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### The Christian Looks at Communism

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### Preface

Unfortunately, there has been a great deal of loose  
thinking on the subject of Communism, even in our Luther-  
an circles. With some a spirit of carefree indifference,  
of complacent resignation to what is regarded as an in-  
evitable natural development, prevails. Far too often it  
is an abysmal ignorance of the facts among those of us  
who should know better.

Among church leaders, in general, opinion is sharply  
divided. On the extreme right, we have the reactionary  
opponents to any change in the economic order which would  
tend to overthrow or modify what they are pleased to call  
a system of free enterprise--as though the fall of capi-  
talism meant the collapse of Christianity. On the extreme  
left, we find the radical liberals who would welcome a  
Socialist upheaval, and prefer to espouse the Communist  
cause in the name of religion. There are those crusading  
prophets of doom who vehemently denounce Communism from  
the housetops, sound the trumpet call to arms, and advo-  
cate ruthless measures to suppress this sinister menace.  
There are those who assume a fatalistic attitude of "come

what may, we cannot prevent it," and dismiss all fear with a shrug of their shoulders.

The result has been that where the Church should stand courageously on a definite platform of united action against anti-Christian forces, it has been distressingly silent. True, the domain of the Church is spiritual, and the Lutheran Church is right when it resists the temptation to enter the political arena to dispute over political issues. However, in her anxiety to maintain the Scriptural principle of the separation of Church and State and avoid the stigma of the Social Gospel, she has closed her eyes to one of the most debated religious and moral issues of the day. The Lutheran Church has made her position unmistakably clear in opposition to the theories of evolutionists and the tenets of modernism. The Missouri Synod has condemned the lodge, deplored the rise in the divorce rate and the increase in juvenile delinquency, but on the subject of Communism either a strange silence is maintained, or we hear of violent disagreement in evaluating the danger to the Church. Our people entertain queer notions about Communism. They are apt to be confused as many of their leaders are confused.

The present writer, as he looks at Communism from the viewpoint of a Lutheran Christian, will endeavor to demonstrate in a sober presentation of available evidence:

1. Communism is the most serious threat to the

Church today;

2. It evolved during a period of social change, characterized by abuses to which the Church was insensitive;

3. It had its ideological roots in anti-Christian, anti-Scriptural philosophies;

4. It stems directly from the teachings of Karl Marx and Friederich Engels, and still retains their underlying principles;

5. Lenin and Stalin have applied and adapted Marxian philosophy to Russia's peculiar position;

6. Communists have always been the bitter foes of religion in any form or guise, and have never receded from that position, except as a matter of temporary expediency;

7. In the only country in which Communism has been enforced the Church was almost obliterated through bitter and bloody persecution, and through the deliberate propagation of atheism, as well as through covert efforts to undermine her prestige;

8. The corrupt condition of the Russian Orthodox Church was not the basic cause of Communist aversion to religion;

9. The Communist Party in all countries, including the United States, regards Moscow as its base and the Soviet Union as its ideal;

10. Communist hostility to Christianity has carried over into our own country where it has been neither revoked nor modified;

11. W. Z. Foster, the present leader of the Communist Party in America, has reaffirmed his loyalty to Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism;

12. No compromise between Communism and Christianity is conceivable. The true and consistent Communist is diametrically opposed to all that the Christian holds sacred. Communism is the direct antithesis of Christianity because it has its moorings in unqualified, crude materialism, and insists upon the eradication of the concept of God and the annihilation of all spiritual values;

13. Communism destroys the freedom of the individual so that he loses his identity as an independent personality, and becomes a mere cog in a totalitarian machine of coercion;

14. Communism (theoretically) calls for the elimination of private property in violation of Scripture;

15. Communists deny the foundation of Christian ethics. They refuse to be bound by a permanent moral standard like the Ten Commandments. For them there is no divine Law-Giver;

16. They speak contemptuously of the sacred family relationship as "bourgeois morality". Where Communism has been taught, extreme immorality has been prevalent;

17. Communists do not hesitate to use foul

means to attain desired goals. They do not shrink from violent revolution as the natural outcome of their movement. Their leaders foster class hatred;

18. "The end justifies the means." They are not averse to using deception, fraud, infiltration into unsuspecting organizations. They malign reputable citizens, casting aspersions upon their patriotism. At the same time, they are disloyal to the country in which they happen to live;

19. There is a close interrelation between Communism and Modernism. The two have enough in common so that Communism, using Modernism as a tool, has made serious inroads into the Church;

20. The Roman Catholic Church is the only organized Church which has made a concerted effort to combat Communism;

21. The chaos in the economic world and the unsolved social problems created by modern industry, do not denote the abnegation of the Church of Jesus Christ, but are a sad commentary on the failure of organized religion to meet the crisis of the hour;

22. The solution for the world's ills will be found only in revitalized Christianity;

23. Although Lutherans recognize the inescapable fact of man's imperfection and the fallibility of all human institutions, they are not thereby exempted from searching for and contributing toward a better social order.



The ancient clan or tribe may have had some communistic features. Plato conceived of a limited form of Communism which would be restricted, in practice, to the guardians of the new Republic. Most Utopian dreamers were tinged with communistic ideas.

Religious fanatics have repeatedly embarked upon communistic ventures. In Luther's day it was the ill-fated Thomas Muenzer. Then there were the Anabaptists who insisted that "a Christian cannot with a good conscience

### THE CHRISTIAN LOOKS AT COMMUNISM

#### I. What Is Communism?

hold or possess property, but is in duty bound to devote

Since the term "Communism" is used so freely and carelessly, it is not surprising that it is often misunderstood by the uninformed. At the outset it is essential that the writer formulate a clear definition of what is to be understood by the word to which he will constantly refer. One dictionary defines it as "the system or theory which upholds the absorption of all proprietary rights in a common interest." Another widens the scope to include "any system of social organization involving common ownership of the means of production, and some equality in the distribution of the products of the industry."

