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# The Menace of Communism.

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Communism is the most important, the most vital, and the most far-reaching issue in the world, affecting the civilization of the world and the happiness and safety of our people. The merits and the demerits of prohibition sink into insignificance compared to this question of Communism, whose ramifications reach into every human sphere and activity, and which is a great world issue. It may be divided into three parts: the revolutionary or political, the moral or religious, and the economic.

## Revolutionary and Religious Phases.

So far as the first is concerned, that of revolution, I wish to make clear in the beginning, in spite of what you may read in some of the papers, that I am not an arch Fascist or an extreme conservative; I am not an alarmist. I do not believe that there is any likelihood of a Communist revolution in the United States this year or next year or for many years to come, or until Communism has spread out from Soviet Russia into China and India and Germany, where there are some 15 million Communists. We have nothing to fear in this country from a revolutionary point of view until there is a Communist revolution in Germany; and that will come whenever Soviet Russia is ready to have it come, and not before.

On the question of a revolution in this country, there is another good, sound reason why we will not have one. There are only, as our Committee found, 5 or 600,000 Communists out of 120 million people. The Communists (we must give them credit for many things) are intelligent, are well disciplined, and take their orders direct from Moscow and are proud of it. They know that they could not accomplish anything

by having a revolution in the United States at this time. They further know that if there was a revolution the regular army and the National Guard and the American Legion, using a Russian word, could "liquidate" all the Communists in the United States in a few weeks' time. Therefore I do not want anyone to think either that I am an alarmist or that I anticipate a revolution in this country at this time from Communist sources.

The question of the moral or religious aspect is perhaps the most appalling and the most tragic, if not the most dangerous; because there is a country of 160 million people, one-sixth of the territory in the world, with some 10 million children going to school, where it is mandatory to teach hatred of all forms of religion and hatred of God and of religious beliefs.

Now, it is none of our business what kind of a government they may have in Russia or what they teach there. All I am trying to do is to present the facts as we have found them through intensive study. I think, and the Fish Committee believes, that the best way to combat Communism is to expose its principles and objectives, and what it has done in Russia, to the American people; because it will not go very far in America if the American people know just what it is.

This religious issue is of particular interest to the women of this country. Not only is Soviet Russia trying to wipe out all forms of religion, but it is successful in doing it. Not only are the leaders undermining the faith of 10 or 12 million children in Russia, but they are actually successful in teaching hatred of God and all religious beliefs to such an extent that the children at school must hold their parents in contempt and disobey them if the parents have the temerity to maintain any religious belief.

**Historical Sketch.**

Let me outline somewhat of the history of Communism. There is a great misunderstanding in America, largely due to Communists and Socialists and pink intellectuals, who lecture throughout this land and make most of the noise and represent about 5 percent of the population. They want you to believe that the Communists overthrew the Tsar's regime and that there is some connection between Liberalism and Communism.

The truth is that in March 1917 the Tsar abdicated to the Provisional Government of Russia, the first democratic government that Russia had ever known, and the United States of America was the first government to recognize that Provisional Government of Russia. At that time, Lenin was living in Switzerland as an exile, our old friend Trotsky was living in the Bronx in the city of New York, Stalin was an exile in Siberia, and all the other Communist leaders were either out of Russia or in exile. They had little or nothing to do with the overthrow of the Tsar's regime.

I do not hold any brief for that old despotism. I believe a dozen revolutions were justifiable against that misgovernment and misrule, inhumanity, and the stupidity of the old system. But after the Provisional Government was set up, the German General Staff sent Lenin with some of his colleagues in a closed car through Germany into Russia to advocate chaos — a separate peace for the war-weary Russian army, land to the peasants, factories to the workers, and so on — to undermine the first democratic government of Russia.

After 6 months' time, in November, through the help of deserters from the front, some 30,000 Communists overthrew the democratic government of Russia by force and violence, and established their dictatorship, which is the worst form of autocracy the world has ever known, wiping out all civil rights, freedom of speech, of assembly, and of the press, trial by jury, and so on. It amounts to a government of fear and by fear, through force and violence.

Again, we have nothing to do with the form of government in Soviet Russia; it is none of our affair what kind of a government they have over there. But when they interfere, through the Communist International, with our domestic institutions and with our

form of government, then it is very decidedly the business of the American people and of the Congress of the United States. That is one reason why the government has steadily refused to recognize Soviet Russia. So far as I am concerned, it is the only reason why we should not. The question of debts is immaterial. The serious issue is that of interference from a foreign government supposed to be friendly, but using its diplomatic officials and its consulates for propaganda purposes.

