

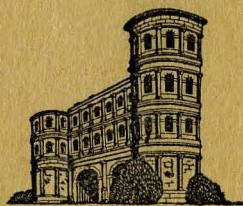
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THE HUMAN AFFAIRS PAMPHLETS

THE TWILIGHT OF GOD

by

*Clare Boothe Luce*



HENRY REGNERY COMPANY

CHICAGO

1949

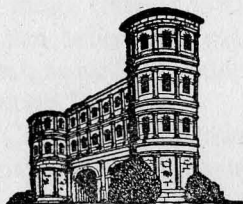


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# THE TWILIGHT OF GOD

## I

### *Is the United States a Christian Nation?*

THE STRUGGLE that shakes our world was recently described by Charles E. Wilson, president of the General Electric Company, and chairman of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, as a contest between the "Godfearing power of Democracy and the God-hating power of Communism."

That Communism hates God is a matter of official record. But that Democracy—American Democracy—fears God is a matter not so easily proved.

In *Civilization on Trial*, Arnold Toynbee sums up his view of the condition of Christianity in the West. (By Christianity Toynbee means, of course, the belief in the Incarnation and Divinity of Jesus Christ, His Crucifixion and Resurrection, and the consequent acceptance of His moral and spiritual teachings.) Toynbee observes that our civilization has been "living on spiritual capital; I mean, clinging to Christian practice without possessing Christian belief—and practice unsupported by belief is a *wasting asset*, as we have suddenly discovered, to our dismay, in this generation."<sup>1</sup>

To what extent is Christianity a wasting asset in America? The overwhelming majority of our Founding Fathers were ardent and devout Christians who believed passionately in church institutions and Christian education. Although their Protestant interpretations of the Bible may have differed, once they had interpreted it to their own satisfaction, its authority was then accepted without diffidence or doubt. They made, or tried to

<sup>1</sup> Arnold Toynbee, *Civilization on Trial* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 237. Italics ours.

make, their decisions, both public and private, in the light of their Christian faith. To say that they often failed to live up to it, is only to say that they were human.

Here is a far too infrequently quoted part of the Farewell Address of George Washington:

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man pay the tribute of patriotism who would labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. . . . And let us with caution, indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in the exclusion of religious principles.

John Adams, in his inaugural address of March 4, 1797, offered as part of his qualifications to occupy the office vacated by Washington “. . . a love of science and letters and a wish to patronize . . . every institution for promoting knowledge, virtue *and religion* among all classes of people . . . as the *only* means of preserving our Constitution from its natural enemies.”

Alexander Hamilton often declared in his State papers that God blesses a nation in proportion as it adheres, in its public acts, to the divine law of morality and justice. Like Washington, he felt certain that any attempt to substitute a secular morality for a religious one must result in the death of religion, and with it, of all morality. James Madison and James Wilson were two other signers whose writings were full of a most ardent devotion, and a sound understanding of Christian doctrine. They were especially convinced of the paramount importance of religion as the only means of inculcating morality in the citizen. Of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence, almost all of them were in accord with Washington, Adams, Madison, Wilson and Hamilton.<sup>1</sup>

The notable exception to the devout Christianity of the Signers

<sup>1</sup> Robert C. Hartnett, S. J., “The Religion of the Founding Fathers,” in *Well Springs of the American Spirit* (New York, Harper and Bros., 1948), pp. 49-52.

was Thomas Jefferson, who claimed to be a "deist," but who has been called, by a recent specialist, "a conservative materialist."<sup>1</sup>

Possibly the reason the American Communist quotes Jefferson almost to the exclusion of the other Founding Fathers is his explicit anti-Christian bias. No great American has ever been more deliberately, provocatively, anti-Christian in politics than Thomas Jefferson. Nevertheless, as his private papers show, some of his own political reasoning was taken from the works of St. Robert Bellarmine and indirectly from St. Thomas Aquinas; and he insisted to the end that he was "a real Christian," according to his own understanding of the teachings of a mortal Jesus. "An atheist I can never be," he wrote to John Adams.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Witherspoon, another signer, and the first president of Princeton, was a devout Presbyterian. He also maintained that the foundations of popular government, as well as morality, were laid in a strong belief that "God governs the affairs of men."<sup>3</sup>

It would be interesting to be able to bridge the centuries, to hand Dr. Witherspoon a copy of the *Atlantic Monthly* for September, 1948, and ask him to read aloud to the other signers an article by a present member of Princeton's philosophy department, Professor W. F. Stace. The article is called "Man Against Darkness." The following quotations would surely give our Founding Fathers reason to wonder whether Christianity were even a *wasting asset* in Dr. Witherspoon's Princeton. Thus writes Professor Stace:

For my part, I believe in no religion at all. . . . Since the world is not ruled by a spiritual being, but rather by blind forces, there cannot be any ideals, moral or otherwise, in the universe outside us. Our ideals, therefore, must proceed only from our own minds; they

<sup>1</sup> Adrienne Koch, *The Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1943), p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Jefferson to John Adams, Apr. 11, 1823.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Proceedings of the Presbyterian Synod, 1788*. Dr. Witherspoon was one of the leading framers of the Presbyterian Assembly.

are our own inventions. Thus the world which surrounds us is nothing but an immense spiritual emptiness. Nature is nothing but matter in motion . . . governed, not by any purpose, but by blind forces and laws. . . . Religion can get on with any sort of astronomy, geology, biology and physics. But it cannot get on with a purposeless and meaningless universe. . . . The life of man is meaningless, too. Everything is futile, all effort is in the end worthless. A man may . . . still pursue disconnected ends, money, fame, art, science . . . but his life is hollow at the center. Hence the dissatisfied, disillusioned, restless spirit of modern man. . . . The picture of a meaningless world, and a meaningless human life is, I think, the basic theme of much modern art and literature. Certainly it is the basic theme of modern philosophy. . . . Belief in the ultimate irrationality of everything is the quintessence of what is called the modern mind.<sup>1</sup>

Our Founding Fathers, being educated men, would not be astounded by this atheistic view, knowing atheism to be as old as antiquity. But what would probably shock them is the fact that so little attention has been paid to Professor Stace's credo in educational or journalistic circles. Concern for the fate of the nation would no doubt overcome our Founding Fathers were they to learn that in our times it is no longer news that a prominent American educator professes to be an atheist, and asserts publicly the worthlessness, futility, hollowness, meaninglessness and amorality of all human life.

Yale's original charter states as its purpose the training of men "for the service of Church and State." Today one of Yale's most brilliant and popular teachers, Professor F. S. C. Northrop of the philosophy department, clearly shows in his voluminous published writings that he appreciates the *need* and desire of mankind for faith.<sup>2</sup>

The pragmatic case for religion is brilliantly made by Dr. Northrop, who believes with Edmund Burke that "Man is by his constitution a religious animal."<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, he

<sup>1</sup> W. F. Stace, "Man Against Darkness," *Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> F. S. C. Northrop, *The Meeting of East and West* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1946), p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. III. 1790.



also makes it abundantly clear to his readers (and, one assumes, to his students) that Christianity, the predominant religion of the West, is inadequate to present-day *world* spiritual needs, especially the spiritual needs of the East. He insists that a new religion, "with transforming power," must be constructed, if the world is to be reintegrated culturally.

The question of the possibility of "constructing," or discovering, or inventing, a new worldwide religion—a wholly mechanistic concept—is not the point here. Once again the point is that an influential, respected, and popular American professor in a great university is teaching his students that Christianity—the basis of their own ethics and morals—is inadequate, partial to mankind's needs, and therefore outdated.

Evidence could be multiplied into volumes to show that many of our secular American universities and colleges are dominated by educators who are either positive atheists, negative deists, or indifferent Christians.

