Feely, Raymond To ADP 0646

T. FEELY, S.J. RAYMOND

WAVIZ _

Digitized by the Internet Archive in 2016

COMMUNISM TODAY

or

RED FASCISM

REV. RAYMOND T. FEELY, S.J.
University of San Francisco

THE PAULIST PRESS
401 WEST 59TH STREET
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.



COMMUNISM TODAY

RED FASCISM

Imprimi Potest:

JOSEPH J. KING, S.J., Prae. Prov. Californiae.

Nihil Obstat:

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

Imprimatur:

A FRANCIS J. SPELLMAN, D.D.,

Archbishop of New York.

New York, February 3, 1945.

COPYRIGHT, 1945, BY
THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF ST. PAUL THE APOSTLE
IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED IN THE U. S. A. BY THE PAULIST PRESS, NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

Communism Today or Red Facism

"Red Baiter" Number One

"The Fascists and Nazis were not the only menace to our internal security. To their forces must be added the American Communists with their godless, truthless, philosophy of life. They are against the America our forefathers fought and died for; they are against the established freedoms of America. They pose behind a dozen fronts; they have endeavored to infiltrate

practically every strata of life.

"When they preach unity, let us not forget that when we were struggling to prepare for defense, they preached pacifism and fought our efforts to aid our allies and to build our common defenses. For true Americans there can be no unity with the enemy within and no compromise with those who would destroy all that we fight for. There is a distinction between respecting our ally Russia and respecting those within our country who would destroy all that we believe in. No one wishes to detract any from the glorious war history being written by the Russian people in protecting their soil. They are a great fighting nation and have done a masterful job at war.

"But when it comes to governmental systems, we prefer our own American way, and we do not want the Communists in this country attempting to undermine our democracy or any of our institutions. I have said it before, and I repeat it now—America cannot exist half democratic and half Communist or Fascist. The Fascist-minded tyrant is no different from the native-born Communistic corruptionist. We are proud of our American form of government. If we want to improve on it, we will do it in our own way, in our time,

and with our own blueprint.

"Over the years, the American Communists have developed a propaganda machine and a nefarious and elaborate school system of their own. Their officials in secret and public meetings urge that the propaganda phase of their work must be accelerated. Brazenly, they have urged the development of courses, lectures, and assemblies as media to espouse the ideologies of

Marxism and to establish Marxism as a school of thought in the United States. And even in the chameleon cloak with which they have now enshrouded themselves, the American Communists still proclaim their loyalty to Marxism, the antithesis of American democracy. The Communist Trojan Horse has now become the Trojan Snake in American life."

Before any "liberal" starts screeching "Fascist," "Red Baiter," etc., it would be well for the reader to know that the above is not taken from any report of the original Dies Committee. It is not an extract from any magazine published by "Big Business" or an editorial from any newspaper chain antagonistic to the Soviet Union. It is not even a quotation from the recent political campaign.

It is a public utterance by the man whose duty it is to investigate and evaluate those subversive elements in the United States which seek to sabotage and destroy American institutions.

It is a public utterance spoken not during the conveniently forgotten days when the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was attacking "the aggressor" little Finland in 1939, nor delivered in "the unpatriotic to mention" days of the Hitler-Stalin alliance when the U.S.S.R stabbed Poland in the back.

These words were spoken a few short months ago at a time when the U. S. S. R. was "liberating" Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, etc., by the man in whom all America has confidence—J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Why Another Pamphlet on Communism?

"Communism is shifting to the Right." "Communism is no longer atheistic." "Communists are our allies." "Communism now emphasizes nationalism and has abandoned world revolution." "Communists have never broken their word." "Communism is crushing Fascism, liberating peoples from the tyranny of Nazism and establishing a new democratic Europe." "The U.S.S.R. is an heroic member of the United Nations of freedom-loving democracies," etc., etc.

[4]

¹ Address at the Annual Commencement Exercises, Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass., June 29, 1944.

rie Italian Fascirm Magian

These are commonplaces now being bantered around. Americans used to talk like J. Edgar Hoover. Now the attitude toward Communism has shifted, or better, been shifted since that fateful day of June 22, 1941, when the Nazis invaded the U.S.S.R. Pamphlets on Communism which were written prior to that date are considered, by a great many Americans, obsolete and therefore unreliable. Hence this booklet.

"The Riddle Wrapped in a Mystery Inside an Enigma"

Americans are puzzled. The above quotation of Winston Churchill's comment on the policy of the U.S.S.R. seems to sum up the average United States citizen's appraisal of Communism.

Americans are more than puzzled—they are becoming apprehensive. The recent presidential political campaign was filled with charges and counter-charges. Both parties came out with denunciations of Communism even though the U. S. S.R. was our ally.

Abroad, more than Red Armies are on the march. The banner of the Hammer and the Sickle is unfurled throughout the length and breadth of Europe as quickly as the symbol of another Fascism ² the Swastika—is hauled down. Large sections of Yugoslavia, Rumania, Greece, Italy, Belgium, etc., are greeting liberation with the salute of "the clenched fist." Whether it be Barmine's 3 or White's 4 articles in the Readers' Digest, or Bullitt's 5 article in Life, or a statement from the Vatican, a world-wide avalanche of invective is loosed from Moscow at every suggestion that World Communism might not be a dead issue or that Communism is not lily white.

Almost a century ago, youthful Karl Marx with prophetic pen wrote, "A spectre is haunting Europe-the spectre of Communism." 6

American blood is crimsoning the soil of Europe. America is beginning to wonder if the red of its son's lifeblood is not a tragic symbol of a "Red" Europe.

Many in the United States are bewildered. Many take

² Henceforth, when the term "Fascism" is used in this pamphlet, it will signify both Italian Fascism and Nazism.

3 October, 1944,
4 December, 1944, p. 102 sqq.; January, 1945, p. 106 sqq. 3 October, 1944, p. 27 sqq.

⁵ September 4, 1944, p. 94 sqq. 6 The Communist Manifesto, p. 8.

Churchill's statement literally. Many still believe that the U. S. S. R. is "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma."

It is the writer's contention that the nature of Communism under Lenin, and under Stalin even as of this date, is as clear and obvious as the blade of a bayonet. Tactics shift as fast as winter weather, but even tactics are motivated and often moulded by a few basic rules.

Communism in its essentials, is not difficult to understand. Communism is, however, difficult to combat—as difficult as the "V" weapons of the robots.

Unpatriotic!

Do not protest that an attack on Communism will be detrimental to the war effort. This war is being fought to destroy tyranny and to establish a just peace by creating a world where liberty and freedom may be enjoyed by all peoples.

If our Russian ally is waging war, first, to protect itself, and simultaneously to substitute "Red Fascism" for "Brown (or Hitlerian) Fascism," then it becomes a patriotic duty to challenge Communism.

We cannot commit intellectual suicide because the Russian Army has shown great courage and happens to be on our side in this war. Bravery is not a Soviet copyright. Ask the young men who are returning from the front, what they think of the bravery of the German soldiers; ask them what they think of the bravery, or as they prefer to describe it, the "fanaticism" of the Japanese soldiers. Valor is not a Communist monopoly. Evidence of valor should not cause us to warp our judgment and fail to face the facts concerning the danger of Communism confronting Europe and the United States.

Defore analyzing the essential nature of Communism and tracing some of its latest tactics, both here and abroad, it will be necessary to recall some basic doctrines.

All philosophy of the State ultimately resolves itself into two schools of thought. Let us briefly study the two systems. One goes by the rather high-sounding title, TotalitarTrecently

ianism, and is the identical doctrine underlying the two hating rivals of Fascism and Communism; a doctrine which has found its logical conclusion in the grim, gory war in which we are now engaged. The other is the theory of Natural Rights, of which the highest example, at least in structure, is our American Democracy.

Totalitarianism is easily defined. It means that the "total" man (hence its name) belongs to the State. All rights originate with, can be modified or destroyed at the will of the omnipotent State. In more detail, personal rights of the individual, such as life and liberty; political rights, such as freedom of speech, press, and assembly, and formation of political opposition to incumbents; economic rights, such as rights to personal property, the selection and place of employment; family rights; religious liberty; all these basic rights and liberties in the totalitarian concept have their origin in the State. The State, therefore, may at will abrogate or curtail any or all of these rights as expediency demands.