**Principles of Communism.**

What are the principles of Communism? In other words, what is Communism? There is much to be admired about the Communists, because we know exactly what they stand for, and they do not change their principles as the Republicans and the Democrats do in this country. All Communists, whether they live in Moscow or Berlin or Paris or New York or Los Angeles or Tokyo, believe in the same fundamental principles.

Now, what are those principles? First, the abolition of all forms of religious belief. Second, the abolition of all forms of private property and inheritance. Third, the promotion of the bitterest kind of class hatred of a certain part of the working class against all other classes. Fourth, the promotion through the Communist International in foreign countries, of strikes, riots, sabotage, and industrial unrest. Fifth, the promotion of class or civil war in order to obtain the objective, which is, sixth, the establishment of a Soviet form of government, the dictatorship of the proletariat, with headquarters in Moscow.

If you believe in those six principles, you are a Communist, and you ought openly to state that you are a Communist. If you are in sympathy with those methods, you ought to advocate them. But our Committee believes, as I said before, that the best way to combat Communism is to expose it — to state those tenants clearly, so that the American people may know just what they are. The Communists go through this country under certain camouflages. They even come down to Washington to the Congress of the United States and advocate other issues, such as unemployment insurance or protection for the foreign-born, that have nothing to do with the fundamental principles

of Communism, but simply constitute a temporary appeal to certain classes for support for their party. If those six principles are understood in this country and elsewhere, the Communists will not get very far.

### **Labor Conditions.**

The Communists in Russia, so we are told, are all employed. That may be true. The Communists over there control the country. There are only one and a half million Communists out of 160 million people, and if the rest of the people are employed, they are not employed in the capacity of free men and women, but as serfs, shackled and harnessed to the job, receiving about 20 cents gold a day, not permitted to strike, but simply to work and obey orders. Yet there are some intellectuals in this country that delight in comparing free American labor with that kind of labor that is used in Soviet Russia.

Why, if Soviet Russia would permit its people to leave the country, half the population would move out in 30 days, and they would all like to come into the United States if they could find their way over here. For the last 30 years we in this country have been wiping out abuse after abuse to protect the wage earners and to give them better conditions of labor. And yet you will find some people criticizing the United States — criticizing our government and our economic system, under which the wage earners, in spite of a temporary period of depression, have been for many, many years the best paid, the best fed, the best clothed, the best housed, and the most contented in the world. That is why all the foreigners, if we gave them a chance, would like to come over to the United States of America. In spite of that, the Communists and the Socialists are joining hands.

The trouble about the Socialists is that they hate to admit that there is any such thing as a Communist. They are very much annoyed with me because they do not want anybody to know that there are any Communists in America. The Socialists have lost the rank and file of their party, who have gone into the Communist Party. All that is left of the Socialist Party is a few Protestant ministers, a lot of pink intellectuals, and many sobbing sisters owning pearl necklaces and having Liberty Bonds safely tucked away somewhere. Those people are the ones that denounce everything

about our republican form of government, about our ways of doing business and about our labor conditions. In their opinion everything is wrong with us, everything is corrupt, and everything is angelic in Russia and everywhere else but in the United States.

We are not going to borrow anything from Socialism in our structure. We can have social reforms and justice, but we are not going to change our form of government for Socialism or Communism in any respect whatever. The Socialists represent a foreign form of government. They take their principles exactly as the Communists do, from the manifesto of Karl Marx, issued in 1848. The Socialists do not deny it. The Communists do not deny it.

The Communist Party is not an American party; it is a section of the Communist International, taking its orders from Moscow. Even if its candidates ran for office and were elected, they could not take the oath of office and allegiance to our government. This is the reason the party should be kept off the ballot.

Who is best able to speak for labor? Why, that organization that has done more to combat and expose Communism than any other in the United States. The American Federation of Labor has for the last 14 years refused to compromise with Communism in this country to any degree. If the Communists had succeeded in taking over the American Federation of Labor in Chicago and Los Angeles and elsewhere, as they tried to do, Communism would be a very serious threat in this country today, in every industry from Philadelphia to the Pacific Coast.

### **Communistic Methods.**

You probably would like to know how the Communists operate. They are well organized, although few in number. They have 20 districts, each with its local manager. They take their orders direct from Moscow, and glory in taking those orders. They are the most skilled propagandists in the world. They realize that the way to develop their cause is to reach the children.

