

Thorning, Joseph Francis, 1896
Communism in the U.S.A.
ADX 1387

357957

COMMUNISM IN THE U. S. A.

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*With Special Supplement
for Study Clubs*

THE AMERICA PRESS
NEW YORK, N. Y.

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 COMPLETE SET (postage included) \$1.00

THE AMERICA PRESS

461 Eighth Avenue

New York, N. Y.

Imprimi Potest:

JOSEPH A. MURPHY, S.J.,
Provincial Maryland-New York

Nihil Obstat:

ARTHUR J. SCANLAN, S.T.D.,
Censor Librarius

Imprimatur:

✠ PATRICK CARDINAL HAYES,
Archbishop of New York

October 31, 1936.

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COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES

Increase in Party Membership

IN this consideration of Communism, it may be well to bear in mind the Russian genesis of the Third International, weighing the full significance of that apothegm of a brilliant modern commentator, who declared: "One Russian is a genius. Two Russians produce an immediate difference of opinion. Three Russians are a coöperative. And four Russians are—a revolution!" Every fluctuation in the physical membership of the Communist movement in the United States, therefore, should be scrutinized in the light of the dynamic possibilities of a numerically small group frankly dedicated to the overthrow of the present social order.

A little over three years ago, it was reported that the total membership of the Communist party in the United States did not exceed 14,000. Just two years ago, the most reliable statistics indicated that this figure had grown to 24,000. Today, there are 31,000 properly qualified and duly enrolled members in the American section of the Third International. Taking the year 1930 as a point of reference, we see that membership has trebled in less than five years.

A comparison of United States total membership with the world membership in the Communist party is even more revealing. According to the Moscow newspaper, *Pravda*, the Communist parties throughout the world have a combined membership of 3,148,000, as compared with 1,676,000 at the time of the last International Congress in 1928. Membership in the capitalist countries, the organ asserted, totaled 758,500, an increase from 445,000. Including the "*komsomol*," or Communist youth organization, *Pravda* said the membership in all countries totaled about 6,800,000, or an increase of about 100 per cent. From these figures, it is clear that the Communist party in the United States is increasing at a rate superior to that

of the party as a whole. Whereas the world rate of increase is 100 per cent, including the youth group, it is fully 300 per cent in the United States. If the comparison is made solely with capitalist countries, the difference is much more startling, inasmuch as an increase from 445,000 to 758,500 does not represent the doubled rate verifiable in the figures for total world increase or the trebled pace noticeable on the American scene.

This increase, however, cannot be seen in true perspective unless we note that its impact was felt not in the depths of the economic depression but concomitantly with the accelerated pace of a returning tide of what is at least temporary, superficial prosperity. With business apparently on the upgrade, the American Communists are gaining rapidly in strength, resourcefulness, and hardihood. Although negligible as a political factor, as was clearly demonstrated in the national elections of 1932, the Communist party has shown a stubborn vitality in the social and economic sphere.

It is of transcendent importance to note that each member of the Communist party is an active center of propaganda. His zeal is that of an apostle. To pay his dues alone (and that is a cardinal condition of membership in the party) he has had to make numerous sacrifices. His membership card represents, in all probability, two or three meals less each week: in other words, it is a freely embraced deduction from the regular relief check or some extra pennies that were begged on the street. When men and women pay for their status in terms of hunger and thirst, they are also willing to stay up all night to convert their neighbor to the creed of the proletariat.

Progress Among the Native-Born and the Negroes

Further analysis of this growth reveals that Communism is attracting a larger and larger number of native-born Americans. Whereas in 1930 less than ten per cent of the party members had been born in the United States, the percentage has leaped in 1935 to a new high of over forty per cent. Easily the most

spectacular increase, both numerically and from the standpoint of potential development, is the enrollment of more than 2,500 Negroes. In 1930, there were not to be found a hundred colored persons full-fledged members of the party. And it should be observed that the appeal of the revolutionary program is just as powerful among the plantation Negroes, living on a peonage level in the Southern States, as among the dispossessed, underprivileged colored men and women in domestic service in our Northern industrial and commercial centers.

The dynamic character of the Communist creed carries with it hope, aspiration, and daring to every Negro heart. To the simple-minded colored worker in field or factory, it seems that the only ones who are willing and eager "to do something about improving conditions and situations" are the Communist agitators and organizers. Religious faith alone has kept the more fortunate members of the race, that small proportion that has achieved reputation in the professions of medicine, dentistry, law, engineering, etc., from yielding to the siren voices that would lure them into the ranks of revolution under the banner of Communism.

Within the past twelve months, it may confidently be asserted that no demonstration, strike, mass-picketing movement, or anti-war exhibition failed to have its quota of Negro members. Anything like social ostracizing of the Negro is theoretically untenable in the Communist ideology. There is actually on record in Washington one case where a Communist party white girl member was expelled, not because she refused to dance with a Negro, but because she proved frigid to the invitation to sexual intercourse by a member of that race. Racial promiscuity *à l'outrance* is the party line with reference to the problem of Negro and white in the United States. Every picture, published in our great metropolitan dailies, illustrating a Communist rally, congress, or demonstration will give special prominence to colored representatives, usually one of each sex.

As for the Negro press itself, its more irresponsibility

ble varieties take satisfaction in beating the drum of Communism. This does not mean that even these types of Negro publications have sold out to Communism. But it does signify that in many of the popular periodicals with 500 subscribers (all with perhaps 5,000,000 potential readers) there is either an editorial or a story that evinces strong sympathy for the Communist program or for the Communist Negro organizers.

One such journal, for example, circulates among 70,000 or more subscribers each week. And it regularly publishes Communist correspondence. It is read in Harlem and it has news that appeals to the cotton pickers around Tuscumbia, Ala., and Jonesville, Tex. According to that well-known and careful student of social problems, Father Joseph J. Ayd, S.J., a few subscribed copies of the periodical that penetrate the Maryland Penitentiary at Baltimore are avidly perused from end to end by every colored inmate and by a not inconsiderable number of the white prisoners. Six hundred readers for one copy of a weekly that openly teaches the social revolution! If this ratio is maintained for the other jails, work houses and penitentiaries in the nation, it is easy to calculate the effect upon the elements in the Negro population most susceptible to gospels of violence and bloodshed. Indeed, one is forcibly reminded of the celebrated epigram of Lenin: "On the barricades one safe cracker that knows his trade will be more valuable than Pavlov."