Certainly no one doubts that at the topmost levels of education—in the great endowed universities which were almost all envisioned, at their inception, as institutes for the formation of *Christian* leaders—a disbelief in Christianity can be taught in the name of science, philosophy, democracy, or even religion itself, without effective criticism from any quarter. But if educators were to suggest that Negroes be admitted equally with white students (a *positive* Christian proposal) one can imagine that, before a wholesale withdrawal of students and money took place, the educators would probably be requested to withdraw.

Most of the leaders in all fields of American life are college graduates. Today, the potential leaders of the American people are being treated to an educational fare that is less and less Christian.

In the public field of lower education, it is no different. The Supreme Court opinion on the McCollum case, which declared released-time religious instruction in the public schools to be unconstitutional, seems to many merely a re-emphasis on the

separation of Church from State. It was more than that: it made official the separation of the State from God.

In America, a child can now complete twelve full years of public schooling without ever having had, in the formative environment of school, a word of instruction about God or the Christian religion. Only a completely prejudiced and unhistorical mind could believe that this situation would be acceptable to the founders of this Republic. The historic and proper relationships of State to Church, of Christianity to Democracy, are matters of endless and fruitful debate among students of American history and politics. But that a relationship existed, because *both* existed, was the important fact. Today, the relationship ceases to be a matter of deep concern largely because of the shrunken power of the churches to inform and animate the opinions of our citizens.

Clearly, the bias of government and law today is increasingly in the direction of substituting secular education for religion as a means of inculcating ethical and moral principles in the citizen.

It is useful here to consider the implications of the now famous opinion of the Federal Communications Commission known as the Scott opinion.<sup>1</sup> This opinion may well mark the historic moment when our nation began its official acceptance of atheism. The opinion suggests that atheists are constitutionally entitled to equal time on the air with believers in supernatural faiths, in view of both the first and second clauses of Article I of the Constitution, which guarantee religious freedom and forbid abridgment of free speech.

A petitioner, Mr. Scott, asked the Federal Communications Commission to revoke the license of three California coastal stations for refusing to make time available to him for a broadcast denying the existence of God. The memo issued by the department is, perhaps, the first *governmental* excursion into the realm of theology. It asserts that the existence of God, or any transcendent Being, is a legitimately controversial public question, and that "freedom of belief necessarily carries with it

<sup>1</sup> Federal Communications Commission Memo 96050 in re: Petition of Robert Harold Scott. Signed by T. J. Slowie, July 19, 1946.

freedom to disbelieve” and freedom to express these disbeliefs on the air, however abhorrent they may be to the majority of listeners or however at variance with commonly accepted ideas of morality.

There is no explicit mention of God in the Constitution, but this document was composed by the same minds that dictated the Declaration of Independence. Did the writers of the FCC memo display ignorance of it or did they consider the Declaration totally irrelevant to the spirit of the Constitution? The Declaration states that *all* the rights of our citizens, and our own right to nationhood, are those “to which the laws of Nature and of *Nature’s God* entitle them” . . . and that “men are endowed by their Creator” . . . with these rights; that a people’s final court of appeal is “The Supreme Judge of the World”; and that their entire destiny is in the hands of “Divine Providence.”

The FCC, an official government agency created by act of Congress, advocates in the name of freedom of speech, and of *religious* freedom, radio debate on the validity of the *only* authority, set forth by the Declaration of Independence, for the existence of *all* our freedom.

Perhaps the time has come for our lawmakers to clarify the religious issue as it impinges on laws affecting radio, movies, education. This could be done by offering an amendment to our Constitution similar to that in Article 124 of the USSR Constitution which reads, in part:

“Freedom of religious worship and *freedom of antireligious propaganda is recognized for all citizens . . .*”

Such an amendment would make it plain that the time had come in America when atheism was to be considered of equal validity with religion—and that Americans could no longer be called a God-fearing or a Christian people. The Scott and McCollum decisions to the contrary, our Constitution does *not* make it plain that freedom of worship includes the additional right to undermine or destroy the worship of others.

There is much incidental evidence of our nation’s betrayal of its Christian heritage. Let us consider the controversial,

divisive, and distressing issues that plague this country today, and measure the proposed solutions (if any) against our historically professed devotion to Christian ethics.

There is, for one example, the matter of the breakup of the home as viewed in the light of the unequivocal words of Jesus on the subject of divorce and marriage: "Whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." For hundreds of years, these words were invoked as *infallible authority* for the indissolubility of marriage among Christians. Today in the United States of America one out of three marriages ends in divorce. In marriage, the most important of all communal relationships, America is certainly becoming less and less Christian.

America stands scarcely touched by the horrors of war, yet it is with considerable reluctance that many of our people have come to the aid of Europe. And in order to put the Marshall plan over, to many groups, the emphasis was largely placed on an appeal to *self-interest*. There has been no really effective voluntary curtailment of food, or sacrifice of luxuries by the majority of our citizens in behalf of the starving "foreigners" who are, according to Christian principles, our brothers and sisters.

Here is the poem carved on the base of the Statue of Liberty in the 1880's. It is a *Christian Uncle Sam-aritan's* political interpretation of Matthew 25:35-36: "... I was a stranger, and you took me in . . ."

Give me your tired, your poor,  
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,  
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,  
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me:  
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

Today, these words are a mockery to the millions of European DP's seeking, in vain, entrance to the United States. We have no use either for "wretched refuse" of other teeming shores or for the thousands of skilled workers who, through no fault of their own, were rendered homeless by the war. We offer only a very limited asylum to the distressed, dispossessed or persecuted. Our representatives wrangle incessantly with what they call

American "do-gooders" to cut down the number of refugees entering the United States to a bare minimum of "useful" workers.

How many of our national domestic problems, involving labor disputes, wages and living conditions, racial questions—above all the Negro question—are viewed from the Christian point of view?

Or, let us consider an issue long before the public eye, the wasting assets of our natural resources. Soil erosion, deforestation, the prodigal waste of every kind of raw material, are plainly the marks of man's wanton *abuse* of a nature that was made for his *use*. A wrong attitude towards "Nature's God" results in an equally wrong attitude towards God's nature.

Let us consult as a final arbiter that great barometer of the American soul: the nation-wide poll.

Recently a survey was made on the religious situation in America, and from its findings Lincoln Barnett wrote a deeply understanding analysis of the spiritual condition and religious behavior of "Mr. and Mrs. America."<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Jefferson once suggested that God was "an ethereal gas." While an amazing proportion of Americans (95 per cent) *claim* to believe in Him, most of these have no clearer concept of what Christian or Judaic theology means by God than had Thomas Jefferson or the author of the FCC opinion. This wholesale ignorance of an adult concept of God is not surprising: the poll shows that only 40 per cent of the Americans who *do* claim to believe in God claim to be "regular churchgoers." Only an insignificant fraction of our citizens has the most elementary notions of Christian dogma or can tell the difference between any of the Protestant sects. While 56 per cent of them admit to praying off and on, only a small percentage pray *regularly*, only 5 per cent of these ever ask to be forgiven for their sins, and only 4 per cent thank Him in their prayers for His blessings. The vast majority of prayers seem to be petitions for material benefits. Few of the prayers—26 per cent—are addressed to a

<sup>1</sup> Lincoln Barnett, "God and the American People," *Ladies Home Journal*, November, 1948.

*personal* God (or a loving Father, or His obedient Son) who *can* answer prayers of petition.

Interpretations of this penetrating survey were made by three noted theologians: Rev. Reinhold Niebuhr, professor of Applied Christianity at Union Theological Seminary; Rabbi S. Greenberg, professor of homiletics and practicing provost of the Jewish Theological Seminary, and Rev. George B. Ford, formerly Catholic advisor at Columbia University, now pastor of Corpus Christi Church in New York City.

"I find little indication," said Dr. Greenberg, "of any compulsion to *obey* God. Nor does there seem to be any suggestion that people think of God as the power that makes for justice and freedom in the world." He reluctantly concluded that although the average American "believes" in God, he does not associate that belief directly with his own behavior, or integrate it in his daily living habits.