In my district alone, I found three summer camps some 50 miles up the Hudson River in New York. Our Committee was delegated by the Congress of the United States to get the facts, so we went up peacefully to those camps to see if they existed, to see what type of boys and girls went to the camps, and to see

what they were taught there. We found a lot of healthy young boys and girls, mostly aliens, and these aliens who should become good American citizens were being taught nothing but hatred of our traditions, our ideals, our government, and our flag. These three camps were turning out 15,000 a year; and those camps are multiplied 10 times throughout the United States. There are camps outside of New York, Chicago, Seattle, Detroit, Los Angeles, and other industrial cities.

We had some 275 witnesses appear before our Committee, under oath, from all groups and classifications of people, and many of the leading Communists in America. We went from east to west and north to south, and covered all the industrial sections. We also investigated the American Civil Liberties Union, and found that about 90 percent of the work of that organization consists in upholding the activities of the Communists in the United States seeking to destroy all civil liberties in this country.

I do not want anybody to think I am unfriendly to the aliens. I believe the aliens that come into this country do and should make as good citizens as those of us who have been born here, if not better. They come here of their own accord, and they really owe more to the country. But so far as the Communists are concerned, we found that 70 percent of the Communist in the United States were aliens, that 20 percent were naturalized citizens, and that only 10 percent were American-born citizens, whether they were white or black.

The Communists in the United States constitute an alien conspiracy, aimed at the heart of the government and the happiness of the people. That is why our Committee proposed that all alien Communists who would not go back to their own countries of their own accord, but insisted on staying in the United States to spread this doctrine of hate and urge the overthrow of the government by false propaganda, should be deported by the Congress of the United States. If they do not like it here, if they do not like our laws and our country and our institutions, let them go home where they can enjoy the lack of freedom of speech and the oppressive laws to which they have been accustomed in the past. If they insist on staying here and continuing this propaganda of hate, there is nothing for Congress to do but to enact laws to see that alien Communists are deported. These people are not afraid of our

police, of our courts, of our jails. The only thing they are afraid of is being sent home. The American people and the Congress of the United States have already compromised with them too long. We have tolerated their insults too long, and if they will not cease this propaganda or go home of their own accord, I can assure you that the next session of Congress will enact legislation to see that all alien Communists are deported to their native lands.

### **Department of Justice Should Have More Power.**

You may be interested to know how I became interested in this question of Communism. I went to Russia in 1912 and again in 1923. I was not particularly interested when I came home. But I found out through entering a debate on the recognition of Russia that no department of our government had any authority or funds from Congress to investigate Communism, and no department of the government, particularly the Department of Justice, knew anything about the revolutionary activities of the Communists in the United States. We have about 100,000 Communists in New York, and if they were so minded, they could raid the White House and kidnap the President, and no department of the government would know anything about it until they read it in the newspapers the next day. I want to assure you that I do not think they are so minded at this time.

Naturally, we propose that the Department of Justice shall be given ample power to investigate these revolutionary activities in our midst as a precautionary method. We do not propose to give the Department the power to raid and to arrest, but merely to secure information and to act as a clearing house; not to restore the old espionage act of war times.

If this empowerment of the Department of Justice and the provision for deportation of alien Communists were submitted to the American public throughout the country, I am convinced that they would be carried in a plebiscite or a referendum 99 to 1.

I am opposed to Communism and its activities in this country because of the investigation and the facts that we found. I am furthermore opposed to it because in politics, I am of a liberal trend of mind. I

am just as much opposed to Fascism as I am to Communism, but I am opposed to Communism more as a liberal who believes in popular government and human rights, and in government by consent of the governed. That is why I believe that Communism is the most important, the most vital, the most far-reaching, and the most dangerous issue in the world.

### **The Economic Phase.**

So far as we are concerned, the economic phase of it is the most serious at the present time to the American people because free American labor cannot compete with labor in Russia, shackled and harnessed to the job and paid 20 cents a day. Furthermore, we have more to fear from Russia than from any other country, because it is a great country like our own, with enormous natural resources in wheat, oil, lumber, and cotton. It is not Russian imports in this country, but Russian competition in the world markets, that we have to fear.