Perhaps no one is more competent to testify on this phase of the Communist movement than Father LaFarge, S.J., associate editor of *America*. In a recent conference, Father LaFarge told me that Communist organizers had been permitted to address meetings in most of the non-Catholic churches in Harlem. He added that pulpits in the South had likewise been utilized by the Communists in spreading their doctrines. In each instance, the Communist agitator would begin by praising the Protestant preacher. But in his conclusion he would make it clear that salvation came neither by religion nor by preachers but by a

hundred-per-cent adherence to the Communist cause. It was emphasized that "action" could only be expected of the workers' party.

It would be folly to imagine that mere promises of "action" could exert a powerful attraction for any mass movement. The same Communist leaders who expound their theories of wealth distribution from the pulpit on Sundays are busy during the week arranging that their supporters be placed on the relief rolls, that they get a more generous measure of food and clothing, that grievances be presented to the relief bureaus. Whenever an eviction is threatened, the same agitators stir up the neighborhood, file petitions, and often enough succeed in having the eviction prevented or postponed. If ordinary methods of obstruction or violence fail, they help to organize the famous "rent parties" that have long been a feature of Harlem "first-of-the-month" life. More than one Catholic has come to his adviser and declared: "Friend, I just will have to join up with the Communists. Unless I do, I will not be able to hold my job." In other words, the Communists in no small number of instances are willing to exercise all manner of intimidation upon employers who threaten to discharge one of their members or sympathizers. Obviously, "non-protected" workers are at a disadvantage in this set-up.

I have outlined the Communist agitation among the Negroes in this initial survey, because this section of the population best exemplifies the strategy of the Communist party in the United States, which is not to create evils but to exploit existing abuses in areas and among groups where there is most apt to be scope for the "mass movement" toward revolution which is Moscow's dream for this country. Whatever thinking the masses of the Negro population are doing along social and economic lines is in the strait-jacket of Marxian dialectics, though not under that name. The planters in the South do not know this, because they do not hear the secret "grapevine" campaign that is going on from one plantation to another. Nor are the landlords or storekeepers of our Northern commercial centers aware of the questionings and murmurings which are

rampant in cold-water flats and drainless kitchens. None the less, the demand for "action," for leaders and a program that "will do something about it" is stronger among the soft-spoken members of the colored race than in any other group in the United States. In the meantime, 2,500 Negro party members will not be backward in applying the torch to some very inflammable material.

II

THE COMMUNISTS UNDERMINE LABOR

THE bulk of the Communist party membership, of course, is to be found in the great mass-production factories, mines, and foundries. The party members exercise a predominant influence in the marine industry, especially on the West Coast. Their activities on the Eastern front are concentrated at New York, Baltimore, and Boston. The so-called "Rank-and-File Federation" is a decided threat to the old-line labor organizations such as the American Federation of Labor. The Communists have in a number of instances, such as in the fur industry, as well as in large areas of the textile, steel, furniture, and lumber trades, effected inroads sufficient to exercise a revolutionary influence on labor policies.

The Soviet agents in recent months have redoubled their efforts to organize the white-collar workers. Their success in some fields has been extraordinary. There are strong Communist units, for example, in fifteen large New York department stores, including Gimbel's, Macy's and Klein's. Nor are the employes of the United States Government untouched. The Communist unit in the General Post Office of New York City is active enough to hold regular meetings, to collect funds, and mimeograph a monthly bulletin which is circulated among all workers in the department.

This publication, called the *Red Write-Up*, aptly exemplifies the Communistic approach to the worker's mentality. The September, 1935, issue led off with

a stirring appeal for "amalgamation and cooperation," i. e., for the formation of a "Joint Grievance Committee" which would represent both the regular mail clerks' organization and the Red nucleus in the General Post Office. As the basis of cooperation, a strong plea was made for the thirty-hour work week, the Lundeen unemployment-insurance and old-age pension bill, for "trade-union unity," and for an "anti-capitalist labor party." Then in order to attract the Negro clerks there was inserted a picture of Angelo Herndon, sentenced for insurrection in Georgia in 1932. Flanking the picture was a special article calling upon all workers to demand the release of this colored agitator. Under the title, "Charlie 'Rat' Jacobs," there stood a piece of vulgar abuse directed against one of the minor officials in the New York Central Post Office. The humor column contained some crude flings at Hitler, "Jim" Farley, and "Bill" Green. Two full pages were devoted to what was described as "Workers' Correspondence," plentifully interlarded with postscripts promising "a few pennies next payday" as "please find one dollar enclosed for printing the next issue of the *Red Write-Up*." These were hints to prospective correspondents. The back page, besides featuring an appeal for support of the *Daily Worker*, also painted an alluring picture of conditions of postal employment under the U. S. S. R. in Moscow. (During bad weather in Moscow, it seems that letter carriers are supplied with taxis in order to make deliveries.) "The task of our paper," it is stated in the closing words of the September issue (Vol. 1, No. 4), "is to point out the close relationship of P. O. workers to the rest of the workers in America and to show that their only hope for a decent life is a Workers' and Farmers' Government, a Soviet America." This, it should be remembered, is the slogan of the Red nucleus in a Federal Department, supported indirectly by United States funds.

The Technique of Agitation

How does this technique of agitation differ from the method which the Communists utilize in order to

secure recruits for the party among workers in the industrial and manufacturing regions?*

As soon as the notice for a strike has been posted by the regular union organization, the Communist agitators forcibly inject themselves into the picket line before the foundry or shop. Whereas the older workers are conservative and orderly in their protests, the young bloods in the Red ranks make efforts to embroil the strikers with the police. Young girls are utilized for this purpose, because there is less likelihood of violent reprisals on the part of the custodians of the law. In this way, the strike often takes a course utterly at variance with the plans of the real trade-union leaders.

Above all, the Communist propaganda thrives in an atmosphere of martial law. Nation-wide attention is riveted upon some item of purely local interest or even upon an individual grievance. Exaggerations are rife and an element of fierce bitterness is injected into the dispute about wages, hours, and conditions of work. When concessions are made by the employers, the workers' demands are pitched in a higher key so that an agreement may be prevented. The Communist agitators never seek a solution except in terms of revolution. And every strike, if adequately exploited, bears the seed of revolt. Therein lies the vital significance of current strikes.