"I didn't notice," Father Ford observed, "that too many felt a personal responsibility to give honor and glory to God. On the contrary, most people defined their motives for going to church purely in terms of satisfaction to themselves."

Dr. Niebuhr pointed out the most tragic error of modern Christianity revealed by this poll. "The whole history of human self-righteousness," says Dr. Niebuhr, "proves that man always judges himself, not from the standpoint of what he *does*, but from the standpoint of his knowledge of what he *ought* to do." This fact deludes man into making the assumption "that he is as good as the ideals of justice and love which he entertains."

Modern Protestant Christianity, he points out, has permitted men to confuse their own partial, relative and imperfect ethical concepts, such as political co-operation in increasingly *social* welfare, with the *real* Christian idea of Charity, or transcendent Love. The very keystone of Christian ethics is a troubled conscience on charity's score, which uses as its frame of reference no merely human standards of love and brotherhood, but points to the Cross, the supreme example of self-denying love, of crucified self-abnegation. Such a frame of reference must leave a man forever dissatisfied with his own conduct towards his neighbors and his community.

According to this survey, the American feels no such dissatisfaction with himself. On the contrary, 91 per cent of those questioned thought "they honestly tried to live a good life," according to their beliefs. Only 7 per cent admitted "halfway or less" failure to do so. This is not surprising: 82 per cent said that the struggle to live up to their faith in no way interfered with their business, politics, or recreation. And, as further evidence of their confidence in their own triumphant virtue, *only* 5 per cent of the 52 per cent who believe in Hell have any fear whatsoever of going there.

Unhappily, the survey developed a portrait of the "God-fearing" American as a Pharisee, certain of the need of removing the beam from his brother's eye, quite unaware of the beam in his own.

If any part of America's claim to the role of world leadership is based on the assertion that she will supply true Christian leadership, the claim is—*relative to the Cross*—disastrously hypocritical.

If this should be true, what becomes of the issue as defined so simply by Mr. Wilson—that the world struggle is one between the power of our *Godfearing* democracy and the power of *God-hating* Soviet Russia?

The religious spirit is withering in America. Is it, as we so commonly suppose, altogether dead in Soviet Russia?

## II

### *Is the Soviet Union Irreligious?*

WHAT IS the fundamental Communist concept of man? It is simply that he is an animal without a soul. This belief is the basic creed of all Communist prophets, teachers and leaders.

Here is the way Lenin, writing about Karl Marx, puts it:

Religion is the opium of the people. And this postulate is the cornerstone of the whole philosophy of Marxism. Marxism always regards all modern religions and churches and every kind of re-

ligious organization as instruments of that bourgeois reaction whose aim is to defend exploitation by stupefying the working class.

And again:

Atheism is an integral part of Marxism. Consequently, a class-conscious Communist party must carry on propaganda in favor of Atheism. . . . The Communist party . . . organizes the widest possible scientific, educational and antireligious propaganda. . . . One of the most important tests of the cultural revolution affecting the wide masses is the task of systematically . . . combating religion—the opium of the people. . . .<sup>1</sup>

And again:

Religion must be regarded as a private matter; in these words the attitude of the [Communists] to religion is usually expressed. But we must define the meaning of those 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 the Communist party. . . . [Our Party] does not for a minute regard the fight against religion as a private matter.<sup>2</sup>

There is no Communist leader from the time of Marx and Lenin who has not fanatically embraced this conviction of man's wholly materialistic nature.

In spite of the cold violence with which all Soviet officialdom has exercised its constitutional "freedom of antireligious propaganda," to destroy the citizens' equally constitutional "freedom of religion," a case might be made that Soviet Russia is, today, the more *religious in spirit* of the two contending nations.

It should be noted here that in using the words *religion* and *religious* in connection with Communism and its followers, the reference is not to any supernatural character in Communism, but to the *religious a priori* which Communism taps in man, inspiring a devotion, fidelity, rigidity, fanaticism, and apostolicity, generally associated with religionists.

<sup>1</sup> *Collected Works of Lenin* (2nd Russian ed.), XIV, 68-69.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.



Certainly Communism appeals at a wholly materialistic level to many of the poor, the disfranchised, the unjustly used, the discriminated against, the downtrodden, the underprivileged—everywhere on this side of the Iron Curtain. But, strangely enough, its deepest appeal is often to the talented, the rich and the famous, and is experienced by them as an emotion, or a *mystique*.

The *intellectual* appeal of Communist teachings has been grossly overrated. It is an ascertainable fact that few, if any, first-rate European minds have ever been tempted to accept Communism as either a complete *explanation* of history, or an adequate *philosophy* of man and nature. And yet, in Europe and the U.S.A. Communism appeals to a host of well-to-do and, for the most part, well-thought-of characters in politics, the arts and sciences. It has numbered here among its fellow travelers some second-generation multimillionaires, and even some clergymen. Are we to assume that all these adherents are either cheap notoriety-seekers or conscious traitors? Then these persons must have been drawn to Communism by some call to their deeper natures, by some idealistic appetite, some spiritual need that craved satisfaction. Nothing else could explain why so many ardent defenders of Communism in Europe and America have been people of substance, and *not* only the ignorant and “downtrodden.”

Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr has called Communism a Christian heresy.<sup>1</sup> A belief cannot be a heresy from a creed which it denies *in toto*, as Communism totally denies Christianity. What Niebuhr means is that a vaunted concept of Marxian doctrine, “the brotherhood of man,” is also an integral Christian concept. It is equally Jewish. Perhaps it is truest to say that Communism is a political perversion of the Golden Rule, that primary law of natural theology which has manifested itself in every great religion.

No distaste for the abhorrent actualities of Communism should blind us to the fact that Communists, from Marx's time until now, have often made just and pertinent criticisms of

<sup>1</sup> “Can We Avoid Catastrophe?” *The Christian Century*, May 26, 1948.

pharisaical Christianity. And certainly many of the Western world's terrible economic and political problems, and its difficulty in recapturing spiritual leadership of the civilized world, spring from this hypocrisy.

All clear-sighted observers of the world crisis realize that America's failure to propose *Christian* solutions for the domestic and foreign economic and political problems that affect us, is the main reason for the readiness of many distraught people to accept Communist solutions. But they do not always see so clearly that the attraction of the "liberals" and "intellectuals" to Communism is caused by a deep need for a dynamic faith.

The last hope of the Western man who is determined to live without God is furnished by the dream of a brotherhood to be found in revolution; an absolute will, in the will of Humanity; and an end worthy of pain and sacrifice in the Risen Masses, the Transfiguration of the Common Man, the Glorification of the Proletariat. Although the philosophy of Karl Marx is based on atheistic materialism, for that very reason its transformation into a religion, however inverted, demonstrates better than has ever been demonstrated in human history, that man is a "religious incurable."

Some writers, notably Rev. William McDonald, in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, have found remarkable parallels on the organizational hierarchial and theological planes between Communism and Catholicism.<sup>1</sup> Father McDonald notes that both call for the overcoming of the state of nature by a higher condition. Each has its Paradise Lost and its Paradise Regained. Pre-Socialist man equals unredeemed man; classless society is the Kingdom of God. The Holy Trinity can be compared with the triadic movement of the Marxian Dialectic; "there unity, dilating eternally begets variety; and variety, condensing is eternally resolved in unity." Salvation through the Cross becomes Salvation through the Hammer and Sickle.

<sup>1</sup> William J. McDonald, "The Religion of Communism," *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, May, 1948. Cf. also *Communism and the Conscience of the West*, by Fulton J. Sheen (Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1948).

Lenin is the Messiah of the new religion; Marx and Engels its prophets. *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus* finds its counterpart in the exclusion of all but Party members from any position of authority, or benefices.

Communism has its bible in *Das Kapital*; its orthodox doctrine in Leninist Marxism, its heretics in such men as Zinoviev and Trotsky. And like Catholicism, it claims a universal loyalty: "Workers of the World Unite!" Its followers are called upon to deliver not only themselves but all mankind up for salvation.