An outstanding Eastern educator has trenchantly epitomized the doctrine:

"You are familiar with the philosophy of the Absolute State. Its modern name is Totalitarianism, but its name is its only novelty. It is a retrogression to ancient Caesarism; the deification of the state, upon specious grounds of public policy, to the annihilation of human personality. The public policy of the state is the alpha and omega of all things, the ultimate criterion of truth and the last norm of right. Human life, its purpose, dignity and value, have significance only by the yardstick of state utility. Will is substituted for reason; law becomes organized force; might

Opposed to the totalitarian philosophy of the State which is the very soul of Communism and of Fascism, is the American political philosophy of life which is known as the doctrine of Natural Rights. It is that doctrine which is referred to in

is right. The fire of human liberty is extinguished, because there is no Eternal Law. There is no God but

Caesar." 7

⁷ William J. Kenealy, S.J., Dean, Boston College Law School; October 4, 1941, on the occasion of the First Red Mass in New England.

the Declaration of Independence when it speaks of those things which are granted by "the laws of nature and of nature's God." It is that doctrine which is more specifically detailed in the famous Bill of Rights which forms the first ten amendments to the Constitution. Briefly, this doctrine is the following.

We Americans hold that the individual, both logically and biologically, precedes the State. We hold that the individual is dowered by nature and ultimately by the Author of nature with certain natural rights such as the right to life, liberty. Individuals joining together form another natural institution known as the family, which has likewise from "the law of nature and of nature's God," certain definite rights and sanctities.

Lastly, in both the logical and historical order, is another natural institution known as Civil Society or the State, composed of the two prior institutions, the individual and the family. It is the primary function of the State to protect and not to usurp the rights of the individual and of the family. It is the secondary function of the State to promote the common welfare of its citizens by regulating the complexities of civil life and to engage in such activities as are beyond the scope or ability of either the individual or the family. This is the very soul of the American system, and all of the distinctive features of our government are only means to protect the above doctrine. The written Constitution, a system of checks and balances, the Supreme Court, etc., are simply means to an end.

The foregoing is a brief presentation of the essential antagonism between the two systems.

Has Communism Changed?

Much that follows will be challenged by Soviet admirers as being an attack on the Communism that was, not the Communism that is. No one can deny that many Americans have changed their attitude toward the Soviets. Is this change a result of ceaseless propaganda and war opportunism or is it founded on fact? A fair question.

It is the writer's contention that Communism has not and will never change its essentially vicious nature. Its tactics,

however, have been modified to meet the exigencies of internal

difficulties and of foreign policy.

What are the main changes which Soviet sympathizers dwell upon? First, that the U.S.S.R. is no longer a Fascist dictatorship but a democracy. Secondly, there is the alleged amelioration of the persecution of religion. Thirdly, the alleged return to nationalism indicates an abandonment of world revolution.

These questions will be discussed in detail in subsequent pages.⁸ Here we will dwell on only a few guiding principles.

Communism is essentially immoral, denying, as we shall see, any moral restraints. Its norm of action then becomes expediency, or to use a more technical term, pragmatism.

One cannot repeat too often Yaroslavsky's famous phrase, "Whatever helps the proletarian revolution is ethical." 9

Stalin is even more explicit:

"Words must have no relation to actions—otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing, actions another. Good words are a mask for concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron." 10 was a like of the concealment of the concealment of bad deeds.

Hitler, in his protestations of no further annexations after Munich was but carrying out the immoral pronouncement of the Red Fuehrer.

The entire history of Communism in the U.S.S.R. must be studied in the light of this norm of expediency or pragmatism.

Let us now briefly study Communism from the political, the religious, and finally, the international aspect.

Red Fascism T. Telly

This title is not meant to be irritating, but to be truthful. The writer's use of the term has, in fact, irritated local Communists for over ten years, but one must realize that nothing irritates Communists more than the truth.

From the standpoint of the U.S.S.R., this World War II is a war against Fascism. From the standpoint of the U.S.A., it is a war against any tyranny which would destroy human

⁸ Confer pp. 11-34.
9 Quoted in Red Virtue, p. 12.
10 Quoted in The Real Soviet Russia, p. 71.

liberty. The U.S.S.R., as will be proven, is fighting, must fight, to enslave peoples. The U.S.A. is fighting to liberate peoples.

Let us go back a few years. Two great evils, two vicious dictatorships, two ideologies which sought world domination existed in 1939. Nazism struck first. Austria and Czechoslovakia were its first victims.

Nazism, pragmatically, allied itself to its rival but fellow tyranny, Communism, and Poland fell, stabbed in the back by "a freedom-loving democracy." Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia were next "liberated" unto death.

Desperate freedom-loving peoples of France and England declared war. The "clenched fist" of "democratic" U. S. S. R. nestled in friendly grasp with the Hitlers, the Himmlers, the Goerings, the Goebbels. As Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France fell under the might of Hitler's "Fascism," the Communist International derided the heroic but futile defense of liberty by these nations as "An Imperialist War," etc. The Third International ranted against any who would support or aid the unequal contest against its Nazi paramour. Peace meetings, sabotage of arms and munitions to fight Nazism, the "Yanks Are Not Coming," were the Communist Party Line of those days.

The most patent proof of the insincerity of the U. S. S. R. is to be found in any Communist publication in the file copies from September 1, 1939, to June 21, 1941.¹¹

Then, the fateful day came. It had to come. No two tyrants, each seeking world domination, each armed with tremendous military strength could co-exist.

Came the dawn of June 22, 1941, when Germany invaded Russia, and the "Imperialist War" became the war against the "Fascist fiends." The rest is current history.

Red Fascism, with the aid of the U.S.A. and the British Empire, is now crushing Hitlerian Fascism. When V-E Day comes, what of Europe's future? This question will be discussed later.

Black-Brown-Red Fascism

Let us be fair. Fascism has come to mean, to many Americans, any thing opposed to Communism. If one traces the

history of this deceptive definition, one will find that its popularity originated with the propaganda unloosed in June of 1941.

Prior to that date, Fascism meant not merely the Mussolini brand of dictatorship, but any brutal dictatorship destructive of the so-called "Four Freedoms," ¹² as well as any freedom for the individual, the family, and the citizen.

If we revert to the latter definition of the term "Fascist," then there is no vital difference between the blackshirts of Mussolini, the brownshirts of Hitler, and the red star of Soviet serfs.

This was the case before 1941. Despite Teheran, it is still the fact, as will presently be proven.

Torpedoed Freedoms

When the warship, *Prince of Wales*, on which the Atlantic Charter was planned, was torpedoed in the South China Sea, the sinking seemed prophetic. Recent events in Europe appear to point to a torpedoing of the Four Freedoms.

Whence comes this pressure, if not from the U.S.S.R. which, while not a party to the Atlantic Charter, agreed to its "basic propositions"?

If and when new lands fall under the dominion of Joseph Stalin, what sort of government can we expect from the U.S.S.R. which boasts of fighting to establish "liberty and democracy"? Even though we are engaged in a vicious war, we must honestly face that question. This war, as has been said, is being fought to destroy tyranny, not to substitute one form of tyranny for another.

The Red Fuehrer and Political Freedom

Definitions of democracy vary widely, but certain essential elements are agreed upon by all.

There must be freedom of "political opposition," which implies freedom of speech, of the press, of popular assemblage.

¹² Only two freedoms appear in the Atlantic Charter released to the Press. Contrary to general belief, freedom of the press and freedom of religion are not mentioned in the so-called "Charter."

Communists demand all of these freedoms in the U.S.A., but none are tolerated in the U.S.S.R.

Let Stalin, quoting Lenin, give the proof:

"The class which has seized political power has done so conscious of the fact that it has seized power alone. This is implicit in the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This concept has meaning only when one class knows that it alone takes political power into its own hands, and does not deceive either itself or others by talk about popular, elected government, sanctified by the whole people." 13

Is this democracy or tyranny? Is Red Fascism different from Hitlerian Fascism?

American labor unions which have been taken over by Communists (and there are not a few) know how well Browder's "quislings" follow the doctrines of the Russian Fuehrer. They clamor for freedom, but once in power, this organized, ruthless minority stifle every move to oust them.¹⁴

Printing Press Freedoms

True, the Soviet Constitution grants, "Freedom of speech . . . Freedom of the press . . . Freedom of assembly . . . Freedom of demonstrations . . . inviolability of person . . . inviolability of the homes of citizens. . . ." 15

Pamphlets are necessarily limited. Let the reader, therefore, study any of the classic works on the U.S.S.R. (confer bibliography on last pages) and the travesty of these constitutional guarantees becomes sickening.

It is risky enough in public print or on public platform in the U.S.A. to assail the U.S.S.R., but even from cursory study, let any fair-minded reader try to imagine what would happen if a Soviet citizen in the U.S.S.R. tried to exercise any of these freedoms.

Try to imagine any Russian Communist writing or uttering the equivalent of some of the charges and counter-charges of the last presidential campaign. Try to imagine how long your favorite columnist or radio commentator would last in the U.S.S.R. if he dared criticize Stalin.