Just as K. K. Rockne used to claim that every play in football, if perfectly conceived, timed, and executed, with each man contributing his share of blocking, speed, and deception, was good for a touchdown every time it was tried, so the Communist High Command teach that every species of labor unrest, let us say, a demand for higher wages on the part of the PWA workers of the New York area, could be exploited on such a scale as to light the fires of revolution upon every hilltop and in every city square, culminating in that "re-allocation of sovereignty" which is the dream of Joseph Stalin in Moscow and Earl Browder in the United States.

* See "Communist Action versus Catholic Action," by Helen Maree Toole (America Press, 5c).

Claims of Mr. Earl Browder

Perhaps no better explanation of the growth of the Communist party in the United States has been furnished than that submitted by the same Mr. Browder to the Congress of the Communist International in Moscow on July 28, 1935. He questioned himself and gave answer:

How was our party able to penetrate the masses and emerge from isolation?

A great rôle was played by leaders in the strike movement and in the work of the party among the unemployed. In some of the most important strikes, the San Francisco general strike for one, the Communist party had a decisive, determining influence. . . .

We have learned the revolutionary traditions of 1776 and 1863 and have appeared as the heirs of the revolutionary movements from which the United States was born.

Summing up the party's achievements in the industrial field, he stated:

We have more than 500 nuclei made up of 4,000 members in factories and plants where more than 1,000,000 workers are employed. As a result there are Communist ramifications in 154 distinct industries, supplying raw materials, finished and semi-finished goods which are indispensable both in time of peace and in time of war. "Rank-and-file" committees are daily penetrating the American Federation of Labor ranks within and have made appreciable gains in their campaign to get possession of the leadership of hundreds of independent labor unions.

The new tendency for labor to organize on industrial, rather than craft lines, entirely desirable in itself, has greatly simplified the task of the Communist agitator.

The International Labor Defense

The Communist enclave in labor organizations is strongly buttressed by the International Labor Defense. This is a group which assumes the legal defense of a Communist or worker when he is arrested

by the police. The official publication of this group has over 40,000 circulation in this country. The International Labor Defense undertakes to form protest committees, often in widely separated regions, to put up bail, to supply attorneys and fight the cases out in court as long as possible. It should not be overlooked that the I. L. D., which claims over 200,000 members and affiliates with 800 local branches in the United States of America, is admittedly an outgrowth of the Red International Aid of Russia. It is estimated that this organization spends over \$280,000 annually in the United States to defend arrested and deportable Communists and to agitate for their release, and that this same organization has issued secret printed instructions to all Communists in the United States on the subject, "What to Do Under Arrest," which includes instructions to give fictitious names, wrong addresses, to lie in court, and to transform the court room into a forum for Communism.

Significance of the Communist Affiliates

In speaking of the 30,000 professed members of the Communist party, some critics are apt to overlook the importance of thirty-eight other Internationals of Communistic, atheistic, pacifist, and revolutionary action in the United States that are directed from Moscow and spread their influence and their doctrines through 610 national Communist organizations and cooperating units in the United States. The influence of Communism is much broader than the narrow apex of party membership. The Trade Union Unity League (American section), for example, claims 125,000 members, while the International Workers' Order has enrolled 100,000 men and women. In this way, the Communist leaders themselves estimate that they have a direct influence over 1,500,000 affiliates.

III

RED COUNCILS OF THE UNEMPLOYED

IN the first two sections of this study on Communism, it was emphasized that the 31,000 active, bona-fide members of the Communist party in the United States could never be considered apart from the large number of their sympathizers and affiliates. It was noted that the Communist chieftains themselves estimate that they have been able to exercise a direct influence over 1,500,000 people who do not give formal adherence to the party platform.

Now the most numerous affiliated group consists of 250,000 men and women organized in what are called the National Unemployed Councils. These councils have headquarters in thirty-eight cities situated in thirty-six States (there are two each in New York and Illinois). The national office is located in Room 436, 80 East Eleventh Street, New York City. It stands to reason that the Communists have concentrated control of this organization in the hands of their active party leaders. Israel Amter, for example, is national chairman of the National Unemployed Councils, while Herbert Benjamin, another Communist intellectual, is national organizer of the group.

Making no secret of the plans and purposes of the American Communist party, Mr. Earl Browder indicated the activities of the National Councils of the Unemployed: "The party has taken the leadership in organizing mass movements of the unemployed and has started a campaign to unite all organizations of the unemployed in the United States."

Browder's eyes were opened by the pungent criticism of his colleagues in Moscow, who regard the 10,000,000 unemployed of the United States as virgin soil for the implantation of Red doctrines. So impressed was the American delegate that he eagerly joined in a special conference of Communist leaders at Moscow, where plans for propaganda among the workless were elaborated. British, French, and German delegates described in detail the methods which they had found

effective among their fellow-countrymen, urging the American Communists to follow suit. One of the pillars of policy they set up was unyielding opposition to labor camps. According to the Bolshevik mentality, the CCC camps stood in the front row of such "forced-labor" battalions. At the conclusion of the conference on this subject Browder stated that he was convinced that every one of the 10,000,000 people out of work in the United States could be enrolled without fail in the National Councils of the Unemployed.

The Exploitation of Grievances

Indeed, this merely illustrates one of the most effective phases of the Communist technique in exploiting a grievance or in striving to show that they alone are successful in attaining results for the unfortunates of society. The first step in the process is to ascertain the names and addresses of those who are enrolled as recipients of relief. Then the Communist agitators circulate among the families on the dole, promising them special attention, prompt medical treatment, additional favors, etc., provided they are willing to become associated with the Communist party or one of its affiliates. If the unemployed man or woman shows a willingness to be helped to special favors on this condition, he or she is brought quickly, sometimes by violence, to the head of the relief line, there to enjoy privileges exclusively reserved for those who are members of the National Unemployed Councils. At every moment in the process, the jobless men and women are assured that "the government owes you a living," and that "there is no reason for you to work for the pittance furnished by work relief," or that "you should be getting much better food and clothing." In short, the Soviets of the unemployed go a long way toward giving the appearance of proving their efficiency to those in need.