It is authoritarian, and infallible. Everything not directly in line with Party policies, however shifting, is damned as heresy or fascism. Communism breeds fanatics by the thousands who thrill with a common zeal and palpitate in mutual enthusiasm. The Communist leaders indulge in violent theological disputes. They are full of the spirit of self-dedication. They persecute unbelievers and heretics, who can be guilty of Marxian heresy even in such fields as biology, music, and architecture. They do great homage to their converts.

In his apocalyptic vision Marx was truer than he would ever admit to his background: baptized a Christian, he never lost the traditional Jewish sense of messianic expectation, and the Kingdom Come on Earth.

There is a story told about Frank Sheed, the Catholic publisher-apostle, who was preaching one day in London's Hyde Park. An unwashed heckler cried, "We've had Christianity for two thousand years. How do you explain the shape the world's in now?" Sheed replied, "We've had water for two billion years. How do you explain the condition of your neck?" Marx was making the same complaint as that heckler, but there was none able to convince him that the widespread failure of a so-called Christian society's leaders to *be* Christian was one of the main reasons that society was in so sad a condition.

The real damage to society had been done, before Marx appeared on the world scene, by the forces of an increasingly materialistic secularism that every day widened the gap between God and man. Marx invented nothing, created nothing. He merely carried the atheistic materialism of Europe to its logical

conclusion: he made a religion of Europe's failure of religion, and a faith of man's lack of faith.

Viewed merely as a proposal to share material goods, Communism would not alarm a thoroughly Christian mind. Did not the word *communism* itself spring from the economic community of early Christians who lived together sharing everything? "We who are united in heart and soul have no hesitation in sharing things," wrote Tertullian in *The Christian's Defence*, about 215 A.D. "Among us all things are common except wives." The *voluntary* sharing of all things in common not essential to personal survival, is known today, in a *pure* state, in only one environment: that of the convent, monastery, or religious community.

It is the *philosophical-religious* concepts of Communism which have alarmed the Christian thinker.

Communism is man's attempt to construct for himself, and with himself as God, a world of purely natural origins. Communists preach that there is only one reality in the world—matter. Individual mind, intellect, spirit, soul, if they are to be thought of at all, must be thought of as vapors or gases, or electrical impulses cast off by the body. In any case, *you* are wholly an animal. You are born to live and die like a pig; you root, and rut, and rot. All your hopes beyond life are a fraud. And death is the final swindle of all your sacrifices. You will know no justice or judgment in a future life. You possess no freedom of will in this life. This is the brutal philosophy that is craftily embedded under a glittering mass of utopian Marxian verbiage.

Over a hundred years ago when Communism first attracted the attention of Europe's intellectuals and liberals, Pope Pius IX foresaw its threat to the peace of the world. He castigated it then as "that infamous doctrine of so-called Communism which is absolutely contrary to the natural law itself; and if once adopted would utterly destroy the rights, property and possessions of all men, and even society itself."<sup>1</sup> And in 1878, Leo XIII

<sup>1</sup> Pius IX, *Qui Pluribus* (Encyclical issued Nov. 9, 1846), cited in *Principles for Peace . . .* Edited for the Bishops' Committee on the Pope's Peace Points by the Reverend Harry C. Koenig (Washington, NCWC [Bruce Pub. Co., distributors] 1943), pp. 511-12.

defined Communism as "the fatal plague which insinuates itself into the very marrow of human society only to bring about its ruin."<sup>1</sup> And twelve years ago, Pius XI in thunderous warning said, "Communism . . . strips man of his dignity and removes all moral restraints that check the eruptions of blind impulse." The individual "is a mere cogwheel in the Communist system."<sup>2</sup>

Ever since the time of Pius IX, Christian statesmen and scholars have consistently and vociferously denounced and fought Communism. But so have many Jews, and even Buddhists and Confucians. It does not seem to matter what a person's faith or creed, so long as he believes that human life has any sacred or spiritual value. The Communist doctrine of the nature of man revolts him.

In 1842, the great poet Heinrich Heine, a German Jew and a friend of Karl Marx, warned against his friend's philosophy.

Communism [he wrote] is the secret name of the dread antagonist setting proletarian rule . . . against the present bourgeois regime. How will it end? . . . I do not know; . . . wild gloomy times are roaring towards us, and a prophet wishing to write a new Apocalypse would have to invent entirely new beasts—beasts so terrible that St. John's old animal symbols would be like gentle doves in comparison. . . . The future smells of Russian leather, blood, godlessness and many whippings. I should advise our grandchildren to be born with very thick skins on their backs.<sup>3</sup>

What has most horrified and disgusted all intelligent critics of Communism is its unnatural mien, its clammy, subhuman, morbid, Frankenstein aspect, which nevertheless wears some of the emotional trappings of a religion.

Will this new religion sweep the world? Is it the religion with "the transforming power" that Professor Northrop has sought, for the spiritual unification of the East and West?

This is the question we must next consider: whether in the

<sup>1</sup> Leo XIII, *Quod Apostolici Muneris* (Encyclical issued Dec. 28, 1878), cited in *Social Wellsprings*, I, 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Divini Redemptoris*, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Heinrich Heine, *Works of Prose* (ed. Herman Kesten; New York, L. B. Fischer, 1943), pp. 51, 53.

years ahead there is any alternative to Christianity, for the world and for America, except Communism.

### III

#### *Christianity or Totalitarianism?*

IN THEORY, some of the long-range objectives of Communism are similar to those that our own Democracy seeks.

The "abolition of the exploitation of man by man," and the ultimate distribution of the production of labor in accordance with the formula of "from each according to his abilities, and to each according to his needs"; the social objectives of the "equality of rights of citizens . . . irrespective of their nationality, or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life,"<sup>1</sup>—these professed Soviet political and economic goals are American goals, too. And in practice, no less than in theory, our Democracy has moved towards them steadily throughout the years. Indeed, one might say that the avowed political and economic goals of Communism were historically inspired by The American Dream.

What Americans generally mean by *democracy* is freedom. To Americans, freedom is the dearest and most familiar of words. We say it, and we sing it. We know we have ourselves created it, and yet it seems a part of created nature. We associate it, above all other words, with the roots of our tradition and the springs of our history. This, we claim, is a nation "conceived in Liberty." And we are a people who have ever sought to make "the bounds of freedom wider yet."

All history witnesses that freedom pertains to the will. As a political ideal, freedom means that men should be allowed to do the things they will. And this freedom to act according to one's will is seen to be an ideal because the will itself is free, is a faculty by which a man freely makes his own choices. There

<sup>1</sup> Karl Marx, *The German Ideology* (1845, 1846), tr. Max Eastman.

would be no great value in allowing men freedom to act as they will, if their will itself were not free.

Where does freedom come from? Here again it has been the overwhelming verdict of mankind that it is our Maker's gift to our human nature. We Americans celebrate that truth when we sing:

Our Fathers' God, to Thee,  
Author of Liberty,  
To Thee I sing. . . .

Americans, as a people, are still more free to choose among more things and ideas than any other people in the world. We are still more free to choose between what we will eat and wear, where we will go, what we will do, whom we will be friends with, love, marry, worship, than the men and women of any other land. There are, of course, our American Negroes, who have been shamefully denied many of the existing freedoms of choice that white Americans enjoy. The Negro question, since the first days of slavery, has been the skeleton in American Democracy's closet, the ghost at every patriotic feast.

But even white Americans as a people, have never attained the maximum of freedom as citizens. We cannot choose between perfect peace and war, perfect security and poverty, perfect health and sickness, perfect happiness and misery, because we are not presented with such happy choices. But even when the free will of man seems to be limited to choosing between evils, he can still choose the lesser. "Of the two evils, the lesser is always to be chosen," states Thomas à Kempis in *The Imitation of Christ*.