¹³ Problems of Leninism, p. 22. 14 Confer Communism and Union Labor.

Not only is this true in the U.S.S.R., but throughout the world in every foreign section of the still vital Third International.¹⁶

Let Ercoli in Italy or Thorez in France or Browder in the United States utter one word of criticism of Stalin, of Russian foreign policy, or deviate one iota from the Party Line, and he would suffer the fate of any other traitor.

Not even Nazism at its worst 17 ever demanded such complete mental and moral slavery as is exacted by Communism.

Confession of Guilt

In the days when the Kremlin had not become the focal point of distinguished foreign visitors being wined and dined by Joseph Stalin, the Soviet Dictator made the mistake of committing to writing his code of ethics.

In a book which makes *Mein Kampf* seem innocuous, Joseph Stalin gives his official view on Lenin's teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat. He quotes with approval the following:

"The scientific concept, dictatorship (of the proletariat), means nothing more nor less than power which directly rests on violence, which is not limited by any laws or restricted by any absolute rules. . . . Dictatorship means—note this once and for all, Messrs. Cadets—unlimited power, resting on violence and not on law." 18

No comment is necessary on this brutal law of the jungle which, with the aid of the N. K. V. D., 19 has dyed crimson the soil of the U. S. S. R. for over twenty-seven years.

Gullible U. S. A.

Labor leaders, university professors, etc., in this country which is based on "Justice under law," with amazing inconsistency, coddle disciples of this doctrine that might is right, that Communism is based "on violence and not on law." Even the Supreme Court of the United States naïvely states:

¹⁶ Confer pp. 27-34.

¹⁷ Confer the opposition of certain ranking officers in the German Army.

¹⁸ Problems of Leninism, p. 25.

¹⁹ Originally known as the Cheka, and later as the G.P.U.

"For some time the question whether advocacy of governmental overthrow by force and violence is a principle of the Communist Party of the United States has perplexed courts, administrators, legislators, and students." 20

The outstanding "students" of Communism would certainly be Marx, Lenin, and Stalin. When the issue arises again, perhaps the Supreme Court might have read into the record the following quotations:

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

"Workingmen of all countries, unite!" 21

"Can such a radical transformation of the old bourgeois system of society be achieved without a violent revolution, without the dictatorship of the proletariat?

"Obviously not. To think that such a revolution can be carried out peacefully within the framework of bourgeois democracy, which is adapted to the domination of the bourgeoisie, means one of two things. It means either madness, and the loss of normal human understanding, or else an open and gross repudiation of the proletarian revolution. . . .

"That is why Lenin states that '... the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the apparatus of state power, which was created by the ruling class. . . . '" 22

Out-Hitlering Hitler

We Americans, any civilized people, find it difficult to understand how a man like Hitler could dominate a great nation; how Hitler's hirelings could become so degraded as to commit the inhuman atrocities now established as facts; how human

21 Manifesto, p. 44.

²⁰ Case of "Schneiderman v. United States"; 320 US 118.

²² Problems of Leninism, pp. 19-20.

life can be sacrificed so ruthlessly as graves mount into the millions.

Totalitarian barbarism is hard to understand unless one understands Totalitarianism. If the "total man" belongs to an omnipotent State, or in practice, to an omnipotent tyrant, then human life is as expendable as bullets.

There can be no violation of the right "to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" if men and women have no such rights: if men and women live and labor when, where, and how the dictatorship commands.

How quickly we forget history, or better, how cleverly

propaganda has made us forget history.

Lenin became the Soviet dictator in 1917; Stalin became the tyrant of the U.S.S.R. in 1924. Hitler and his Nazis did not come into dictatorship until 1933.

True, the mind recoils and the soul is nauseated when we read of the Nazi atrocities of these past few years. Have we forgotten the gory Soviet record of murder and torture, of concentration camps and slave labor 23 which forms the most sordid page in human history, and covers a period of over a quarter of a century?

Hitler had an apt teacher in Joseph Stalin, and as yet, the pupil has not outstripped the master.

These are not mere indictments. The references given below amply substantiate the charges.24 To give but one illustration. Civilized nations like America are still stunned by the stories and photographs of the crematories at Maidenek, near Lublin, where the Nazis burned to death close to a million human victims.

Let us not forget in our rightful indignation, the mass murder in the Ukraine in the winter of 1932 when upwards of five millions of peasants were deliberately starved to death by Joseph Stalin.

Red Fascism and Brown Fascism differ only in that Communism is cruder-Nazism more scientific.

Red Fuehrer and Religious Freedom

Since this section of the pamphlet limits itself to the atheistic element of Communism and its alleged present religious

²³ Consult the writings of Eugene Lyons.
24 Consult The Real Soviet Russia, Russia's Iron Age.

freedom in the U.S.S.R., its purport must be clearly set forth.

These paragraphs are not written for men and women who have scrapped the old Credo, "I believe in God," and replaced it by the arrogant creed, "I believe in man"; they are not written for men and women who sneer at prayer as but mummery, who look upon marriage as mere mating, who learnedly dispense themselves from the Ten Commandments by terming them "inhibitions," and who, in short, regard human conduct as mere bio-chemical reactions.

This pamphlet is written for the average American who believes in God, in an immortal soul, in a code of morality, and who still clings to the old, but not old-fashioned, virtues of religion, of honesty, of decency, and of loyalty and respect for authority.

Do you believe in God? If you do, then you cannot subscribe to Communism. That statement is clear, blunt, and provable.

The sole purpose of this section of the pamphlet is to prove that Communism is essentially atheistic. If you believe in God, then not only can you not look sympathetically on the Soviet State, the Communist Party, and the Third International (these are three names for one and the same evil), but we owe it to God, to our country and to ourselves to be militantly anti-communistic.

Guilty as Charged

If the essence of Communism is to be found in the doctrines of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin; if, secondly, these men admittedly believe in, teach, and propagandize a materialistic philosophy of life, then Communism is essentially atheistic. Atheism, is not a transitory or personal phase of Communism, it is a part of the essence of the entire movement. Now, let the confession of the accused be "read into the record."

Note that the following excerpts are not borrowed from any propagandist either for or against the U.S.S.R.; they are not the violent or vicious personal views of this or that Communist. The Soviet State is Marxian theory in practice. Lenin was and is the official interpreter of Marx, and his writings possess an infallibility unrivaled even by the Pope of

Rome.²⁵ Stalin has but industrialized and militarized Leninism. If God and the soul have been scrapped in Russia, the mummy of Lenin has become both the soul and the god of Communism.

"Atheism is an integral part of Marxism. Consequently, a class-conscious Marxist party must carry on propaganda in favor of atheism." 26

"The winning over of the proletariat is accomplished, principally by dealing with their every-day economic and political interests; consequently, the propaganda in favour of atheism must grow out of, and be carefully related to, the defense of these interests." ²⁷

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is guided by the conviction that only the conscious and deliberate planning of all the social and economic activities of the masses will cause religious prejudices to die out. The party strives for the complete dissolution of the ties between the exploiting classes and the organization of religious propaganda, facilitates the real emancipation of the working class from religious prejudices and organizes the widest possible scientific, educational, and anti-religious propaganda." ²⁸

"One of the most important tasks of the cultural revolution affecting the wide masses is the task of systematically and unswervingly combating religion—the opium of the people... At the same time, the proletarian state, while granting liberty of worship and abolishing the privileged position of the formerly dominant religion, carries on an anti-religious propaganda with all the means at its command and reconstructs the whole of its educational work on the basis of scientific materialism." 29

The Deified Mummy Speaks

"Religion is the opium of the people. Religion is a kind of spiritual intoxicant, in which the slaves of

²⁵ Confer Problems of Leninism.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁹ Religion, p. 6.

²⁶ Religion, p. 5. 28 Ibid., p. 6.

capital drown their humanity and their desires for some sort of decent human existence." 30

"Our program is based entirely on scientific—to be more precise—upon a materialist world conception. In explaining our program, therefore, we must necessarily explain the actual historical and economic roots of the religious fog. Our program necessarily includes the propaganda of atheism." ³¹

"Marx said 'Religion is the opium of the people'—and this postulate is the cornerstone of the whole philosophy of Marxism with regard to religion. Marxism always regarded all modern religions and churches, and every kind of religious organization as instruments of that bourgeois reaction whose aim is to defend exploitation by stupefying the working class." 32

Religion—A Private Matter

The constant boast of Communist propagandists is that religion is a private matter in the U.S.S.R. Most readers accustomed to the separation of Church and State are persuaded that such a position is proper and just. Students of the "theory of religious freedom" in the U.S.S.R. (and the word "theory" is used advisedly) will find a summary of the official decrees in Lenin's and Yaroslavsky's writings.