During the recent WPA troubles in New York City, the *Daily Worker*, professedly the official organ of the Russian Third International in the United States, declared that 500 Federal work-relief employes picketed the relief bureaus in which they were employed

by the Federal and State Governments, demanding food and clothes, an increase in pay, shorter hours, and "full rights to organize" themselves on the relief jobs. It was recently disclosed that there are more than 20,000 Communists on the relief payrolls of New York City alone.

This was no sporadic movement. It was the direct result of an edict issued by the Communist officers in this country to "unionize" the new work-relief projects established under the \$4,800,000,000 appropriation by Congress. The directions given by party headquarters in New York were to organize for "guarantees" for "rights of Negroes and foreign born," and to set up numerous demands which could serve as issues for agitation and organization among the jobless. Initiation dues were not forgotten in this plan. They were to range from twenty-five cents for members in the South to \$1.00 for members in the North. Dues were fixed at a percentage of the salaries paid the worker by the Federal and State Governments. In some cases these did not exceed two cents per week. Orders were given that one of the chief objects of agitation would be the \$19 to \$94 wage scale fixed by President Roosevelt. And each increase was to be used as a springboard for higher and higher demands. It is part of the Bolshevik ideology never to be satisfied.

In view of such tactics, is it any wonder that over 6,900 new applications were obtained for the Communist party in 1934 in New York City alone? Incidentally, it may be added that due to certain inefficiencies within the ranks of the local group, only 4,220 of these applications were acted upon, leaving a total of 2,680 that were lost.

The Exploitation of Federal Relief

Besides the National Councils of the Unemployed, there are several cognate groups such as the Relief Workers' Protective Union (organized in FERA and other relief organizations of the Government), the Unemployed Teachers' Association, the National Committee against Unemployment, Unemployed

Writers' Association, the American Federation of Labor Trade Union Committee for Unemployed and Relief, the Relief Workers' League, the Homeless Youth of America, the Unattached Youth, the Anti-Mortgage Foreclosure Committee, and the Anti-Eviction Committee. If, as Earl Browder claimed at Moscow, Communist organization among the workless is still in its infancy, it must be a fairly husky baby.

Naturally, this form of activity is concentrated around the relief bureaus in the various cities and villages. In many cases, the social workers and other officials appointed by municipalities or the State to administer relief are among the most vocal exponents of Communist philosophy. In short, there are clear indications that the whole relief program has not only been shamefully exploited by Communist agitators but that elaborate plans have been formulated in order further to divert Government funds to the purposes of disorder, subversions, and revolution.

This is in keeping with the general order issued by Joseph Stalin from Moscow in 1932, when the desperate internal economic situation of the U. S. S. R. necessitated a curtailment of the expenditure annually allotted to the forces of revolution in capitalistic countries. In view of the reduced subsidies which had to be expected by the Communist leaders in foreign nations, Stalin devised the plan of finance which has been utilized on no small scale in the United States, namely, that of securing funds from relief appropriations and advocating more and more liberal measures of unemployment insurance. In this way, the coal strike in New Mexico was prolonged, while in New York City during the early months of 1935 the same issue became acute in the operation of the WPA program. Communists and their sympathizers are expected to "pay their own way," to finance themselves by means of Federal money. This scheme, it should be remembered, was openly advocated by the *Daily Worker*. And the point to be emphasized in every instance is that all this is planned, directed, and controlled by an alien organization.

IV

YOUTH: A CHALLENGE TO COMMUNISM

ONE of the most important phases of Communist activity both in Russia and in the United States is the youth movement. Here again numbers are not a complete index to strength. The League of Communist Youth in the United States has only 8,000 duly qualified members. But even this figure represents a 100-per-cent increase in membership in the past year, while the program of joint action movements, such as the American League Against War and Fascism is said to have attracted the enthusiastic support of more than a million young people of both sexes.

Anti-Fascism is undoubtedly one of the most popular youth slogans of the hour. Coupled with a detestation of the horrors of war, it forms a bridge of sympathetic interest between the out-and-out Communists and those students in college or high school who are revolted by the futility and folly of present-day statesmanship in a world which apparently is swiftly passing from the stage of crisis to catastrophe.

It is in this sense that youth constitutes a challenge to Communism. Young men and young women, dissatisfied with their prospects in a world harassed by threats of war, by unemployment and maldistribution of wealth, are groping for a plan and demanding leaders that will lead them to the goal of social and economic reconstruction. To date no political Messiah in the United States has caught the imagination of youth or inflamed its passions as has Hitler in Germany or Mussolini in Italy. Father Coughlin's gospel of social justice has not been preached specifically to the young people of the land. Nor has it had any special appeal to them. Perhaps the one "forerunner of American Fascism" who had contemplated a campaign to enlist the active support of the campus population was the late Senator Long.

With the colorful figure of the gentleman from Louisiana off the scene, the field is open to the Communist chieftains. They are alert to the challenge of youth. It is interesting to read the claims which Earl

Browder made for the Communist youth organization in the United States. Speaking at the Communist International Congress at Moscow on July 29, 1935, he declared:

The party actively led the youth movement. We have established a united front of the Young Communist League with a number of progressive youth organizations. This united front effectively defeated the Fascist elements on a very simple question, that of the right of the Youth Congress to elect its own chairman. The Fascists tried to appoint their chairman but were defeated. . . .

The Comintern [Communist International] must call on all parties in capitalist countries to pay the greatest attention to work among youths. A serious struggle against Fascism is impossible without this.

The Communists are most active on the grammar school and high school level. Their propaganda has penetrated the nursery and left its impress on Sovietized Mother Goose rhymes. As an example of the detailed instructions (relating to treason within the ranks) which are imparted in a secret manual for Soviet workers in this country we may note the following "order of the day":

Mobilize the children and women in the block where the stool pigeon lives to make his life miserable; let them picket the store where his wife purchases groceries and other necessities; let the children in the street shout after him or after any member of his family that they are spies, rats, stool pigeons, etc.

Chalk homes with the slogan: "So-and-so who lives here is a spy." Let the children boycott his children or child; organize the children not to talk to his children.