Our wide, though imperfect, historic American freedom of choice is, however, being slowly threatened at home and rapidly threatened from abroad. We are still the freest people in the world but, apart from the halting political and educational progress made in behalf of minorities like the Negroes, the majority of Americans are not as free as their forefathers were fifty years ago.

Who and what menace our freedom?

If we agree with our Founding Fathers that God is the author of our liberty, and that He gave us our unalienable right to exercise our wills freely, we must then say that any thought system, or intellectual concept that denies the existence of God, will tend to destroy our belief in our free will and, with it, the value of all our moral judgments.

Or, if any theory is advanced which denies the existence of our free will, it will tend to destroy our belief in God, and with it, the judgment of all our moral values.

The Catholic Bishops of the United States issued a statement that said in part, "No man can disregard God, and play a man's part in the world." They said indifference to God was the root cause of all our troubles. They called it "secularism." They asserted that secularism has been the "fertile soil in which such social monstrosities as Fascism, Nazism and Communism could germinate and grow." Even where secularism makes its Sunday bows to the concept of a Creator, it shows a steady drift towards materialism, and materialistic ideas and philosophies.<sup>1</sup>

Man forgets God, and loses his soul. And man, whom God had made "a little less than the angels," and had crowned with glory and honor, tends to become a mere "hand," or "production unit" in the materialistic capitalist West. He becomes a slave, a robot, an ant, in materialistic Communist Russia.

When God is taken out of the individual's life, man becomes first selfish, then discontented, then egomaniacal, then bitter, then blasphemous, then sodden in self-pity. And in the end, stricken by despair, he is driven to self-destruction.

When God is taken out of family life, its members become cynical, self-willed, and self-centered. The results are divorce, with all its adult heartbreaks and its lasting scars upon children, and juvenile delinquency.

When God is taken out of field and factory, things go no better. Then we get that strange and most dangerous physical

<sup>1</sup> *Secularism*. Statement issued November 14, 1947, by the Bishops of the United States and signed in their names by the Members of the Administrative Board, National Catholic Welfare Conference (Washington, NCWC, 1947).



phenomenon of our times: the rape of the soil for quick profits, resulting in erosion and deforestation, with their devastating cycles of flood and fire and dust storms. And we get the irrational and wild economic individualism that leads to cutthroat competition and monopolies. These lead inexorably to the booms and busts, with all their consequent sufferings and turmoil.

When God is taken out of politics we always get tyranny. And when God is taken out of everything by *fiat* or by force, we get naked atheistic materialism: we get Communism.

The object of all political tyrants and despots of the past was to bend or break men's wills. This they tried to do by threats of exile, imprisonment, death, torture; by handsome bribes or sweet seductions; by clever suasion or low trickery. But no tyrant of the past ever denied that the *wills* he tried to coerce or persuade were *free* wills. It took Karl Marx to do that, and his illegitimate and legitimate progeny, Hitler and Stalin. With the acceptance by Europeans of Marxian philosophy, something new had been added: the final denial that men were *born* free; and then the insistence that men voluntarily use what freedom they seemed to have to *seek slavery*.

The totalitarians educated those under their sway to accept their unnatural theories of the helpless nature of man in the universe by keeping from them all access to theories other than their own, that is, by denying to the citizens *any freedom of choice* between true and false concepts of economics, politics, or religion. This wall built by the Soviet tyrants to keep its own people shut off from making intellectual choices has come to be known as an Iron Curtain.

In our Democracy there *are* evil forces and evil men that contradict our professed democratic tenets. Our shame is this hypocrisy: we don't always do what we believe in. But this is the momentous difference: The Soviet leaders are indeed no hypocrites—they *believe* in brutal and coercive means, involving the liquidation of inconvenient humans. The Soviet Party not only relies on—it *advocates* violence, coercion, hatred, and falsehood in the attainment of its announced good ends. The Com-

munist creed insists that any means are justified in the reaching of its goal.

The reason Communism can, within the framework of its own logic, hold that *bad* means are justified by good *ends*, is that Marxian philosophy denies that Absolute Truth exists. The destruction of Absolute Truth follows from the destruction of Absolute Good, which is God.

With the destruction of God as an ultimate authority for man's personal actions and thoughts goes the destruction of his personal conscience. He accepts, instead, the corporate conscience of the State. That is to say, he accepts the personal judgments of a ruling caste whose notions of right or wrong are purely relative to concepts of State opportunism or expediency.

Western Democracy has insisted on the principle that no man, or group or nation, is permitted consciously to do evil, even though the intent is to accomplish eventual good. That good ends do not justify bad means is a religious dogma. It is true that reason can arrive at it without the aid of revelation. Yet the generality of men are not likely to act on it save as a supernatural law of life. Christian morality is eternally at war with all concepts of opportunism, pragmatism, expediency.

In all arguments over Democracy, and its true or proper meaning, the core of the matter remains the proponent's rejection or acceptance of the Judeo-Christian concept of man as a being *responsible to his conscience before God*, and of the Judeo-Christian ethical principle that the ends do not justify the means.

Is it possible for a people to practice Christian ethics, without holding Judeo-Christian beliefs?

The basic concept of any man is his concept of his own nature and its relation to the universe. Regardless of whether the concept is true or false, once he has arrived at it, man will naturally begin to act upon it. Thereafter his laws, morals and ethics, and all his cultural, political and economic institutions, including his international actions, will reflect that concept faithfully.

In practice, it is not proving possible for the U.S.A. to doubt the validity of Christianity and to *act* as though it were valid.

What is a Christian? A Christian, all will agree, is one who *believes* in the Apostles' Creed—in God, the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ, His only-begotten, crucified and resurrected Son. A "good Christian" is one who tries to follow the implications of that Creed and accepts the authority of Jesus Christ in matters of behavior. If he believes, but nevertheless repeatedly fails, because of pride, willfulness, lust, sloth, greed, or selfishness, to follow the teachings of His faith, he is considered a "poor" or "bad" Christian. But if he does *not* believe, he is *not* a "real" Christian, however moral, ethical, or humane he may be as a person.

A Communist is a man who does not believe in God, who is an atheist and a materialist, who blindly accepts the Party Line as it is interpreted, according to the writings of Marx and Lenin, by a small group of men in the Kremlin, and who is prepared to give obedience to those men with all his heart and mind, *wherever they may lead him*. A man can be a "good" Communist, or a "bad" Communist. But he cannot be a "real" Communist at all if he lacks faith in the Communist creed, i.e., if he does not believe that the materialistic and atheistic doctrines of Karl Marx give the primary answers to *all* human problems. It is an instinctive awareness of this need for *total* submission that makes so many fellow travelers deny with much heat, and with some reason, that they are Communists.

Possibly if the men of the West would examine their consciences deeply, many would discover they are neither Christians *nor* Communists.

What, then, are they? Let us remember those 95 per cent of Americans who "believe in God," but who do not all, by any means, believe either in a personal God or in His Incarnation. Their religion is neither Marx's nor Moses', nor Jesus'. What is it?

Perhaps T. S. Eliot has given us a clue in his book, *The Idea of a Christian Society*. There he writes about a certain distinguished professor who set down his ideas of God in a book.

His religion, said the professor, was deistic. He worshipped "a more than human God." And the religion of most of his fellow

countrymen, he believed, was "an eruption from the biological and spiritual depths of the nation." The professor believed that "each new age must mold its own religious forms," as does Professor Northrop, of Yale,<sup>1</sup> for example, and many another American university professor. Mr. Eliot's professor urged tolerance in religious matters. He believed that Jesus is "one of the great figures who soar above the centuries." But he objects to Christianity because "it claims to possess the *absolute truth*, and with this claim is bound up the idea that men can only achieve salvation in one way, through Christ; and that it must send to the stake those whose faith and life do not conform, or pray for them until they quit the error of their ways for the Kingdom of God."<sup>2</sup>

Thousands in America might agree with this professor that there is an unyielding element in dogmatic Christianity which is most unpalatable to the modern "liberal" mind. Many "liberals" also object to Communism solely on the same grounds: its intolerant and dogmatic character. (In both cases liberals are prone to ignore the central point: How true or false is the dogma?) Others might further agree with this professor's objections to sacramental religion of *any kind*, since "everyone has an immediate relation to God, is in fact in the depths of his heart one with the eternal Ground of the World."