Bear in mind while reading the following quotations that "the Party" means the Communist Party, the only recognized party in Russia, and that "the Party" dominates every activity in Russia with a tyranny unknown even under the Tsars.

Lenin Speaks

"'Religion must be regarded as a private matter'; in these words the attitude of Socialists to religion is usually expressed. But we must define the meaning of these words precisely so as to avoid misunderstanding. We demand that religion be regarded as a private matter as far as the state is concerned, but under no circumstances can we consider it a private matter with regard to our own Party." 38

30 *Ibid.*, p. 7. 32 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 9 sq. 33 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

"To the party of the Socialist proletariat, however, religion is not a private matter. Our Party is a league of class-conscious, progressive fighters for the liberation of the working class. Such a league cannot and must not be indifferent to lack of class-consciousness, to ignorance or insanity in the shape of religious beliefs." 34

"The party of the proletariat demands that the state shall declare religion a private matter, but it does not for a moment regard the question of the fight against the opium of the people—the fight against religious superstition, etc.—as a private matter." 35

Shrewd Advice

We often wonder why religion is scarcely touched upon by Communist propagandists in this country. The appeal is always to class hatred, "the exploiting of the laboring man," etc. The emphasis of Russia's success is always on its economic achievements. Atheism is tactfully ignored or glossed over.

Despite the blatant and militant atheism preached by Lenin in the above statements, he shrewdly counsels his serfs not to emphasize the anti-religious aspect if it would hinder "the world revolution."

"A Marxist must place the success of the strike movement above all else, must definitely oppose the division of the workers in this struggle into atheists and Christians, must fight resolutely against such a division.

"In such circumstances the preaching of atheism is superfluous and harmful—not from the narrow-minded consideration of not frightening the backward elements, or of losing votes at elections, etc., but from the point of view of the actual progress of the class struggle, which, in the conditions of modern capitalist society, will convert Christian workers to Social-Democracy and to atheism a hundred times more effectively than any bald atheist sermons. To preach atheism at such a time, and in such circumstances, would only be playing into the hands of the church and the

84 Ibid., p. 9.

priests, who would desire nothing more than to have the workers participating in the strike movement divided in accordance with their religious beliefs." ³⁶

Atheistic Propaganda

Lest one would believe that atheistic propaganda is private and not governmental, the following excerpt from Lenin is most significant:

"Secondly, such a magazine must be an organ of militant atheism. We have departments or at least government institutions which carry on this work." 37

The History of Religion in the U. S. S. R. (1917-1939)

In the beginning of this treatment on atheism and Communism, we saw the established doctrine of Lenin and of Stalin. Now, let us review a few of the high-spots in the application of this doctrine to the peoples of the U.S.S.R. The first great anti-religious persecution reached its climax in the year 1923. The viciousness of this and subsequent persecutions is best told in William H. Chamberlin's, Russia's Iron Age.

In the first Constitution of the U.S.S.R., adopted in 1924, there was the guarantee of freedom "of religious and anti-religious propaganda for all citizens." This freedom guaranteed by the Constitution had as little practical application as the freedom of the press or speech. It was during this time that Stalin himself declared to an American labor delegation in 1927:

"The party cannot be neutral in respect to religion, it wages an anti-religious propaganda against all religious prejudices because it stands for science. . . . There are cases of party members interfering with the full development of anti-religious propaganda. It is good that such members are expelled." **88*

Since the "party" controlled Russia, and the party operated through the G. P. U., no further comment on this period is necessary.

Collectivization came in 1929. In the U.S.S.R., as in nearly all countries, much of the rural life is built around the religious life of the town or village. This period is noted not only for its religious persecution of the Church which supported the peasants holding of their lands, but marks the high point in human atrocities. Nothing which has ever happened under Hitler's Nazism is comparable with the above-mentioned ³⁹ mass murder in the Ukraine which took place during this period.

Once collectivization was accomplished, and the U.S.S.R. began to assume respectability through the League of Nations, religious persecution began to diminish, but not for long.

Religion and the Constitution

Soviet lovers in the U.S.A. are wont to prove that religious freedom is guaranteed in the Constitution, therefore it exists in practice. One might as well quote Hitler's famous pronouncement that he desired no further expansion in Europe; therefore, there was no invasion of Holland, Belgium, France, etc. Or, keeping within the confines of the U.S.S.R., one might as well quote the same Soviet Constitution which guaranteed freedom of speech and press, and then assert that Russian counterparts of our columnists and radio commentators take Stalin to task as vigorously as the opposition campaigned against the Administration in the last presidential election. Not even Earl Browder would be that absurd.

Just what did that great "democratic" document, the Constitution of the U. S. S. R., guarantee? The section involved reads:

"In order to assure the workers of true freedom of conscience, the church is separated from the state and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda are recognized for all citizens." 40

Translated into simpler language, a man might worship God in the privacy of his own heart, but not publicly. In other words, the "freedom-loving" Stalin would permit a man to

raise his mind and heart to God, because not even the omnipotent G. P. U. could invade a man's soul.

Religious propaganda was forbidden, but "anti-religious propaganda" was guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution. Any external acts of ministry were forbidden by this "liberty-loving democracy."

Then began the all-out offensive against religion. By precluding the Church from any defense whether by written or spoken word, the G. P. U. systematically sought to exterminate the Church itself.

Over ten thousand religious parishes were closed, priests were exiled, sent off to concentration camps and often executed. All the typical Red and Brown Fascist tactics against religion, the twin weapons of terror and slanderous propaganda, were ruthlessly set in motion. For all practical purposes, the Church was now liquidated. Its buildings had been taken over by the government; its priests driven into exile; the children, the hope of the Church, had been brought up in Militant Atheism. "Opium" would no longer drug the proletariat!

World War II and the Church

This was the situation in the U.S.S.R. at the time that World War II broke out. Again, Stalin the realist, or better still, the pragmatist, whose only norm, as we have seen, is "whatever helps the proletarian revolution is ethical," decided to make use of the Church in a bid for world sympathy. Stalin's motives are evident. For years, Hitler's agents had been encouraging the Orthodox priests in exile. Since Hitler planned to strike at the Ukraine, he particularly developed a sympathy among the Ukrainians based on his attitude toward the Orthodox Church.

Hitler, the Brown Fascist, at the very time he was seeking to crush the Church in Germany, was carrying on a tremendous propaganda in Europe and in South America based on the alleged fact that the only strong bulwark against the spread of atheistic Communism was Germany.⁴¹ In the Latin countries, this propaganda was particularly effective. Millions failed to realize that religion and totalitarianism are essentially antagonistic, and that Nazism is as bitter a foe of reli-

^{* 41} National Socialism and the Roman Catholic Church.

gion as Communism.⁴² The Vatican was one of those few who did not succumb to this propaganda.⁴³

It was necessary for Stalin to offset this Nazi appeal to those who feared Atheistic Communism.

Since an atheist is bound by no moral code or no precepts of truthfulness or sincerity, it is not surprising to find certain apparent changes toward religion developing in the U.S.S.R.

Immediately after the outbreak of the Nazi-Soviet War, we find the Metropolitan Sergius declaring his support of the war, and praying for the success of Russian arms. One might note in passing that this is the same Sergius who in 1930, announced in the Soviet press, "There never was persecution of religion in Russia." Not even Stalin with all his disregard of truth could have uttered a more fallacious statement.

Next, the leaders of the Orthodox Church, with an hypocrisy which is difficult to explain, circulated abroad, although not in the U. S. S. R., a book entitled, *The Truth About Religion in Russia*, in which an attempt was made to show that not only there was not, but there had never been any persecution of religion in Russia on the part of the government. It is ironic to note that this book was printed in the same printing shop which had formerly printed the magazine, *Godless*.

Next, we find the same Sergius being personally received by atheist, Joseph Stalin. The result of this meeting was a pronouncement not in favor of God or the Church, but it was a demand upon the United States and Great Britain to open the "Second Front." Communism has always used as its most damning indictment the charge that the Church had been involved in politics. Here is the very apogee of a political churchman.

However, today we are witnessing the success of this hypocritical move. A large part of the Balkans are chiefly Slav, and these Balkan Slavs are definitely religious. In order to induce the Balkans to unite in a Pan-Slavic grouping with the U.S.S.R. Stalin is playing his usual shrewd and pragmatic game.

By pretending to offer freedom of religion, he is lulling possible Balkan opposition. Orthodox and Catholic are fight-

⁴² Confer Nazism Versus Religion.

ing with and under Tito. This brave, but nevertheless, "red quisling" of Stalin must still follow "the party line." "The party," as we have seen, is essentially atheistic and when expediency again demands, the Balkan Slavs who cling to God, will suffer the same fate from this Asiatic Nero as did the Russian Slavs.