Just as in Soviet Russia, American boys and girls may become Young Pioneers at the age of eight, remain in that group until they are fifteen, then become eligible for membership in the Young Communist League, and at twenty-one join the Communist party. The youngster who has been through this cycle is no longer an American citizen; he or she has been trained to all intents and purposes in the shadow of the Kremlin at Moscow. Nor should it be forgotten

that "Junior" or Joan, who have been submitted to this régime, have their whole outlook colored by a rich and highly intensified program of cultural, sport, and school activities.

Joan: A Communist Type

If we consider Joan to be the typical Communist child, we shall find her at an early age, say, in the Workers' Nursery maintained in Washington, D. C., at the foot of Belmont Street in Rock Creek Park, not far from the bridle path where the lords and the ladies of the capital indulge in the patrician promenade of horseback riding. Mothers, who are obliged to work all day, leave their children in the care of volunteer attendants who teach Joan Communistic songs and recitations. As the girl becomes a little older, she is initiated into the mysteries of Red art and drama. Perhaps she is the heroine in the Bolshevik play presented by the Red Pioneers: "Strike Me Red." Or she learns to do the Dance of the Young Proletariat, while her comrades sing and play revolutionary music. In the summer she takes long hikes in the woods, studying nature. In the winter there are social affairs without number, dances, parties, musicales, all savoring somewhat of an informal political rally. Speakers are drafted at a moment's notice, while the opportunity to take an active place in the picket line or the strike headquarters always beckons. Here Joan is given systematic training in the most effective means to taunt the police in situations where the men-folk would be summarily man-handled were they to attempt gibes and insults at the uniformed custodians of the law. Nor is cajolery overlooked where force would be ineffectual.

If in the course of this novitiate Joan displays the qualities of a natural leader, she is set aside for special training, learns to enunciate ready-made speeches about "the overthrow of bloody American imperialism by the mailed fist of the workers" and "the shameful exploitation of women and children in the textile mills, in the shops, on the farms, in domestic work, and street trades." Perhaps she is able to attend

Commonwealth College, one of the workers' institutions, in Mena, Ark.,* or to practice nudism, companionate marriage, free love, birth control, and to talk until the gray dawn about equal rights for women.

It was at this institution for the education of Communists that farmers from near-by States found their daughters, in the words of sworn testimony presented to the special Investigating Committee of the Arkansas State Legislature, "stretched out on pallets with male students of the college," and where citizens of the local community frequently stumbled upon couples engaged in nude bathing in the adjacent creek or in other unconventional poses throughout the woods that skirt the college grounds.

Unless Joan should be rescued by her parents (as were several girl students of Commonwealth College) from this forcing bed of immorality, she would, in the judgment of men like Earl Browder and Gil Green, be ripe to take her place as a social worker at one of the relief bureaus in New York City or San Francisco, ready to spend her days in dispensing Government food and rent checks to the unemployed and eager at nightfall to wait on the corner near the National Guard Armory for the militia who might be attracted by youth and beauty into discussion of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a discussion which would eventually lead to the door of the Communist Club, if not sympathy for the Communist cause. This is what it means in the concrete to tolerate Communist dance clubs, theaters, art clubs, dramatic clubs, camps, open forums, music clubs, sport leagues, and publishing houses.

Communist Schools

Reporting on the work of the Summer Training School of the New Jersey District of the Young Communist League, the *Daily Worker* (September 19, 1935) stated:

Some fifteen comrades from most of the important points in the District, including three Negro comrades and

* Shortly after the original publication of this study further Federal funds were denied students at Commonwealth College.

several unemployed in shops, took part in a two weeks' program of study. Fundamentals of Communism were studied for five days; Organizational Problems for four days; the Negro Problem for two days, and Trade Union work for three. We also had a lecture on the history of the Young Communist International by a member of the National Committee of the Y. C. L.

The School was organized and financed through local initiative (the costs were over \$100) and taught by leading party and league comrades of the District.

Is it any longer possible to ignore the thirty-eight national Communist youth movements in the United States, supplying apt candidates for admission to the 300 schools in this country, where revolution, strike tactics, as well as hatred of God, the family, property, the Government and its institutions, are systematically inculcated?

V

ANOTHER TROJAN HORSE: THE UNITED FRONT

THE scene is the former ballroom of the Hall of Nobles, Moscow, now the headquarters of the Communist International. Although the marble columns and glittering candelabra of the imperial palace remain, the building has been renamed the House of Trade Unions. It was in this hall that the heroic prelate, Archbishop Cieplak, was tried for treason and condemned to death. It is now the meeting place of Communist delegates from all quarters of the globe. Comrade Browder has just boasted that the "party has been the guiding force in the development of a thriving and widely influential revolutionary cultural movement, in literature, theater, in all fields of cultural and artistic social life."

Warmed by the heady wine of applause, Mr. Browder goes on to say:

By its mass influence our party has brought about a differentiation within the Socialist party and the A. F. L., and even penetrated such movements as still remain within the framework of the old capitalist parties, such as the E. P. I. C. movement, the Utopian movement, the Technocrats, etc.

It is eight o'clock in the evening of July 27, 1935. Comrade Browder has just returned to his seat. The next speaker is Comrade Cachin (France). He is greeted with loud and prolonged applause. In fact, the whole hall rises and gives a warm ovation as Comrade Cachin mounts the tribune. According to the official report of the proceedings, a voice from the Presidium is heard to shout: "Long live the united front!"

This slogan strikes the keynote in the new orientation in Soviet party policy. Collaboration with the more moderate elements was once anathema to the Bolshevik doctrinaires; now the death struggle with "Fascist reaction" has impelled the Communist leaders to seek the cooperation of Socialists, trade unionists, white-collar workers, the so-called intelligentsia and Left liberal groups. With an amazing blend of candor and *naïveté*, however, the same leaders acknowledge that such a union would be only a *mariage de convenance*, to be abandoned when the Communists believe the time ripe to strike for the creation of Soviet Governments in other countries. In other words, Communists are willing, contrary to their previous practice, to serve in proletarian, but non-Communist, governments and to assume their share of responsibility in the fight against Fascism, but they are quick to add that salvation cannot be expected at the hands of such governments. "Therefore," the Soviet chieftains tell their followers, both party and non-party adherents, "it is necessary to arm for the Soviet revolution: only Soviet power can save you."