Faith, the professor contends, comes not from revelation, but from "personal experience." He is not interested in "the mass of intellectuals" but in the "multitudes of ordinary people" who are looking for "life." "We believe," he concludes, "that God has laid a great task on our nation, and that he has therefore revealed Himself especially in its history, and will continue to do so." He also believes in the religion of the blue sky, the grass and flowers, and prefers to "worship" in the cathedral forests rather than in any church edifice.

<sup>1</sup> F. S. C. Northrop, "Towards a Religion with World Wide Transforming Power," *Conflicts of Power in Modern Culture* (New York, [Harper & Bros., distributors], 1947), Vol. VII.

<sup>2</sup> *The Idea of a Christian Society* (New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1949), p. 71 ff.

No doubt many an American will at this point either find himself in accord with this unnamed educator or be prepared with names of a dozen friends who are.

Now the gentleman who believes all these things was Hitler's own Professor Wilhelm Hauer, a prophet of Nazism. And in 1937 he contributed these thoughts to a State-inspired volume, called *Germany's New Religion*.<sup>1</sup>

If this is our religion, then we must face a stubborn fact: If it is widely held, it is certain that our political institutions are going to pattern themselves in the future in conformity with these spiritual beliefs. *Ideas have consequences—political, economic and moral*. And the mystically deistic or quasi-pagan mind must inevitably tend in our day towards fascistic or Nazi forms of government.

In insisting that a connection existed in Germany between religion and fascism, the Communists were correct. A wrong idea about God is certain to produce wrong forms of government. "God will not be mocked." He cannot be domesticated and nationalized as the Germans tried to do—and as some Americans try to do—nor can He be denied as the Communists attempt to do without severe consequences. Many people in their idolatry of a Democracy consciously separated from Christian belief, if not Christian ethics, are in danger of going down the fascist road. Conversely, the atheistic mind will be drawn by the logic of materialism towards Communism, however vociferously it lays claim to a "new humanism."

But let us briefly consider an example of the atheist who *disowns* Communism as a personal philosophy: Mr. Julian Huxley. The distinguished British scientist who was, until last year, head of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, writes:

The advance of natural science, logic, and psychology have brought us to a stage at which *God is no longer a useful hypothesis*. . . . God equally with gods, angels, demons, spirits, and other small spiritual fry, is a human product, arising inevitably from a certain kind

<sup>1</sup> Translated by T. S. Scott-Craig & R. E. Davies (Nashville, Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1937).

of ignorance and a certain degree of helplessness with regard to man's external environment. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Huxley, it would seem, agrees with Professor Hauer that God gushes, like Old Faithful, out of the subterranean biological depths of man, and is then squirted into the universe, there to be considered as an Omnipotent Niagara of Power.

In another context Mr. Huxley unburdens himself as follows:

God has become more remote and more incomprehensible, and most important of all, of less practical use to men and women who want guidance and consolation in leading their lives. A faint trace of God, half metaphysical and half magic, still broods over our world like the smile of a cosmic Cheshire cat. But the growth of psychological knowledge will rub even that from the universe.<sup>2</sup>

But while Mr. Huxley feels that God may be rubbed out, and indeed ought to be, he still believes that the religious impulse in man will remain. This, he believes, will be transferred to the state and the community, to the organization of society. He frankly admits that the individual "only acquires significance in relation to some form of society," and is an ardent proponent of the socialized state, which will manipulate and condition the minds of its citizens according to the decrees of its scientists.

It was not Mr. Huxley who wrote, "The democratic concept of man is false, because it is Christian. The democratic concept holds that . . . each man has a value as a sovereign being. . . . This is the illusion, dream and postulate of Christianity, namely, that man has a sovereign soul." It was Karl Marx. But he, like Huxley, contends that man has no value whatever as an individual, but only so far as he is representative of a class. "If we speak of individuals," Marx said, "it is only in so far as they are personifications of economic categories and representatives of special class relations and interests."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Man in the Modern World* (New York, Mentor Books, 1948), p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Das Kapital* (Chicago, Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1906-9), II, 864.

Upon examination, there seems to be little philosophical difference in Huxley's fundamental approach to human personality, and that of Communism. Mr. Huxley, who is still far more imbued with Christian ethics than he would admit, deplores the unkindness and brutality of Communism, its "inhumanity of man to man," although he is not able to explain *why* men should behave other than as animals, if they do indeed consider themselves to be nothing but animals.

Huxley, like all other scientists who attack theological concepts to prove the priority of science, never comes to grips with the greatest question of all: Why ought man to behave with mercy, justice, love, charity, to his fellow man if there is *no immortality*, no reward or punishment for his sins in the hereafter?

"Many men and women," says Mr. Huxley, "have led active, or self-sacrificing, or noble, or devoted lives without any belief in God or immortality." Who? Mr. Huxley answers: Some Buddhists—unnamed. The great nineteenth-century agnostics—unnamed. And the Orthodox Russian Communists!<sup>1</sup>

If man denies the concept that he is a child of God, and therefore should be obedient to God's laws, he must deny all morality based on superhuman law, truth, mercy, or justice. Mr. Huxley tries desperately to escape this conclusion. The Marxians face it with equanimity and vigor. Said Lenin:

We deny all morality taken from superhuman or non-class conceptions. . . . We say that our morality is wholly subordinated to the interests of the class struggle. . . . We deduce our morality from the (daily) facts and needs of the class struggle. . . . We say that a morality taken from outside of human society does not exist for us; it is a fraud.<sup>2</sup>

And from such a denial of morality, except as it may be expedient in the class struggle, it inexorably follows that no Communist, high or low, ought or *need* be bound by any objective notions of truth in relation to human conduct, either in his personal life or in his political life. Then, as Communist Yaro-

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *Collected Works of Lenin* (1st Russian ed.), XVII, 145.

slavsky's famous phrase puts it: "Whatever helps the proletarian revolution and the Communist Party is ethical."

Lenin put it this way: "We must be ready for trickery, deceit, lawbreaking, withholding and concealing the truth." Stalin, writing of morality *versus* diplomacy, states the matter with equal candor. He says: "Words must have no relation to action—otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing, actions another. Good words are a mask for the concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron."

Scientific materialism logically leads to a conception of what government for men without souls should be like—indeed, *must* be like. In *Problems of Leninism* Stalin says:

The scientific concept, dictatorship of the proletariat, means nothing more or less than power which directly rests on violence, which is not limited by any laws or restricted by any absolute rules. . . . Dictatorship means—and note this for once and for all—unlimited power, resting on violence, and not on law.<sup>1</sup>

This is a harsh saying, but granted the basic concept of scientific materialism, its logic is irrefutable. For if men are not to be governed by law founded on widely held concepts of absolute truth and justice, how shall they be governed if not by force?

In "Man Against Darkness," Professor Stace writes: "Those who wish to resurrect Christian dogmas are not, of course, consciously dishonest. But they have that kind of unconscious dishonesty which consists in lulling oneself with opiates and dreams . . ." <sup>2</sup> This is to re-echo, almost a hundred years later, Marx's own words:

The struggle against religion is, therefore, indirectly the struggle against that world whose spiritual aroma is religion. Religious misery is at once the expression of real misery and a protest against that

<sup>1</sup> English edition (Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1940), p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*



real misery. Religion is the sigh of the hard-pressure creature, the sentiment of a heartless world, as it is the soul of soulless circumstances. It is the opium of the people. . . .<sup>1</sup>

But strangely enough, Marx, in wishing to *destroy* Christianity, was motivated by the desire to construct: Marx offered man an *alternative* creed of salvation which he believed better than Christianity. Mr. Stace, the Princeton atheist, frankly has nothing to suggest that might alleviate man's many miseries.