Ten years ago, it was thought that Russia would not succeed and that she was not an economic menace. That was perfectly true at that time. What enabled her to succeed? American brains, American implements, and American capitalists and industrialists. The Russians themselves have build only one large factory. We have more engineers over there than all the other nations combined. Russia killed off her engineers and her businessmen, and now she has to have Americans to help her out.

Although I am a politician, and know that it is very dangerous to predict or to promise jobs in politics, I do not mind predicting that, thanks to American capitalists, American credit, American brains, American tractors and sawmill machinery and oil equipment, the Five-Year Plan will be successful, and that within the next four years, we will lose in wheat, oil, lumber, and cotton, over a billion dollars in export trade, which will affect the pocketbook of everybody in this country, and affect our standard of living.

Lenin was a great man, and he once said that capitalists will commit suicide for temporary profit. That is exactly what the American capitalists, industrialists, and bankers have been trying to do for the last two years, and they have succeeded in building up the Five-Year program which has for its final objective

the destruction of all democratic forms of government and all capitalism throughout the world.

### **Propaganda.**

Now, some people will say, "Well, how do we know that there are any Communists in America?"

There are 11 or 12 daily Communist newspapers, with a total circulation of 264,000. All except one are in foreign languages. They are spreading the most vicious, poisonous hatred against everything in which we believe in this country, against our institutions and our government and our flag, among aliens and naturalized foreigners who ought to be good citizens. Those 264,000 papers are not read simply by one person each, but by entire families. That propaganda is going on throughout this country, and many of the editors of those papers are aliens.

Again, there is the propaganda among the Negroes. The Communists in Russia believe that the 12 million Negroes in America do not realize that they have lived here generation after generation, and the Communists think that they can rouse the racial hatred of the Negroes and develop a revolutionary spirit against the government. I have personally seen order after order from Moscow to the Communists in this country, demanding that an intense campaign be conducted among the Negroes, both North and South, in order to turn them against the government. The Communists cannot understand why the Negroes have not succumbed to their propaganda of social equality, or intermarriage and racial equality, and so on.

The fact is that the colored man and woman in America are loyal to their country, their flag, and their governmental institutions, in spite of inequalities. They are not colonials, they are native-born Americans; and the women, particularly, of the colored race find no appeal in the Communist propaganda when it comes to the abolition of religion. The colored man and woman believe in God and are a churchgoing people.

Whenever there is a Communist meeting, the white and the colored people assemble together and dance together. The Communists mean just what they say, so their propaganda has some little appeal. Colored men and women are going to Moscow all the time to be trained in the revolutionary schools.

Does anyone think that aliens would be permit-

ted to go into Soviet Russia and criticize the government and the institutions? You know as well as I do that those aliens would not be deported — they would be shot. I am glad that in this country of ours we can talk on this question of Soviet Russia on both sides and present facts for the information of the public.

I would favor recognition of Russia if we could have a guarantee that she would not use here embassies and her consulates to spread propaganda. But so long as she will not divorce the Communist International from the Soviet government, the United States government will not recognize Soviet Russia. Personally, I would go a step farther; I would recognized Soviet Russia if she would restore civil rights and liberties there and let the people vote for their own form of government.

### **Defense of Our Government.**

But my message is not one of recognition, or of trade, or of political revolution. In spite of the beautiful things we hear about Russia — this great peaceful nation where everybody is rich and happy and sublime — the one main statement of Communists throughout this country, and of their Socialist friends, and of many of our intellectual professors, is that we are a great, warlike, aggressive, imperialistic nation and that we want to declare war on Russia. Yet we are the most peaceful nation in the world, with out military

establishment smaller than that of almost any other nation; while Russia has an army of 600,000, armed to the teeth, with tanks and airplanes and heavy artillery.

If there is to be a big war in the next five years, that war will come out of Soviet Russia. It will come when the Five-Year Plan is completed and the armaments are in readiness and when Russia is ready to release the Communists in Germany for action; then it will come through an internal revolution in Germany, with the big Russian army coming over Poland into Germany to help.

After 11 years' service in the congress of the United States, I have no criticism of our form of government, in spite of the fact that the Communists say that our government is one of wealth and is owned by 59 men in Wall Street. Our government is owned by the sovereign people. We still have a popular government; not only have we a republican form of government, but our people control that government through their legislators.

So my main message is that we have nothing whatever to gain from Communism, from Socialism, or from a dictatorship. Our government is still the soundest, the fairest, the most honorable, and the wisest form of government yet devised by the mind of man.

*Edited by Tim Davenport.*

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