In complete harmony with this slogan of world policy, the American delegate, Earl Browder, stressed the importance of forming a genuine Worker-Farmer party in the United States. In this party, he promised that all American opponents of Fascism might cooperate with the Communist party "without necessarily subscribing to the Red aim of establishing a Soviet government in America." As evidence of the virtue of this policy Browder pointed proudly to the fact that the Communists secured fifty-two votes in the United States Congress for the Lundeen unem-

ployment-insurance bill "without having a single Communist Congressman even to lead and organize the fight." Although admitting that the Young Communist League was a minority in the Detroit meeting of the American Youth Congress, he asserted that the members of the League had played a dominant role in the decisions of the Congress, producing a special appeal to American youth, called the Declaration of the Rights of the Young Generation, a document already in process of distribution to 1,300,000 organized youth in the United States.

Again and again in the Communist International Congress (both for adult and youth members) the same theme was expounded. Numerically, it was granted, the Communists would be in a position of inferiority in this coalition of all elements opposed to Fascism; they would, temporarily at least, be the tail of the dog. But every one of the speakers made it plain that the tail intends to wag the dog. The alliance is to be temporary, transitional, purely opportunistic. When the Socialist, the university student, the Y. M. C. A. secretary, or white-collar worker shall have served the needs of the passing hour, they are to be as mercilessly relegated to the headsman as were the Nepman or the kulak when once the most acute crisis in Soviet economic life had been weathered in Russia. There is nothing strange about the policy except that it should be, I will not say, divulged, but proclaimed in trumpet tones to the listening bourgeoisie and capitalist world.

A New Slogan: Anti-Fascism

Perhaps no one at the recent Congress exercised greater influence or commanded a more enraptured audience when he spoke than Dimitroff, the Bulgarian Communist of the Reichstag fire courtroom fame. In the opinion of foreign observers and newspaper men, Dimitroff's speech at the Congress was regarded as the most important statement of policy since Joseph Stalin's declaration that Socialism can be built in a single country. This epoch-making address included a lengthy analysis of the situation in the United States.

Heeding the menace of Fascism (*Voilà l'ennemi: le fascisme*; for a long time the archfiend was "Imperialism"), Dimitroff openly advocated the formation with Communist participation of a Worker-Farmer party, which would be "neither Communist nor Socialist, but anti-Fascist." Such an American party, said Mr. Dimitroff, would oppose monopolies and fight for genuine social legislation, for the rights of share croppers and Negroes, for cancelation of farmers' debts and for the bonus demands of War veterans. This appeal found a welcome reception among Communists in the United States. If you doubt this statement, speak to any party member about prospects in this country and he will cite the action of several State labor organizations in endorsing the principle of the "united front" and cooperative action in the Farmer-Worker party.

In the provisions for collaborating with elements which are unorthodox, from the Communist viewpoint—even with Catholics—this change of policy is admittedly a shift to the Right, to which Mr. Dimitroff, newly elected President of the Third International, remarks: "What of it?" But it is a purely strategic retreat to be followed when the time is ripe by a strong swing back to the Left. It was when challenged with this paradoxical change of front that Mr. Dimitroff with disarming frankness spoke of the need of Communists getting inside the walls of the capitalistic citadel by secreting themselves in the "Trojan horse" of a "united front" party, embracing farmers, workers, Socialists, trade unionists as well as believers in democracy, property and religion. "Boring in" was another phrase employed and one that should indicate the ultimate aims of the new policy with sufficient clarity. More than one delegate to the Congress stated that this technique had been effective in winning the support of Catholic laboring men and women in Germany, Belgium, Holland, and Austria. The French delegate, Cachin, made this same boast for the party in France, where the union of Democrats, Socialists, and Radicals is known as the "People's Front."

One passage in Cachin's address is sufficiently typical and illuminating to be worthy of quotation:

We know very well that it is the nature of capitalism to make war. We gather together against its régime all who hate war, no matter who they are. We know what will be the final result of the gathering of these elements in a People's Front, inspired and directed by the vanguard of the world proletariat.

Religion and Communism

At the same session of this conference, while the delegates of fifty-seven foreign countries applauded, Earl Browder, one of the American delegates, declared that the party in America had launched a movement against war and Fascism which was winning more and more of the masses and in the past half year had carried on agitation and organization work toward creating a Workers' party in the United States. It was this same Earl Browder, speaking earlier in the year (February 15, 1935) before the students of the Union Theological Seminary at New York, who gave the young Protestant evangelists the flattering assurance that "the Communist party does not make the abandonment of religion a condition of joining the party, even though it carries on educational work which is anti-religious." The test for membership, he went on to say, is "whether such people represent the social aspirations of the masses, which may take on a religious form, but which are essentially social rebellion." He also affirmed his belief that religious-minded people would participate in the revolution in the United States and would help carry through the change. Such people would, of course, be welcomed to the party conclaves, not "because we accept their religion, but because we know that the process of discarding religious beliefs, which are in the last analysis reactionary ones, is a more or less protracted one." Consequently, religion would be eliminated only in the course of a few generations of the new society, the Socialist society.*

* See "What Catholicity and Communism Have in Common" by D. A. Lord, S.J. (*Queen's Work*, 10c.) Also many articles by J. R. Lyons, S.J., in the *Queen's Work*, 1935-6.

From all this, it must be clear what the Communist strategists, stunned by party collapse in Germany, Spain, and Italy, mean when they speak of the new policy of the "united front." It is an invitation to everybody outside the Communist party ranks to "come right in" and help to decapitate themselves. Dimitroff, the newly inducted "helmsman" of the Communist International, does not hesitate to wheel his Farmer-Worker party machine right up to the doors of the non-Soviet countries and post upon it in large letters: "This is the Trojan horse of Comrade Stalin. He is ready to take you for a ride!"

VI

PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN THE UNITED STATES

MORE than once, I have discussed with my colleague, Dr. Edmund A. Walsh, S.J., whose competence on problems of Communism is widely acknowledged, the events which remotely and proximately led up to the downfall of the Romanov dynasty in Russia. In the course of these conversations it was revealed that those most concerned with the conduct of affairs under the Empire were precisely the individuals who least expected catastrophe. The Czar, the Czarina, the Court *Camarilla*, Stürmer, Protopotov, and the military commanders were caught up and submerged in the swift, irresistible tide of events before their eyes had glimpsed the storm signals flying from Archangel to Odessa.