The relations between the Vatican and the Kremlin have been such that they need no further elaboration in this pamphlet. Some of the quotations of His Holiness in his famous encyclical will be later set forth. The denouncements of the Vatican in the Stalin-controlled press are only too well known. The attacks on the Vatican as being pro-Fascist will bring a smile to anyone not a bigot. The one great force in the world which has consistently fought Totalitarians, whether Nazi or Communist, has been the Vatican. The attack upon Nazism by Pius XI will be placed among the epoch-making documents in the history of religion. The attack on Communism by the same Pius XI was and remains the clearest analysis, and the most potent indictment yet uttered.

Opiates in Wartime

The maxim of Karl Marx that "religion is the opium of the people" was accepted both in theory and practice by Lenin and Stalin. Why then, during World War II, does Stalin ease off on religious persecution? To anyone who has followed the workings of this Asiatic's mind, the answer is simple.

Irrespective of what one's belief may be in the matter of religion, it is an historical fact that in times of sorrow, men and women instinctively turn towards a hidden power for assuagement in their grief. Whatever belief in immortality there may be in the human heart, has a resurgence when the loss of loved ones raises the hope of a reunion in a World in which there are no sorrows, no wars, no separations. Prescinding altogether from the objectivity of this truth, this is the historical fact.

The Slav is essentially a Christian. Years of indoctrination have not entirely wiped out his belief in a God above, in the Prince of Peace, or in the possibility of joining his loved

46 Divini Redemptoris.

⁴⁴ Confer Life, February 2, 1944.

ones in some World beyond the grave. The U.S.S.R. has suffered the heaviest war casualties of any country in the history of the world. Other nations have used their Chaplains as morale builders. If a little religion would help the morale of a people, then Stalin would allow them this war-time consolation. After all, opium is used to alleviate pain in the physical order. Why not allow the people a little of the "opiate of religion" to alleviate their heartaches and sorrows during the strain of war.

Never lose sight of the fact that the U. S. S. R. is starkly totalitarian, and as we have seen, this means that the "total man" belongs to the State. If all rights begin with, can be modified or abrogated at the will of the State, then one can easily understand the "zig-zag" process which has been employed by Stalin with reference to religion. Whenever a little religion would help the proletarian revolution to become more effective, then the pressure has eased off. Whenever there was any threat to the totality of the State's dominion, then persecution has begun again.

During the war, we can expect to see more and more toleration of religion in the U.S.S.R., and even more and more propaganda of this toleration, especially among the Christian nations of the world. When victory comes, one word from the Kremlin can wipe out all the hard-won gains, and Militant Atheism will again shackle the minds of Russian youth.

The Square Circle

Stalin and his satellites are making a desperate bid to conceal for the present the intrinsic opposition of Christianity and Communism. To attempt to reconcile Christianity with Atheism is to attempt to square the circle. It is pragmatically necessary for Stalin, however, to attempt to lull religiousminded people in the countries which have been liberated into a belief that Communism and Christianity are compatible.

All one has to do is to read the day by day account of what is happening in Italy, France, Greece, etc., to see how desperately this veil of hypocrisy is being spread throughout Europe.

This is not a new technique. We saw it in the "extended hand" policy which was used at the time of the Popular Front in France. We saw it again when Earl Browder wrote his pamphlet, "A Message to American Catholics." Earl Browder would allow a Catholic priest to deliver the invocation in a Madison Square Garden Communist Rally if he thought it would help to lull Catholics into a belief that one could square the circle.

Impenitent Stalin

If one wants to test the present day sincerity of Joseph Stalin towards religion, let the Russian Dictator admit that over the past twenty-seven years he has been guily of crimes which out-Nero Nero,⁴⁷ which pale into insignificance the unspeakable crimes of Hitler. So far, we have had not one word of apology, one word of regret, one word of retraction for all the foul deeds of this Asiatic Atheist.

Let us never forget that this is the same Stalin, whose hand is "thicker than itself with brothers' blood," who has massacred and tortured the clergy, who has demolished and profaned the churches, who has substituted the sword for the Cross, who has for many years denied to a tenth of the people of the world the consolations of religion. This is the same Stalin who is seeking to Sovietize once Christian lands.

If Stalin is sincere in an alleged relaxing of the persecution of religion, let him allow the return of those who have been training specifically for the task of evangelizing the U. S. S. R., if and when religious freedom is restored there. When missionaries again can travel freely within the confines of the U. S. S. R., we will know that Joseph Stalin has come to his Canossa.

It remains now to be seen whether the world will be as gullible with regard to "religious freedom" in the U.S.S.R. as it has been in accepting the U.S.S.R. as a "democracy"; as it has been in accepting the constantly reiterated lie that Communism has no intention of "violently overthrowing" the government of other countries, and the equally vicious lie that it maintains no international organization which directs the activities of Communist members in the various countries of the world, including the U.S.A.

For the Gullible

The three principal propaganda lies of Communism are, first, that the U.S.S.R. is not a Fascist dictatorship but a democracy; secondly, that Communism is no longer atheistic but guarantees religious liberty. Briefly, we have studied these two points. The third propaganda lie and one of the most successful is that the U.S.S.R. has become nationalist minded and has abandoned "World Revolution," and therefore World Communism.

World Communism

A few years ago it would have been needless to prove that there were men and women in every nation who, under orders from Moscow, were following "the party line," who sought to seize power and eventually by "force and violence" to overthrow existing governments and to form a World Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Even the Communists themselves in their earlier writings admitted this charge of high treason. The program stems

back to young Karl Marx's Manifesto:

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. "Workingmen of all countries, unite!" 48

Third International

Communism was still in the throes of the Red-White struggle when a call went out to the revolutionaries of the world to meet in Moscow. In 1919 was founded the Third International or Comintern. There was no secret about its objective. It was brazenly set forth in the *Program of the Communist International*, which one, until a short time ago, could buy in any Communist book store. A few quotations are here in order:

⁴⁸ Manifesto, p. 44. 49 Program of the Communist International, p. 8.

"The Communist International—the International Workers' Association—is a union of Communist Parties in various countries; it is the world Communist Party. As the leader and organizer of the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the protagonist of the principles and aims of Communism, the Communist International strives to win over the majority of the working class and the broad strata of the propertyless peasantry, fights for the establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a World Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, for the complete abolition of classes and for the achievement of socialism—the first stage of communist society." 50

"Membership in the Communist Party and in the Communist International is open to all those who accept the program and rules of the respective Communist Party and of the Communist International, who join one of the basic units of the Party, actively work in it, abide by all the decisions of the Party and of the Communist International. . . ." 52

Red Robots

No better summary of the Kremlin-directed sabotage of American institutions has been written than Eugene Lyons', *The Red Decade*. Unfortunately, the impact of this book was diminished since it was published about the time we went to war. Just as Lyons' expose of the serfdom of the Slav under Communism in the U. S. S. R. remains one of the classics in this field,⁵³ so too the above named book is the best, and still unanswered indictment of the Kremlin-launched

⁵⁰ Program of the Communist International, p. 87. 51 Ibid. 52 Ibid. 53 Assignment in Utopia.

weapons of destruction aimed at our institutions. Nazi robots did not destroy England, but they left a wake of destruction. These Kremlin weapons have not extinguished our freedoms, but ugly Red Fascism has devastated Americanism in hundreds of labor unions, youth organizations, etc.

Orders From Moscow

Until 1940 when the American section of the Communist International allegedly dissolved itself from the Comintern, every move by "Browder's boys" had to have the stamp of approval from Joseph Stalin.

"Section 16. The programs of the various sections (and therefore the American section) must be endorsed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International." ⁵⁴

In the earlier Communist membership books in the U. S. A., the following rules were printed:

"After a decision has been taken by the Congress of the Communist International, by the Convention of the Communist Party, these decisions must be unreservedly carried out even if a part of the party membership or of the local party organization are in disagreement with it." 55

"The strictest party discipline is the most solemn duty of all party members and all party organizations. The decisions of the Communist International and of all the leading bodies of the party must be promptly carried out." ⁵⁶

When it became embarrassing even to the Communists to reconcile their American citizenship with taking orders from a foreign tyrant, these rules were stricken from the membership books, but the Kremlin shackles still bound the members.

"Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism," was next served to a receptive United States. Moscow continued

⁵⁴ Program of the Communist International, p. 90.

⁵⁵ Confer early Party membership books.

to direct the undermining of democracy in America. Class hatreds, race hatreds, pacifism, were the orders of the Kremlin.

"The American Peace Mobilization," the denouncing of the brave R. A. F. battle against the Nazi as a British "Imperialist War," the justification of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, the great mass demonstrations for "brave" Russia's fight against the "aggressor" Finland, the strikes, the sabotaging of American defense preparations, the "Yanks Are Not Coming," slogan, etc.