This is particularly unfortunate, as Professor Stace admits that the undermining of religion, which he is engaged in,

is disastrous for morals because it destroys their entire traditional foundation. . . . Along with the ruin of the religious vision there went the ruin of moral principles and indeed of all values. . . . *Another characteristic . . . is loss of belief in the freedom of the will. . . . Not moral self-control, but the doctor, the psychiatrist, the educationist, must save us from doing evil. Pills and injections in the future are to do what Christ and the prophets have failed to do. . . .*<sup>2</sup>

But later in the article, Professor Stace, like Mr. Huxley, says that even without religion "a great many others of us . . . can at least live decent lives. . . ."<sup>3</sup>

Both men fail to see (or say, at any rate) that to live "decent" lives without faith is possible only in an atmosphere where *other men do believe in faith*. Such atheists are parasites on the Christian tradition. It would be interesting to see them try to live their "decent" lives in the godless environment of a Nazi or Communist America!

Many Americans believe with Professors Huxley and Stace that man can embrace the *fundamental* spiritual and philosophical concepts of Communistic thought—atheism and materialism—

<sup>1</sup> Karl Marx, *Communist Manifesto*. Authorized English Translation. Edited and Annotated by Frederick Engels (Chicago, Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1912), Sec. 2, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

without coming to accept sooner or later the economic and political concepts that always flow from man's basic attitudes towards himself in relation to the universe.

What the whole world is seeking and what we, too, are seeking as a nation, is a plan for *a whole way of life*; a workable plan that will effectively apply principles of justice to the vast human problems created by a mass production technology that grew Topsy-like in an age of diminishing faith.

It is precisely such a plan that Communism claims to have found and which it seeks to impose on society by any means, fair or foul.

Christianity proposes another solution: the creed of love, and truth, and persuasion, as against that of hate, and lies, and force.

If the Western democracies today have evolved free institutions, it is to the extent that they have tried to view the nature of man from this Christian point of view.

The Christian point of view of human nature insists on the inviolability of the person and personality, and of personal conscience and personal responsibility, the political expression of which is the Bill of Rights and the Constitution.

Communists, and intellectuals with an imperfect knowledge of Christian teaching, often accuse Christianity of failing on two counts: one, Christianity allows man to shove *personal* responsibility off on God; and two, it contains no policy of *social* responsibility.

The very reverse is true: Christianity is *uniquely* the religion of personal and social responsibility. Christian Man, because he possesses *free will*, must at all times, in all circumstances, be choosing between the greater and the lesser good; and at all times he is being strictly held to account by his conscience and his God for his free choices.

The bearing of one another's burdens is the very heart of the Christian message: "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so you shall fulfill the law of Christ!" (Gal. 6:2.)

Throughout 1900 years the Christian has been the faithful proponent of man's free will, the loyal defender of man's free

will, and the heroic witness of man's free will. The Christian has solidly stood against every denial, and every abuse, of the freedom of man's will. He has stood against all who regard man as a bundle of fleshy cogs and cams in a machine called the state. He has never ceased to warn that this machine must grind him into a slave, or goad him into a monster. He has stood against all the libertarians who, in the selfish pursuit of every dainty folly, brutish vice, and novel notion, have corrupted for many the meaning of freedom into license.

In the name of Christ's justice and mercy, Christians have raised their voices louder and longer than any other world group against the fast rising modern bars to economic freedom and justice, bars laid in the foundation of secularism, and changed into iron curtains by Communism.

When industrial capitalism was at its ugliest and worst, it was the voice of the Christian Churches that passionately spoke up for labor. Today, as then, the exploiter of labor from either the Left or Right, from labor's ranks or capital's, will find the Christian against him.

The Christian must never let mankind forget that Christianity itself is the greatest revolutionary political and economic movement of all the ages.

"Depart from me, ye cursed, into the everlasting fire that was prepared by the devil for his angels!" is addressed by our Lord directly to those who have failed to feed the hungry, shelter the homeless, clothe the poor. If Christians have forgotten this—and millions of them have—it may be no more than God's justice that a foretaste of that Hell on earth has been prepared for us by two world wars, by Fascism and Communism.

Today it is difficult for us to imagine a Christian society—largely because it is difficult for each of us to imagine beginning the formation of such a society where it must begin: with the reform of the *inward self*.

Huxley feels that the hypothesis of God is no longer required as man has conquered his external environment: he has defeated Nature. But until man has defeated his *internal* environment,

conquered himself, the hypothesis of God may still be the only one that will help man to understand his world and himself, inside and out.

The persistent moral dualism which has existed in our country—the Sunday Christians and weekday pagans—must in the end be our moral and economic and political undoing. We Americans have long prided ourselves on our tremendous diversities of opinions, aims, ambitions. But now we must *unite* on some overarching spiritual principle that will inform our consciences, and release the dynamic energy we once exhibited as a young nation, strong in Christian faith. For unity that does not encircle diversities is an empty and sterile affair. But diversities that are not encompassed by unity are disorder and chaos.

The present American disorder of opinion and chaos of spiritual conviction will be organized in our century either in the spirit of Karl Marx, or in the spirit of Jesus Christ.

The day the men of the West desert completely their historical concept of man as a child of God, with free will and an immortal soul, the day, in short, when they, too, go over to “scientific materialism,” that day not our oil or gold in the ground, not our assembly belts, not our air forces nor our navies, shall save us from being conquered at home or abroad by Communism.

Without the spiritual unity provided by Christian belief and practice, we shall have only one frame of reference left for the diplomacy of peace or of war: nationalism, and its naked power. *So we must fight against Communism in the Christian spirit.*

Does this mean that we must, or should, launch an atomic Christian crusade against Soviet Russia?

## IV

### Must We Have a “Holy War” with Russia?

FIRST IT must be clearly understood that, if war does come, it is *bound* to be viewed by us as a “holy war.” All wars tend to

take on the character of a crusade. A contending nation will always call down as witness to the righteousness and necessity of its cause the highest Authority.

*Gott mit uns*, cried the Germans during World War I. The Allies excoriated the Germans for their vainglorious presumption. But we also claimed that God was on our side and for our "crusade."

"*Holy*" Russia (which could only mean a Russia dedicated to or loved by God) proved to be a more effective battle slogan in Russia during World War II than "Workers of the World Unite!" It combined two idealistic concepts, God *and* Country. The authority of the red flag was given highest sanction—that of supernatural force.

There is, however, nothing more unpopular or dispiriting to a people than to launch a "holy war" which has once before been fought and lost. That is why "Democracy" as a slogan lost so much of its power after Versailles. Between World War I and World War II, many Americans lost appetite for trying to make the *whole* world safe for free, representative government. They failed to see how precious was the limited objective they had obtained in war: the security of the United States against the threat of a Europe consolidated by German imperialists. They remembered only their failure to achieve the *unlimited* objective: the crusade to Make the World Safe for Democracy.

A real crusading title for the second World War was never found. The press and the people continued to call the conflict "World War II," although nobody liked that. It contained the dreadful suggestion that we were engaged in what was to be a series of world conflicts.

A war against Soviet Russia, however, might easily become in the popular mind a "holy war," in the literal sense of its being viewed as a war between believers and nonbelievers, between Christians and atheists, between the godly and the ungodly. Indeed, once a war between the United States and Soviet Russia had been initiated, there would be nothing to prevent such claims on our part.

This very fact would be a grave temptation to further enlarge-

ment of the pharisaic spirit of the "Christian" West which has already given the non-Christian world such a low—and false—opinion of Christianity. It would be so easy, once war had begun, for us to believe we were Christians, and that we were fighting for Christ (and the whole religious nexus of morals and ethics and ideals) simply because *they* would *not* be Christians and would *not* be fighting for Him.

It would be no effort at all for us to tell ourselves we were, to boot, pious, kind, merciful, loving folk, first, because we knew we *ought* to be, but secondly, because they would so plainly *not* be.