Nicholas II, for example, signed the decree of his own abdication before he was aware of the fact that the old order of things was faintly imperiled. Kerensky, in his turn, was being ushered from the Kremlin in disguise prior to any realization of the nature of the Bolshevik forces that had long planned the day and hour of his departure. As Rodzianko, president of the Duma in those stirring days, ironically remarked: "In Russia everyone talked about the danger of revolution and *as a consequence* no one was prepared for it."

This is a first point of capital importance. There is a second: the technique by which the Soviets of Workers and Sailors undermined the Vice-regency which tried to maintain "power without authority" from March, 1917, to the triumph of Lenin in Red October in the same year.

A Revolt Becomes Revolution

The story of these short six months, March to October, is an epic of propaganda. BREAD—PEACE—LAND—LIBERTY were words of magic simplicity in winning over the peasants at the front and the workers in the munition factories on the banks of the Neva. Handbills were circulated among the soldiers, whether in garrison or in the field, giving explicit instructions for the defeat of military discipline. Soviets were organized in every regiment. As soon as a regiment was brought up to Petrograd to protect the existing régime, Bolshevik sympathizers among the female population of the capital were actively employed to beg the soldiers not to turn their rifles and machine guns upon their "brothers and comrades." Every Bolshevik printing press was nightly pouring out incendiary material that was distributed before dawn. One newspaper would be suppressed only to have its place mysteriously supplied by another. Tons and tons of ink and paper started the avalanche that tore the Romanovs from their throne and Kerensky from his tribune. One loyal regiment, say the *Preobrazhensky*, would have sufficed to maintain order in the capital. That one regiment was won from its allegiance by agitators, masters in the art of propaganda.

Soviet Publications in the U. S. A.

In analyzing the prospects for revolution in the United States, therefore, one must begin with an appraisal of the Soviet prowess in the field of publication. What does the record show?

Millions of books and pamphlets are issued on thousands of Marxian, Communist, Socialist, atheist,

and other subversive subjects in this country every year. The spearhead of this attack, of course, is the *Daily Worker*, published in New York. This daily newspaper, capably edited and efficiently managed, has shown a steady increase in circulation until now its output stands above the 42,000 mark.

What is equally amazing is the fact that there are 300 other Communist newspapers and magazines regularly circulated in factory and farm. They appear in most of the important foreign languages. First- and second-grade readers for small American children have been prepared. Two hundred thousand of these textbooks have already been distributed. The most widely circulated single book is that by Joseph Stalin on Lenin and Bolshevism. Red song books and playlets have been broadcast, many of them containing blasphemous slurs on the Infinite Majesty of God and unpatriotic aspersions on the United States Constitution and Government. Some of the manuscripts for youth plays intended to burlesque the celebration of Lincoln's and Washington's birthdays are positively indecent. Most of this literature is printed in publishing houses owned and operated by Communist forces in New York City and elsewhere; their book stores are to be found in every city of any size. And when the would-be readers are slow in seeking out the Red book salesmen, the latter are quick to utilize the most modern methods of distribution.

Seditious Agitation in the Army

During the recent Army maneuvers, for example, radical literature, tending to undermine military discipline, was dropped over the Third Corps Area headquarters at Indiantown Gap, Pa., by an airplane painted to resemble an Army plane. The pamphlet carried the masthead, "The Soldiers' Voice," Volume II, No. 5, August, 1935, and described itself as a "special maneuver edition for regulars and guardsmen." It referred to Gen. Douglas MacArthur, at that time Army chief of staff, as "the baby killer of bonus-army fame." The soldiers were directed to form commit-

tees in every outfit to secure \$30 base pay, no strike-breaking duty, and unemployment insurance.

"All men in uniform fight against war. Tell the rich to fight to defend their own profits. Men in overalls unite with men in uniform against war," the pamphlet urged. Literature of a similarly subversive character was found on the seats of the coaches which brought Maryland guardsmen from Baltimore to the site of the maneuvers.

It is a mere statement of fact to point out that this embodies perfectly the technique of Red revolt. It is a technique that has to its credit the most thoroughgoing revolution in history. The Communist appeal in the United States is addressed with equal emphasis to the industrial workers of our great cities and the men in khaki who have taken an oath to defend the nation. How well the American Communists have learned the lesson inculcated by Chernishevsky: "Who would be interested in propaganda that is not backed by bayonets?"

Who Subsidizes Communism?

Is the propaganda of the party also backed by money? As one reads the diversified character of the far-flung Red Front in the United States, one conclusion becomes unmistakable. An organization that can publish and circulate books, newspapers, and magazines, that can rent buildings for headquarters and schools in most large cities, that is able to control the program in 200 or more theaters, film laboratories, stores, trade agencies, bond agencies, and operate thirty or more camps (three of which are incorporated in New York State for \$1,000,000) must enjoy subsidies and revenues that are well in excess of \$6,000,000 a year. Certain people with money have made an investment in the American Communist movement. Why has it never been denied that a number of wealthy citizens in Los Angeles and San Francisco, Calif., including some picture stars and the so-called "Rockefeller of the West Coast," contributed lavishly to the Red war chest during the waterfront strikes last year? Evidently, these backers of the Soviet

consider the revolution a good risk. Perhaps they expect to get their stake back with dividends inasmuch as the Communists state in plain language that the first act of the "Soviet Government," when established in the United States, will be to confiscate all banks, factories, farms, property, savings, and business.

In view of the multiple activity of the Communist party in the United States, it is fortunate indeed that the organization has shown little power to develop leaders of genius. The resources at the command of the Communist agitators in New York City alone are such as would have filled the heart of Lenin and Trotsky with envy. Their task in Imperial Russia was undertaken with a relatively infinitesimal modicum of material wealth. The American endowment of men, however, is pitifully weak.

But how long will this condition endure? Is not the Communist preoccupation with youth an indication of what may be expected in the future? Given the duly qualified leaders and American Communism will emerge from the back alleys and underground caverns into the light of the boulevards—if it does not establish itself in the great offices of State.