"Browder's boys," allegedly dissolved from the Comintern, were still goose-stepping for the Red Fuehrer when June, 1941, came. Up to that time, the best ally Hitler had in the United States, was not the Bund, but the American Communist Party.

The Corpse and the Comintern

The Third International or Comintern was allegedly dissolved in May of 1943. Someone caustically remarked, "The Comintern has committed suicide but no one has found the corpse"!

This issue is so important that it deserves a fairly lengthy treatment. The question is whether or not the Communist groups in the U.S.A., Italy, Greece, Belgium, Holland, the Balkans, etc., are still being directed by Moscow? The unity of the war effort, the entire possibility of a peaceful world after victory, depends on the answer to this question.

If by the "Comintern" is meant an occasional meeting of delegates in Moscow, then it may be admitted that the Comintern is temporarily dissolved. If by the "Comintern" is meant that Communists in all parts of the world are receiving their instructions and direction from Moscow, to establish Soviets in their various countries, with the ultimate objective, a World Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, then the writer maintains that the Comintern is about as dead as Joseph Stalin.

Let us first take up the history of the American Communist Party.

The American Communist Party was the official "American Section of the Third International" or Comintern, head-quarters Moscow, beginning with the first meeting of the Third

International held in Moscow in 1919. This openly-admitted link with the Moscow-controlled International continued, as we have seen, until November 16, 1940, when the American Section ostensibly withdrew from the Communist International.

The activities of the Comintern, particularly in the Labor Movement, were a vital issue at the time of the recognition of the U.S.S.R. by the U.S.A. In order to prevent too violent a public reaction to the recognition of a country whose gory, godless record was only too well known to Americans, an exchange of letters took place between President Roosevelt and Foreign Minister Litvinov, which letters formed an integral part of the recognition. In a letter written by Litvinov to President Roosevelt on November 16, 1933, we read:

"... (The Soviet Government undertakes) 4. Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group—which has as an aim the overthrow or the preparation for the overthrow of, or the bringing about by force of a change in the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions." 57

No one familiar with the background of this "recognition" ever honestly thought that Stalin would remove the Comintern from Moscow or from U. S. S. R. soil. *De facto*, he did not.

The only question which would arise in one's mind is whether or not the Third International, residing on Russian territory, sought "the bringing about by force of a change in the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions." This point has been proved in an earlier part of the pamphlet.⁵⁸

If Litvinov's pledge to President Roosevelt means anything, it would seem definitely that the Third International should have been removed from the soil of the U.S.S.R. Apparently, no move was ever made either by the Russian Government or by our own Government to have that com-

mitment carried out. Have we any reason to expect that any new pledges made by the U.S.S.R., are any more trustworthy than the one made in 1933?

The very document dissolving the Comintern contains at least one major lie. In the official document, after a good deal of vague talk concerning conditions in certain countries having "outgrown" the need of the Third International, we find the following:

"These same considerations guided the Communist International in considering the resolution of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. of November, 1940, on its withdrawal from the ranks of the Communist International." 59

Recall to mind two facts; first, at this particular date (1940), Communism and Nazism were allies and not military enemies; secondly, and the important point, an Act had just been passed by the Congress of the United States which required the registration of all those working for foreign governments.60 At this time, we were not coddling Communists, consequently, Red leaders in this country knowing that, under the Act of Congress, they would be indicted as well as Bundists or Japanese agents, met and went through the motions of dissolving their relationship with the Communist International.

These are the facts, as many of you will recall. The socalled "dissolution" was purely a pragmatic and a fraudulent move to avoid incarceration. The "Party Line" was adhered to as rigidly as before. Moscow still ran the Madison Square Garden rallies, the Communist dailies, the labor schools, the front organizations.

There should not be any question in the minds of those who have studied the problem that there has been no de facto dissolution of the relationship of the American Communist Party and the Communist International. Historically, is there anything that would warrant our believing that the new decree dissolving the Comintern will be any more vera-

⁵⁹ Peoples' World, May 24, 1943, p. 2.
60 Voorhis "Anti-propaganda Act," October 17, 1940; U. S. Statutes at Large, Chapter 897, Volume 54, p. 1201.

cious than the decree dissolving the relationship of the American Section?

There is, therefore, one deliberate lie in the official decree dissolving the Comintern. Now, let us take up the letter written by Stalin himself to King,⁶¹ a Reuters correspondent, in which he states: "It (the dissolution of the Communist International) exposes the lie of the Hitlerites to the effect that Moscow allegedly intends to intervene in the life of other States and 'bolshevize' them. An end is put to this lie once and for all."

Another lie does not put an end to a fact. Study the history of the Third International, including the American Section, from 1919 to the present time. Space will not permit one to go over the Communist-led strikes in various cities in our nation. The activities of the Communists in France under the Popular Front, and in the Balkans, etc., need only be recalled and need not be detailed. In fact, the whole purpose of the Third International is set forth in the *Program of the Third International*, published by the Communists themselves. Why go to all the trouble of propagandizing the Dissolution of the Comintern if it had not been interfering in the internal affairs of foreign countries, thereby causing constant friction?

Stalin goes on to say to the Reuters correspondent: "It exposes the calumny of the adversaries of Communism within the labor movement to the effect that the Communist Parties in the various countries are allegedly acting, not in the interests of their people, but on orders from high. An end is put also to this calumny once and for all."

Is Moscow-direction of the Party Line a calumny or a fact? Again, one has only to read the Constitution of the Communist International:

"All the resolutions of the Congresses of the Communist International as well as the resolutions of the Executive Committee, are binding for all Parties joining the Communist International... After a decision has been taken by the Congress of the Communist International, by the Congress of the respective Sections, or by leading committees of the Comintern, and of the

⁶¹ The Communist, July, 1943.

various Sections, the decisions must be unreservedly carried out even if a part of the Party membership or of the local Party organizations are in disagreement with it." 62

Can anyone who has followed the activities of the American Communist Party fail to perceive that they have followed the Comintern Party Line, and still continue to follow the Comintern Party Line? No better example is to be found than the "Yanks Are Not Coming" attitude of the Communists in this country and all over the world when they were denouncing the war, prior to June 22, 1941, as an "Imperialist War." For the first time, on that fateful day when the Nazis turned against the Soviets, the war became the "Peoples' War." One of the most interesting sets of documents which one can possess are copies of Communist literature over that vacillating week of 1941.

Stalin goes on to say to the Reuters correspondent:

"It facilitates the work of all countries for uniting all freedom-loving peoples into a single international camp for the fight against world domination by Hitlerism, thus clearing the way to the future organization of a companionship of nations based upon their equality."

How many Americans are going to be gullible enough to accept this statement? Was Hitler not making war on the rest of the world prior to June, 1941?

What do you mean, Mr. Stalin, by speaking about "freedom-loving peoples"? Is any American going to accept such brazen duplicity. The suppression of the "Four Freedoms" which has taken place ever since the inception of the U.S.S.R. is too well known for one to waste further space on it here. 63

Can We Trust Stalin?

The future peace of the world lies in the hope that the victorious United Nations can work out a plan to which all will conscientiously adhere. Can we trust Russia?

⁶² Theses and Statutes of the Third International, p. 31. 63 Confer The Real Soviet Russia.

Every thinking American is silently asking that question. Every peace-loving American is hoping that the answer is affirmative. What does the record show?

Truth and honesty are moral virtues. All Marxists, including Joseph Stalin, deny a free will, a moral law and a Divine Law Giver, Who alone is above rulers and nations. No atheist can logically be trusted to keep his word, for no atheist recognizes any moral obligation. Joseph Stalin is an atheist. Therefore—!

Yaroslavsky, one of the great high-priests of Communism, has crystallized the doctrine, "Whatever helps the proletarian revolution is ethical." 64

Marx and Lenin have also admitted the guilt of Communism to the above charge:

"We deny all morality taken from superhuman or non-class conceptions. We say that this is a deception, a swindle, a befogging of the minds of the workers and peasants in the interests of the landlords and capitalists." 65

"We say that our morality is wholly subordinated to the interests of the class-struggle of the proletariat. We deduce our morality from the facts and needs of the class-struggle of the proletariat . . . we say that a morality taken from outside of human society does not exist for us; it is a fraud. For us morality is subordinated to the interests of the proletarian class-struggle. . . ." 66

Can we trust Stalin to keep his word? Stalin drafted the Soviet Constitution granting freedom of speech, press, etc. Has he kept his word? Stalin promised the United States not to allow on the soil of the U.S.S.R. "any organization or group—which has as an aim the overthrow or the preparation for the overthrow of, or the bringing about by force of a change in the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions." Has he kept his word?

