large feudal landed property, and the distribution of this fundment of the national economy among large numbers of small-holders who work their own land. Our own Thomas Jefferson placed so much stress upon this economic foundation for democracy that he molded all his policies upon the aim of preserving the small landholder as the central and major factor in the nation, being convinced that only thus could democracy be perpetuated. But the Communists, faced with the fact that Jefferson's agrarian democracy was rapidly being undermined, and overshadowed by modern industry with its great accumulation and concentration of capital on one hand and its massing of propertyless wage workers on the other, set out to find a path by which democracy could still be given an economic foundation and thereby perpetuated.

Theoretically, there are two ways of

buttressing democracy with economic foundations; one way is to break up modern largescale industry and go back to individual handicraft production, but this way is practically impossible; the second way is to vest the ownership and operation of largescale industry in the hands of the community, organized in the state, for the benefit of society as a whole. The first way is retrogressive, and even if possible would be a return to a more primitive civilization; the second way is progressive, is an advance to a higher type of civilization, and is the way of Communism or socialism. There are no other possible ways of perpetuating democracy, for without democratic control of the basic national economy the political forms of democracy cannot long endure.

This is the democratic argument for socialism or Communism. If the further development of democracy is our chief goal, then the necessity for some form of socialism is clearly established.

It can be and has been argued, by advocates of the existing system of capitalism, that democracy even though desirable must be subordinated to efficiency in operation of the national economy, and that efficiency and democracy are incompatible. Socialism is rejected on the grounds of inefficiency; capitalism is maintained on grounds of efficiency.

In the period when capitalism was the only operating system, and socialism was only an abstract project, this dispute could be answered only theoretically. Since but a minority of human beings are equipped for theoretical investigation, the verdict of the dispute was overwhelmingly for capitalism, the going concern. Socialism got its chance to show what it could do in the Soviet Union only because the capitalism of the old Russia had completely broken down under the strain of war, it was no longer a going concern, and there was present a party equipped to show that country a new road.

Before the present war broke upon the world, the new socialist system had already developed a lively rivalry with capitalism on this issue of the relative efficiency of the two systems. Socialism had displayed

amazing efficiency, by transforming one of the most backward lands into the most advanced in Europe, and second only to the United States in the whole world. This fact has led the ideologists of capitalism to shift the emphasis of their arguments from relative efficiency, which is susceptible of accurate measurement, to the more abstract virtues less amenable to precise evaluation.

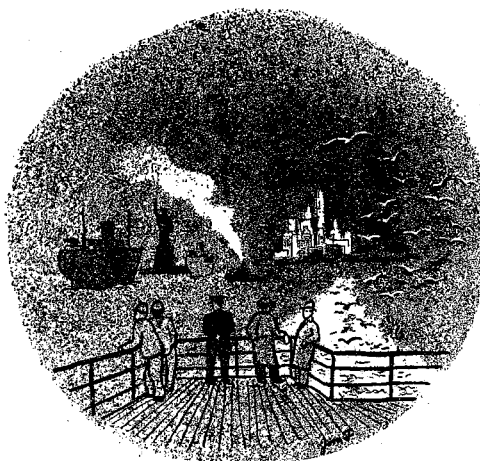
Now the war is putting a more difficult test to socialism, the test of survival against the most furious onslaught of the total military resources of Europe unprecedented in history.

SOON after the Nazi attack upon the Soviet Union, a certain eminent authority anticipated the day "When Moscow Falls," and proceeded to explain the significance of that event. "There need be no excuses and no explanations," he declared, "except that incompetence, despotism, lack of managerial capacity, lack of initiative, government by fear and purge, left the giant helpless and incapacitated. Troops will rebel against Stalin and they will, of course, have the assistance of Germany. We must be prepared for the shock of the elimination of Soviet Russia from the war altogether. We must prepare ourselves for a Russian Vichy."

Now, twenty months after this prediction and analysis, Moscow has not fallen. If our eminent authority is prepared to say that Moscow will yet surely fall to the Nazis, then he may logically, however wrong in fact, continue to maintain his analysis to some extent. But what happens if and when he admits that *Moscow is not going to fall*? Then his words of July 1941 become an admission of the opposite to what he had intended. If the fall of Moscow would prove incompetence, what does the successful defense of Moscow prove if not competence? Despotism is similarly transformed into democracy, lack of managerial capacity into its presence, lack of initiative into bold initiative, and so on. Since the giant proved to be not helpless and incapacitated, then it must be admitted that he has all the positive virtues which had been specifically denied on the assumption that Moscow was to fall.

Of course, neither the one nor the other can be accepted as true merely because the eminent authority's logic demands it. Perhaps the gentleman's logic from the beginning was cockeyed, so that nothing can be proved thereby one way or the other. But the problem is an interesting one for us here today, at any rate, since the author of "When Moscow Falls" is with us on this platform and will have the opportunity to tell us right out of the horse's mouth just what conclusions he thinks we should draw from the failure of his prediction.

In conclusion, let me say that regardless of one's opinion as to the merits of Communism, one must reject the nursery fable of "the menace of Communism" because that new system can come to Amer-



ica only by the conscious choice of a majority of the American people. One must reject the fable because it is harmful to the war effort, it distorts our foreign policy, it is an obstacle to victory. One must reject it because it is a means of weakening national unity for the war. One must reject it because it is the chief propaganda weapon for our enemies, the Nazis and their Japanese partners. One must reject it because it stultifies our national thinking. One must reject it because it is a palpable falsehood, twin brother of anti-Semitism, and like that vicious cult dug out of the graveyards of the Middle Ages to poison the atmosphere of our twentieth century, to halt the progress of mankind, and to throw the whole world back into barbarism.