A Plan of Revolution

A plan for such a development has been fully elaborated. One of the printed documents, confiscated during the Minneapolis truck strike a year ago last summer, set forth detailed suggestions for a nationwide strike, to be transformed into a civil war; for the erection of barricades in the streets of all principal cities; for the seizure of telephone and telegraph wires, the confiscation of the chief radio stations, and principal air lines; for the occupation of Federal Government buildings such as the post offices and internal revenue headquarters; for the arrest of the President of the United States and his Cabinet, to be superseded by a ruthless "Stalin" type of dictator.

This sounds fantastic until it is recalled that a much more difficult operation was planned and executed in Petrograd in the summer and autumn of 1917. There are six times as many active members in

the Communist party and its affiliated movements in the United States today as there were in Russia at the time of the Red October uprising that led to the inauguration of the Union of Socialist and Soviet Republics. To put the case even more bluntly, it should be stated that there are today twice as many members in the Communist and affiliated groups in this country as there are at present in the Communist party in Russia which subjects 168,000,000 Russians to enslavement and exploitation by armed force.

The gravity of the Communistic threat to our religious, social, and civil institutions calls for intelligent, concerted, persevering action.

QUESTIONS ON "COMMUNISM IN THE U. S."

1. What is rate of growth of the American Communists? (Pp. 1, 9, 14.)*
2. Did this growth occur during the depression? (P. 2.)
3. How does this rate compare with the rate of growth in other capitalistic countries? In Russia? (Pp. 1, 2, 28, 29.)
4. Are *Russian* associations significant? (P. 1.)
5. Have detailed plans been made for a Communist revolution in the U. S. A.? (P. 28.)
6. Would revolution in the U. S. A. be easier than it was in Russia? (Pp. 28, 29.)
7. How do Communists pay "in hunger and thirst"? (Pp. 2, 14.)
8. What per cent of Communists are natives? (Pp. 2, 3.)
9. Do the Communists ostracize Negroes? (P. 3.)
10. Is the Communist appeal to Negroes localized? (Pp. 3, 6, 7.)
11. Is it effective? (Pp. 3, 4, 5, 6.)
12. What about the Negro press? (Pp. 3, 4.)
13. Does Communist doctrine get into the jails? Into the churches? (Pp. 4, 5.)
14. What are the practical Communistic methods of relief? (P. 5.)
15. Where are Communists most active in labor? (P. 5.)
16. Are Communists in department stores? (P. 6.)
17. Is the U. S. A. Post Office free from Communist activity? (P. 7.)
18. What is the "Red Write-Up"? (P. 7.)
19. How are Communist plans worked out? (Pp. 8, 12, 16.)

* The questions are such that the student should find it necessary to spend a fair amount of time and thought to secure an adequate answer. They are "leading" questions.

20. Do Communists complicate strikes? (Pp. 8, 9.)
21. Can labor unrest be exploited for revolution? (P. 8.)
22. Who is Earl Browder? (Pp. 9, 11.)
23. What report did Browder give to the Communist Congress in Moscow? (Pp. 9, 16, 19.)
24. What is the International Labor Defense? (Pp. 9, 10.)
How much money does it spend annually? (P. 10.)
25. What are the 38 affiliates of the Communist Party in the U. S. A.? (P. 10.)
26. What are Red Councils of the Unemployed? (P. 11.)
27. What do these Councils do? (Pp. 11, 13.)
28. How did Moscow instruct Browder? (Pp. 11, 12.)
29. Do the Communists approve of the C. C. C. Camps? (P. 12.)
30. What is "the exploitation of grievances"? (P. 12.)
31. Why does the Communist appeal avail? (Pp. 12, 13.)
32. Are Communists on relief rolls? (P. 13.)
33. How are dues fixed in the Communistic relief-workers? (Pp. 2, 13, 14.)
34. Are the Communists ever satisfied? (P. 13.)
35. How have the Communists exploited Federal relief recipients? (Pp. 13, 14.)
36. How are Government funds used against the Government itself? (P. 14.)
37. How many members in the League of Communist Youth in America? (P. 15.)
38. How does the American League against War and Fascism serve as a bridge to Communism? (P. 15.)
39. What are some of the instructions given for work among children? (Pp. 16, 17.)
40. What are the Young Pioneers? Young Communist League? (Pp. 15, 16, 17, 21.)
41. State a typical example of Communist technique with youth. (Pp. 17, 18.)
42. What happened at Commonwealth College in Arkansas? (P. 18.)
43. Is there any danger in tolerating Communistic activities? (P. 18.)
44. Are there any Communistic schools in the U. S. A.? (Pp. 18, 19.)
45. What about the "United Front"? (Pp. 19, 20, 24.)
46. Is collaboration with more moderate elements any longer repudiated? (Pp. 20, 22.)
47. Can the cooperation of Communists be trusted? (Pp. 20, 21, 22.)
48. How are the "more moderates" permitted to "decapitate themselves"? (P. 24.)
49. How sincere is the Anti-Fascist slogan? (Pp. 21, 22.)
50. What is the Trojan Horse of the Communists? (Pp. 22, 23, 24.)
51. What did the French Cashin state? (P. 23.)
52. What did Browder state about religion? (Pp. 23, 24.)

53. Is religion to be eliminated? (Pp. 23, 24.)
54. Did the authorities in Russia foresee the Soviet rebellion? (Pp. 24, 25.)
55. How was the Bolshevik revolution prepared and effected? (P. 25.)
56. What are the prospects of revolution in the U. S. A.? (Pp. 25, 26, 27, 28.)
57. What is the *Daily Worker*? (P. 26.)
58. How many Communist newspapers are there in the U. S. A.? (Pp. 26.)
59. Are there any Communist schoolbooks? (P. 26.)
60. How active are the Communists in distributing their literature? (Pp. 26, 27.)
61. Any attempts on the U. S. A. army? (Pp. 26, 27.)
62. Who subsidizes Communism in the U. S. A.? (P. 27.)
63. Is there any Communism in the movies? (P. 27.)
64. Did wealthy people contribute to the Red War Chest in California? (Pp. 27, 28.)

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- An Open Letter to Litvinov.* W. Parsons, S.J. Nov. 4, 1933—(50/107).
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* Figures in parentheses refer to volume and page, e. g., (42/571) indicates volume 42, page 571.

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