Stalin is the man who, according to Ambassador Davies of *Mission to Moscow* infamy, has not broken his word in ten years. What does the record show?

Non-aggression Pact signed between the U.S.S.R. and Poland on July 25, 1932, extended for ten years on May 5, 1935. Soviet troops crossed Polish border on September 17, 1939.

Non-aggression Pact signed between the U.S.S.R. and Latvia on February 5, 1932, extended for ten years on April 4, 1934. Soviet troops crossed Latvian border on June 17, 1940.

Non-aggression Pact signed between the U.S.S.R. and Estonia on May 4, 1932, extended for ten years on April 4, 1934. Soviet troops crossed Estonian border on June 17, 1940.

Non-aggression Pact signed between the U.S.S.R. and Finland on January 21, 1932, extended for ten years on April 7, 1934. Soviet troops crossed Finnish border on November 29, 1939.

Non-aggression Pact signed between the U.S.S.R. and Lithuania on September 28, 1926, twice extended, second extension for ten years on April 4, 1934. Soviet troops crossed Lithuanian border on June 15, 1940.

The U.S.S.R. proposed a convention defining aggression and signed document with Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Iran, and Rumania on July 3, 1933, with Lithuania on July 5th, and with Finland on July 23rd. The definition of aggression included invasion by armed forces, even without declaration of war, an attack by any type of armed forces, even without declaration of war. Soviet troops crossed Rumanian border on June 28, 1940.

When the peace treaty ending World War II is written, have we any guarantee that Stalin will be more faithful to his word than in the cases of Poland, Latvia, Estonia, Finland, Lithuania, or Rumania?

We might as well be realists and face the question. Poland, the Balkans, Greece, etc., are forcing us to be realists. Let us be intellectually honest.

New International Tactics

Communist tactics shift as rapidly and as radically as do war strategies. Adequately to treat the apparently contradictory intrigue of the "Party Line" will require a separate pamphlet which, the writer trusts, will be published within a few months. In this present survey treatment, only the briefest outline can be given.

The Grand Strategy

Let the reader recall a few basic tenets of Communism, and the apparently baffling international moves of the U.S.S.R. clarify.

It has been shown that the ultimate objective of Communism is a World Union of Socialist Soviet Republics,⁶⁷ head-quarters Moscow. The achievement of this objective was challenged not so much by the powers of capitalism as by the rise of another international plot, *viz.*, Nazism (Fascism).

War to the death became inevitable. A traitorous alliance whilst democracy was being murdered in Europe, gave the Red military machine the opportunity to build to maximum strength.

The superb defense of the U.S.S.R., the tremendous sacrifice of men and of lend-lease equipment turned the tide. The democracies of America and Great Britain were now joined in an "Anti-Fascist War of Liberation." No one dared question any longer "the democracy" of any of the United Nations.

The war was being won. The peace must now be won. "Governments in exile" were weakened or supplanted. The Baltic States were incorporated into the U.S.S.R. "Free Polish"—"Free German" groups sprang up at Moscow's direction.

Tito was the national hero of Yugoslavia; Ercoli was rushed back to Italy and subsidized; ⁶⁸ Thorez was forced on France; Greece, Belgium, and Holland Communist groups sought not to rebuild their countries, but to overthrow their governments.

The old Lenin technique of seizure of political power through violence and propaganda by a highly organized minority is under way.

Economic chaos, war-shattered peoples, the technique of the Popular Front, the superb organization of "the underground," direction by Moscow-trained experts are tremendous assets for a Communist-controlled Europe. "Peoples' Governments," slander-murders of any political opposition (as every anti-Communist is stigmatized as a "Fascist"), all the methods used by Hitler in Austria, and Stalin in Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania (and in many labor unions in the U. S. A.)—these are the tactics of the "defunct" Communist International. "Friendly governments" must be Moscow-dominated and dictated. Whatever pattern Europe may assume, new governments must not be "anti-Communist."

The diabolical shrewdness of this early "peace" movement lies again in the very nature of Communism. Any sovereign nation, if it would preserve its existence must be as strongly opposed to Communism among its own subjects as it would be against the existence of Nazi Bunds. A group owing its allegiance to Moscow, and not to its own rulers, a group which upholds Red Fascism with its liquidation of personal, political, and religious liberties, a group which aims "by violence" to seize political power—such a group is a menace to any new government set-up in Europe.

To co-exist as a sovereign State with the U.S.S.R.—to protect oneself from the Communist enemy within and in so doing not to be condemned and rejected by Moscow as "unfriendly"—this is the greatest problem facing the peace table. At this writing, it is likewise an unsolved problem, and Moscow seems to hold the winning hand.

The International Opiate

The cleverest of all recent Communist tactics, and one that is lulling many individuals and groups otherwise hostile to Communism, is the widespread belief that after the war, Russia will be "bled white," will need a generation or more to recuperate and will desire peace and friendly relations with other countries for many years to come.

The U.S.S.R. will need all but the last of these, and yet her European, and later on global strategy will proceed. "The underground," the organized, armed, and ruthless Communist minorities in the liberated countries can and will receive financial aid, war materials, and above all, direction from Moscow, without in any way "officially" involving the U.S.S.R. or retarding its recuperation from the ravages of war.

Never since the demoralized conditions when Lenin, with

less than 100,000, seized control of one hundred and seventy millions, has Communism had the opportunity which peace will bring. Chaotic economic conditions, dazed, leaderless peoples, disorganized social conditions—such times are made for the dream of a Lenin and the plans of a Stalin.

This pamphlet cannot treat this problem. You, however, must ask yourselves as American citizens what we as a nation, with our increasing casualty lists and tremendous debt, could do, would do, to counter such a program.

New U. S. A. Tactics

This topic will form a large portion of the new pamphlet referred to above. For the present, the essential facts to be noted and watched are the following:

After the alleged severance of the American Section from the Third International (November 22, 1940), Browder suggested in January, 1944, that the American Communist Party be dissolved. In May, the Red Fascists apparently committed hara-kiri. Private property, free enterprise, the two-party system, etc., were to be tolerated for the present.

However, the American Red "quislings" would assume another title and another role. From now until a new "Party Line" is ordered from Moscow, Browder's henchman would be the "American Communist Political Association."

The "underground" in the guise of a new United Front would concentrate on large groups of organized labor and educate them to their potential political power.⁶⁹ The class struggle (strikes, etc.) would be postponed, not only "for the duration," but until Communist-controlled voting blocks would elect sufficient "Party Line" officials who would be subservient to the underground's program exerting "political action" through group pressure.

Large "Labor Schools" would be and have been set up in centers of population, such as New York, San Francisco, etc. The employers' group lulled by promises of industrial peace (Moscow-guaranteed while the U.S.S.R. is at war) would be beguiled into financing these schools and further deceiving the laboring groups.

⁶⁹ The alleged interrelation between the P.A.C. and the A.C.P.A. cannot be treated of in this pamphlet.

This is the present phase which with much success has been undertaken by the "underground." The proof of the above, further developments, and ultimate objectives are reserved for future writings.

Summary

Pamphlets of their very nature are limited. It is hoped that the reader will continue his studies in the references quoted. Communism is the most dynamic world-changing and world-challenging force which confronts our generation. We have a solemn duty, which we would be cowards to shirk, to study the nature and tactics of Communism and then to translate that study into action.

This pamphlet was designed to stimulate that study. It has sought to prove that:

1. Communism was and is essentially evil.

2. Communism is not the foe of Fascism, but another Fascism.

3. Communism or Red Fascism in practice crushes liberty of speech, of the press, of political opposition.

4. Communism is essentially atheistic and the present lessening of religious persecution is a pragmatic war measure.

- 5. World Communism, despite the alleged dissolution of the Third International, is still vital, and more insidious than ever.
- 6. The tactics of World Communism have radically changed during the war, and unless checked, will destroy our grimly earned victory in Europe.

Two Experts Conclude

Lest the reader fear that the conclusions contained in this pamphlet are distorted views stemming from a phobia on Communism, let the words of two of the greatest experts in the world conclude these pages.

The Vatican Speaks

Irrespective of one's religious beliefs or disbeliefs, all thoughtful men agree that the best informed and the most implacable enemy of Communism is the Vatican.