The very fact that in World War II the USSR fought on our side rather than on the German side (which ideologically was so much closer to the Soviet position) did help in a measure to keep us from indulging in too much self-satisfied and self-commendatory praise of the utter purity of our own political and religious motives. There would be little, except the grace of God, to prevent us from wallowing in hypocrisy once we found ourselves fighting against the sons of Marx and Lenin. For this reason, if for no other, we should regard the impulse to wage a "holy war" with Russia as a *great temptation to the growth of an un-Christian spirit in the nation.*

The West might fall an easy prey to the Russian school of ideas long before "the Bomb" had demolished the last Russian city. We might be the victor. But the victor might then become the victim of the vanquished.

It has been said that, although Germany has been physically crushed, she really won World War II: the contemporary mind was largely formed by German philosophical and political ideas. When the Nazi troops had been driven out of France, in 1944, it became apparent that French philosophy and French letters had been completely conquered by the German fathers of "existentialism," Nietzsche and Heidegger. The Germans, Hegel and Marx and their disciples, were the intellectual forebears of the materialistic atheists of modern Western political and social philosophy. German idealistic materialism, in one form or other, has swept through the West. It has completely triumphed,

ironically enough, in Russia, at the exact moment of German military collapse.

Because of the spiritual danger to ourselves and the world of an exhausting conflict between halfhearted Christian nations and wholeheartedly atheistic ones, we must try to avoid such a struggle with all the subtlety, honesty, wit, generosity and skill at our command.

There is *nothing whatsoever in Christian teaching* which would turn our minds or hearts towards the initiation of war as a solution for the world crisis. Meanwhile, realism requires us to face the fact that Soviet dogmatism *does* assume the irreconcilability of the issues between the West and Russia.

We have seen that this materialist philosophy is, in Marx's own words, "a world concept," based on violence and force, "trickery, deceit, lawbreaking." It is also a world revolutionary concept. From the time of Marx down to the present day, no Communist leader has ever abandoned the program of bringing Communism, by peaceful or violent means, by direct aggression or subversive efforts, to every nation and all peoples of the world.

Stalin puts it quite bluntly in his counterpart to *Mein Kampf*, *Problems of Leninism*:<sup>1</sup>

The international significance of our revolution lies in this, that it is a beginning in our country of the cracking of the system of imperialism . . . a first step in the world revolution and a powerful base for its further development. . . . What is our country, as it builds socialism, but a base for world revolution? . . .

And Stalin writes:

It is, therefore, the essential task of the victorious revolution in one country to develop and support the revolution in others. So the revolution in victorious countries ought not to consider itself a self-contained unit, but an auxiliary means of hastening the victory of the proletariat in other countries.

<sup>1</sup> London, D. Allen & Unwin, 1940.

The concept of world revolution excludes the right of any nation, as well as any individual, to reject Communist doctrine. In his report to the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party, Stalin states:

Communism refuses to admit the right of self-determination prior to the right of consolidation of Communist power. . . . It should be borne in mind that besides the right of nations to self-determination there is also the right of the working class to consolidate its power, and to this latter right the right of self-determination is subordinate. The right to self-determination can and must not serve as an obstacle to the exercise for the working class of its right to dictatorship. The former must give way to the latter.

It is entirely logical that a system of belief based on the idea of man as an amoral, soulless, collective animal should not consider men or nations as having any right to express a contrary belief, or to seek or practice any form of government contrary to his "nature."

It was an awareness of the fundamental conflict between Russia's material, and the West's historical spiritual, interpretation of the nature of man which made Stalin write in *Problems of Leninism*: "It is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic should continue to exist for a long period side by side with imperialist states—ultimately one or the other must conquer."

Because of the Communist assumption that the conflicts between the USSR and the West can never be composed, they have sought and must continue to seek to widen and deepen their physical and ideological control of the world.

We must seek to counter this threat of an intolerable penetration and expansionism.

How?

It is precisely at this point that we must survey our situation with the utmost honesty. We can, with justice, claim that Communism relies largely on the spirit of force. But we do not (and dare not) rely entirely on the force of the spirit. It is sheer nonsense to claim that Marxism gives full sovereignty to the



material, to the powers of arms and purse, while we give it to spiritual matters. In actual practice, we oppose, if we do, one material force to another.

"Christianity," said the late William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, "is not for the elimination of force. It is for the consecration of force."

The individual Christian might quarrel with this statement, and insist that Christ *was* for the elimination of force. But what if force *cannot* be eliminated?

We may make some claim here that we have already done some things at home and abroad, things calculated to prevent war, to abate the forces of force. These efforts were conceived in the tradition of Christian statesmanship. For there *is* a moral case to be made for the West.

In the three years since the wars' end, we have made some effective strides in assembling a physical *and* a moral defense against Soviet aggression and Communist propaganda, and in extending that defense to our friends.

In the atomic bomb this nation has an instrument of extraordinary military power, if we should choose to use it against Soviet Russia *now*. We have not only *refused* to use it, we have even chosen not to remain the sole possessors of this dread power. *We have offered to give it away*. As David Lilienthal pointed out in a recent article in *Life* magazine, only the refusal of the Soviet Union to join our plan for the control and peaceful use of atomic energy has prevented us from divesting ourselves of this shattering force in order to consecrate it to peaceful uses. But never before in the history of mankind has it been known that a nation possessing so much power has honestly tried to share it, in order to prevent its being used. Indeed, we have not only asked, we have implored the world to accept joint stewardship of this evil weapon. This is an act of public morality which, we can honestly claim, shows that we as a nation have not wasted our Christian assets entirely.

It is true that American self-interest would be well served by the successful economic reconstruction of Europe. To the extent that this is our motive in propounding it, the Marshall Plan is

a selfish, rather than an altruistic, or Christian gesture. But the Marshall Plan does not guarantee success. It is a risk, and a sufficiently large risk to say truthfully that generosity rather than self-interest, tipped the scales in the balance for it with the American public. Certainly we all know the money will never be repaid. Most of us know that it will earn us small thanks from Europe. Nevertheless, the American taxpayers have appropriated billions for the succor of ravaged nations.

Our actions in respect of these two vast powers, money and the bomb, are some evidence that internationally we are *trying* to behave in the responsible fashion that is historically associated with the actions of "God-fearing" free peoples.

Certainly, an angry vision is a blurred vision. And we enhance our chance of preserving peace if we keep our minds free of hatred and prejudice. Patience and fair-mindedness, no less than prudence and candor in our attitude towards the USSR, will keep us from resorting to arms until the final extremity. But merely to think calmly and charitably will not, of course, prevent war. War will come when to refrain from using force—or, as we have come to call it, "appeasement"—would be immoral.

For we must hold to our pledged word. We must resolutely refuse to yield the liberties of those we have promised to safeguard. We must keep sufficient military strength to discourage any sudden use of force to which Russia might be impelled by what she considered tempting evidence of our physical or moral weakness. *To defend the truth and to save their souls, Christians must be just as ready to combat the world as to renounce it.*

Ours is an age of widespread irrationality and disbelief, and only in such an age could Communism have reached its present power. For Communism could offer to irresolute men the lure of iron resolution; to those sick of cynicism and skepticism, a fanatic belief in the power of man without God to order his own destinies; and to those seeking for certainty and an absolute, bloody certainties and stern absolutes.

Against such a religion agnosticism, cynicism and skepticism do not stand a chance. The only faith to challenge Communism at every point is Christianity. That is why the Communists' greatest aim is to smother the spiritual in American man, and to paralyze his Christian conscience.

Will America embrace, or be conquered by, the dynamic false faith of Communism? "This is their hour and the power of darkness." This is the Twilight of God.

And yet Christians know the answer: The Light, *if they seek it*, will prove stronger. It was promised them, though they should be reduced in numbers by apostasy or atomization to a mere handful—say, no more than twelve—that the gates of Hell shall not prevail.