MR. BROWDER'S REBUTTAL

THE main points raised by my opponent in his main presentation require certain additional discussion which I have not previously prepared. Chief of these points is the question of loyalty to one's nation, of divided allegiance, of the relation of American citizens to the Soviet Union, of American Communists to the Soviet Union.

In general let me say that it is quite true to speak of the attitude of the American Communists as being one of unswerving belief in the Soviet Union, its progressive role, and its eventual close alliance with our own country. To that belief we have been unshakably loyal. It is worthy of examination to see whether that loyalty, the belief in the Soviet Union, has been compatible with loyalty to our own country. A concrete evidence which has been cited and which is generally cited as a final proof of the lack of fundamental loyalty of American Communists to their own country is the fact that in the winter of 1939-40 the American Communists supported the Soviet Union against Finland. When this is cited as proof of a lack of loyalty of American Communists to their own country, it assumes that their loyalty to our own country demands that we shall join in mistakes of our own country or it assumes that support of Finland was not a mistake on the part of the United States.

IF WE demand that American citizens prove their loyalty by supporting mistakes, then we are granting to Hitler the right to demand the loyalty of all Germans no matter what his policy is. We can appeal to the people of Europe to fight against their quislings and against Hitler only on the ground that there are issues on which national destiny is at stake, when men must rise up and make decisions even against their own governments. And we are appealing to Europe today on precisely those

grounds. Therefore by this fact we are rejecting the slogan of "our country right or wrong" if it means "our government right or wrong." We are demanding that our country be right. If it is assumed that it was not a mistake to support Finland then it is assumed that it was correct for our country to take a position which if it had been successful would have insured the fall of Leningrad and probably Moscow to Hitler, and is in complete contradiction to the happiness that most Americans feel that Leningrad and Moscow stand and that Hitler will never get hold of them. Even before the fate of the world was decided at Stalingrad, it was decided in the breaking of the Mannerheim Line.

It is cited against the Communists' loyalty to our own country that we were not prepared to join England in the war when England stood alone. When England stood alone and we opposed America's joining her, the reason why England stood alone was expressed by Sir Neville Henderson, British ambassador to Berlin, in his book, *Failure of a Mission*, pages 259-60, where Mr. Henderson said: "I raised this point with Hitler himself when I saw him at Berchtesgaden on August 23 . . . that if an agreement had to be made with Moscow, I had rather Germany make it than ourselves." What American can honestly say today that America should have joined the war on such a policy and, as a matter of fact, America did not join the war until after that policy had been reversed and a policy of coalition with the Soviet Union had been adopted. The only way in which American Communists reflected Soviet policy at that time was that like the Communists of the Soviet Union, we Communists in America did not want our country to be made a cat paw. Like the Communists of the Soviet Union we demanded that if and when America got into this war it must be in coalition with our natural allies, not fighting for the destruction of one of our natural allies. If that is disloyalty, then make the most of it. In my opinion that is the highest loyalty to our own country.

ANOTHER point that is made is the question of Communists as the enemy of religion. Since the church in the country where Communism is a going concern has adjusted itself to that system and finds itself much more religious than it ever was under the old system, it would seem that the religious test of the menace of Communism is at least beginning to fall by the wayside. I venture to predict that in the Western democracies, to the degree that intelligent men in the church begin to study more seriously the current questions of the day, not giving up their religion and wishing for their religion the greatest possible perpetuation in the future, they will begin to stake out their claims for a place for their religion in a future socialist society. To the degree that they do so they will cease to

identify the fate of religion with the fate of capitalism, because the limitations of capitalism are still much sharper than the limitations of the future of religion.

I do not think that anyone will be able to arouse any great antagonism from religious people toward the Communists because of our outspoken opinions on the philosophical side of this issue. I know from reading the history of the past that there have been sharp antagonisms on religious issues in days gone by that are today hardly a memory. There is nothing that Mr. Sokolsky can quote from me with relation to this question of religion that half so sharply arouses feeling as quotations that can be made from Thomas Jefferson. And yet Thomas Jefferson today has very high standing in the churches of America.

I just want to quote what Jefferson said in the heat of argument of his day when the church was opposing the development of American democracy. Thomas Jefferson wrote in a letter in 1816:

"I am not afraid of the priests. They have tried upon me all their various batteries, of pious whining, hypocritical canting, lying and slandering, without being able to give me one moment of pain. I have contemplated their order from the Magi of the East to the saints of the West, and I have found no difference of character but of more or less caution, in proportion to their information or ignorance of those in whom their interested duperies were to be plaid off." (Letter to H. G. Spoffard, 1816.)

"Their security is in their faculty of shedding darkness, like the scuttlefish, through the element in which they move, and making it impenetrable to the eye of a pursuing enemy, and there they will skulk." (Letter to Van der Kemp, 1816.)

I am not repeating these words of Thomas Jefferson as applicable to the church of today. There has been much enlightenment in the church since the time of Jefferson, and for this the church has to thank Jefferson very much.

Perhaps the day may come when adherents of organized religion in the United States will even acknowledge my services to them in the same sense.

IN CONCLUSION, let me say this: Communism is no menace to America unless democracy is a menace. Communism cannot be applied in America except by democratic decision of the American people. Those who fight against Communism on the grounds that it is a menace are not fighting it on the grounds of merits; they are fighting to prevent the American people from ever having the opportunity to make the democratic choice of Communism.

We discussed the merits of Communism today not to raise the issue that we propose America shall now change over to the road of Communism or socialism. America is involved in a war of survival which she en-