The ablest analysis and evaluation of the essential immorality of Communism is contained in a document issued in 1937,70 the year after the new U.S.S.R. Constitution was adopted, and thirteen years after Joseph Stalin had become the Fascist Tsar of all the Russias. The entire document should be read. Here are reprinted a few paragraphs:

"This modern revolution, it may be said, has actually broken out or threatens everywhere, and it exceeds in amplitude and violence anything yet experienced in the preceding persecutions launched against the Church. Entire peoples find themselves in danger of falling back into a barbarism worse than that which oppressed the greater part of the world at the coming of the Redeemer." 71

"This all too imminent danger, Venerable Brethren, as you have already surmised, is Bolshevistic and Atheistic Communism, which aims at upsetting the social order and at undermining the very foundations of Christian civilization." ⁷²

"What would be the condition of a human society based on such materialistic tenets? It would be a collectivity with no other hierarchy than that of the economic system. It would have only one mission: the production of material things by means of collective labor, so that the goods of this world might be enjoyed in a paradise where each would 'give according to his powers' and would 'receive according to his needs.' Communism recognizes in the collectivity the right, or rather, unlimited discretion, to draft individuals for the labor of the collectivity with no regard for their personal welfare; so that even violence could be legitimately exercised to dragoon the recalcitrant against their wills. In the Communistic commonwealth morality and law would be nothing but a derivation of the existing economic order, purely earthly in origin and unstable in character. In a word, the Communists claim to inaugurate a new era and a new civilization which is the result of blind evolutionary forces culminating in a humanity without God." 78

⁷⁰ Divini Redemptoris.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3. 73 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

"There is another explanation for the rapid diffusion of the Communistic ideas now seeping into every nation, great and small, advanced and backward, so that no corner of the earth is free from them. explanation is to be found in a propaganda so truly diabolical that the world has perhaps never witnessed its like before. It is directed from one common center. It is shrewdly adapted to the varying conditions of diverse peoples. It has at its disposal great financial resources, gigantic organizations, international congresses and countless trained workers. It makes use of pamphlets and reviews, of cinema, theater and radio, of schools and even universities. Little by little it penetrates into all classes of the people and even reaches the better-minded groups of the community with the result that few are aware of the poison which increasingly pervades their minds and hearts." 74

"But the law of nature of its Author cannot be flouted with impunity. Communism has not been able. and will not be able, to achieve its objectives even in the merely economic sphere. It is true that in Russia it has been a contributing factor in rousing men and materials from the inertia of centuries, and in obtaining by all manner of means, often without scruple, some measure of material success. Nevertheless, We know from reliable and even very recent testimony that not even there, in spite of slavery imposed on millions of men, has Communism reached its promised goal. After all, even the sphere of economics needs some morality, some moral sense of responsibility, which can find no place in a system so thoroughly materialistic as Communism. Terrorism is the only possible substitute, and it is terrorism that reigns today in Russia, where former comrades in revolution are exterminating each other. Terrorism, having failed despite all to stem the tide of moral corruption, cannot even prevent the dissolution of society itself." 75

"... In the beginning, Communism showed itself for what it was in all its perversity; but very soon it realized that it was thus alienating the people. It has therefore changed its tactics, and strives to entice the

multitudes by trickery of various forms, hiding its real designs behind ideas that in themselves are good and attractive. Thus, aware of the universal desire for peace, the leaders of Communism pretend to be the most zealous promoters and propagandists in the movement for world amity. Yet at the same time they stir up a class-warfare which causes rivers of blood to flow, and, realizing that their system offers no internal guarantee of peace, they have recourse to unlimited armaments. Under various names which do not suggest Communism, they establish organizations and periodicals with the sole purpose of carrying their ideas into quarters otherwise inaccessible. They try perfidiously to worm their way even into professedly Catholic and religious organizations. Again, without receding an inch from their subversive principles, they invite Catholics to collaborate with them in the realm of the socalled humanitarianism and charity; and at times even make proposals that are in perfect harmony with the Christian spirit and the doctrine of the Church. Elsewhere they carry their hypocrisy so far as to encourage the belief that Communism, in countries where faith and culture are more strongly entrenched, will assume another and much milder form. It will not interfere with the practice of religion. It will respect liberty of conscience. There are some even who refer to certain changes recently introduced in Soviet legislation as a proof that Communism is about to abandon its program of war against God.

"Communism is intrinsically wrong, and no one who would save Christian civilization may collaborate with it in any undertaking whatsoever. Those who permit themselves to be deceived into lending their aid towards the triumph of Communism in their own country, will be the first to fall victims of their error. And the greater the antiquity and grandeur of the Christian civilization in the regions where Communism successfully penetrates, so much more devastating will be the hatred displayed by the godless." 76

The F. B. I. Speaks

If religious differences might weaken one's acceptance of the Vatican's appraisal, surely any American will accept the 76 Ibid., p. 26. judgment of the most expert and fact-finding organization in the world—the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Prompted only by patriotic and certainly not by political expediency, risking and receiving an avalanche of vicious invective, the words of J. Edgar Hoover, spoken in June of 1944, are a challenge to every true American. This pamphlet began with the quotation; repeated, the words ring with addedwarning:

"The Fascists and Nazis were not the only menace to our internal security. To their forces must be added the American Communists with their godless, truthless, philosophy of life. They are against the America our forefathers fought and died for; they are against the established freedoms of America. They pose behind a dozen fronts; they have endeavored to infiltrate

practically every strata of life.

"When they preach unity, let us not forget that when we were struggling to prepare for defense, they preached pacifism and fought our efforts to aid our allies and to build our common defenses. For true Americans there can be no unity with the enemy within and no compromise with those who would destroy all that we fight for. There is a distinction between respecting our ally Russia, and respecting those within our country who would destroy all that we believe in. No one wishes to detract any from the glorious war history being written by the Russian people in protecting their soil. They are a great fighting nation and have done a masterful job at war.

"But when it comes to governmental systems, we prefer our own American way, and we do not want the Communists in this country attempting to undermine our democracy or any of our institutions. I have said it before, and I repeat it now—America cannot exist half democratic and half Communist or Fascist. The Fascist-minded tyrant is no different from the nativeborn Communistic corruptionist. We are proud of our American form of government. If we want to improve on it, we will do it in our own way, in our time,

and with our own blueprint.

"Over the years, the American Communists have developed a propaganda machine and a nefarious and elaborate school system of their own. Their officials in secret and public meetings urge that the propaganda phase of their work must be accelerated. Brazenly, they have urged the development of courses, lectures, and assemblies as media to espouse the ideologies of Marxism and to establish Marxism as a school of thought in the United States. And even in the chameleon cloak with which they have now enshrouded themselves, the American Communists still proclaim their loyalty to Marxism, the antithesis of American democracy. The Communist Trojan Horse has now become the Trojan Snake in American life." 77

77 Op. cit.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barmine, Alexander, "The New Communist Conspiracy," Readers' Digest, 45 (October, 1944), pp. 27-33.
- Bullitt, William C., "The World From Rome," Life, 17 (September 4, 1944), pp. 94-109.
- Browder, Earl, A Message to American Catholics. New York: International Publishers.
- Browder, Earl, What Is Communism? New York: International Publishers.
- Chamberlin, William H., Russia's Iron Age. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.
- Chamberlin, William, H., The Russian Revolution. New York: Macmillan Co.
- Chamberlin, William H., Soviet Russia. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.
- Chamberlin, William H., Collectivism: A False Utopia. New York: Macmillan Co.
- Dallin, David, Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy 1939-1942. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Dallin, David, Russia and Postwar Europe. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Dallin, David, The Real Soviet Russia. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Davies, Joseph E., Mission to Moscow. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Feely, Raymond, S.J., Communism and Union Labor. New York: The Paulist Press,
- Feely, Raymond, S.J., Nazism Versus Religion. New York: The Paulist Press (out of print).
- Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America. New York: International Publishers.
- Lenin, V. I., Religion. New York: International Publishers.
- Lenin, V. I., The State and Revolution. New York: International Publishers.

- Lyons, Eugene, Assignment in Utopia. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.
- Lyons, Eugene, The Red Decade. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co.
- Marx, Karl, The Communist Manifesto (with Engels). New York: International Publishers.
- Micklem, Nathaniel, National Socialism and the Roman Catholic Church. London: Oxford University Press.
- Olgin, M. J., Why Communism? San Francisco: Western Workers Publishers.
- Pius XI, Pope, Divini Redemptoris. New York: The Paulist Press.
- Pius XI, Pope, Mit Brennender Sorge. New York: The Paulist Press (out of print).
- Program of the Communist International. New York: Workers Library Publishers.
- Sheen, Fulton J., Philosophies at War. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Stalin, Joseph, Leninism. New York: International Publishers.
- Stalin, Joseph, Problems of Leninism. New York: International Publishers.
- The New Soviet Constitution. New York: International Publishers.
- White, William L., "Report on the Russians" (Part I), Readers' Digest, 45 (December, 1944), pp. 102-122.
- White, William L., "Report on the Russians" (Part II), Readers' Digest, 46 (January, 1945), pp. 106-128.
- Yaroslavsky, E., Religion in the U.S.S.R. New York: International Publishers.