Considered exclusively in this sense Communism could not be regarded as a daughter of modern times. Communal settlements were not uncommon in primitive societies.

1. Webster's Encyclopedic Dictionary.
2. Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, Third definition.
3. Popular Symbolics, op. cit., p. 420.

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A popular delusion among Christians would have us believe that Communism is only a sincere effort to imitate the commendable pattern set by the early Christians in the Church at Jerusalem. Certainly, they argue, it is more in

3. E. g., Sir Thomas More's Utopia, 1416.

4. Concordia Triglotta, "Formula of Concord", XII, p. 841; "Epitome" 17, Th. D. 22.

5. He was arrested on a charge of immoral conduct, Nov. 1927; died the same year. Cf. Popular Symbolics, p. 426. Other Communistic sects were the German Seventh Day Baptists, the Harmonites, the Amana Society, the Llano Cooperative Colony, and the early Mormons.

6. Popular Symbolics, op. cit., p. 420.

keeping with the spirit of Christ to pool our resources and share our produce than to uphold an economic order of cutthroat competition and ruthless exploitation.

The Russian idealist, Berdyaev, states that "the social system of Communism possesses a large share of truth which can be wholly reconciled with Christianity, more so, in any case, than the capitalist system, which is most anti-Christian."<sup>7</sup>

Disregarding that assertion for the moment, let us dispose of an oft-repeated misconception. Can the proponents of Communism argue from the example of the first Christians? There are two passages involved:

"And all that believed were together, and had all things common, and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men as every man had need." (Acts 2, 44. 45).

"And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul: neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common.....Neither was there any among them that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet: and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need." (Acts 4, 32. 34. 35).

Those who deduce from these Bible references that a communal state was advocated by Christ and put into practice by His followers are laboring under a misapprehension. To understand the situation which obtained at that time, it must be remembered that it was not an easy thing to become a Christian, to affiliate with this hated and persecuted minority. In many instances, it meant loss of

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7. Berdyaev, Origin of Russian Communism, p. 225.

employment. When we take into consideration the fact that within a few weeks as many as five thousand were converted from Judaism to Christianity, we can well imagine that their plight was desperate. To cope with the emergency successfully, it was necessary to take unusual measures which would be uncalled for under normal conditions. These believers simply felt a responsibility toward their brethren in need, and willingly sacrificed all their property to insure the material welfare of that sorely beset community of faithful believers.

A close examination of the text bears out the fact that the Church at this time was not a socialistic club. The words "sold" (epipraskon) and "parted" (diemerizon) in the first passage, and "were" (hyperchon) and "brought" (epheron) in the second, are all in the imperfect tense in the Greek original. The imperfect tense is used to express continuous action in past time, and its force here is iterative. If the members of that first congregation had put all their property together and then met the needs of all from this fund, the tense would have been aorist. The imperfect tense tells us that it was not done all at one time, but rather time after time. Furthermore, the phrase "the things that he possessed," would indicate that the right of private ownership had not been rescinded.

There is no hint elsewhere in the New Testament that any system of Communism was to be established. Paul never mentions it. Church history does not record that it was ever practiced in the early centuries of the Christian

era. The Church Fathers have been accused of harboring communistic tendencies, but the charge has been convincingly refuted.<sup>8</sup>

Finally, the most important distinction between "The community of goods" mentioned in the Book of Acts and present-day Communism is that the former was limited to the believers. There was no compulsion. The entire movement was altogether voluntary. It was an outward manifestation of liberality and Christian love that has seldom, if ever, been surpassed in the annals of the Church. The common treasury of the early Christians was not at all tantamount to the Communism of our day.

It will be readily recognized, even by a superficial observer, that strictly speaking, Communism is anti-Christian. Is there then no feasible compromise between the two --perhaps some sort of a diluted Communism which would be acceptable? Theoretically, this might appear to be true. It would seem that some system of more equalized wealth and greater opportunity for all might be constructed, which would be predicated upon Christian virtues. Berdyaev writes, "Christianity seems to me to be compatible only with a system which I would call a system of pluralist socialism, which unites the principle of personality as the supreme value, with the principle of a brotherly community of men."<sup>9</sup>

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8. Cf. the article by Rev. Joseph F. Fletcher in The Living Church (Nov. 17, 1934), p. 616. "Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Ambrose, and others undoubtedly wrote explicit directions of a Communist kind about material wealth. But almost invariably

However, when we attempt to translate these fine words into social action we are confronted with a stupendous task. When we seek to gain the voluntary assent of society to abandon its selfish individualism, we begin to realize that we are dealing with a world tainted by sin. Yet, we do not despair. A few practical suggestions for improving the social order are included in the last chapter of this treatise.

In writing on the subject of communism the writer intends to look at the world as it actually is, and then he finds that the word "Communist" has been adopted by the disciples of Karl Marx throughout the world.

True, there are numerous forms of socialism. Robert Owen (1771-1858) in England and Francois Fourier (1772-1837) were called "utopian" Socialists. They "proposed gradual socialization by the creation of small experimental communities" which were eventually to bring about a peaceful federation of the world. The great French social philosopher, Saint-Simon (1760-1825) "favored centralized control by a hierarchy of industrial chiefs and men of science, in which everyone should contribute according to his ability and be rewarded according to his works."

they also advocated a practical type of almsgiving which would presume private property as essential to it."

9. Berdyaev, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

10. LeRossignol, J. E., From Marx to Stalin, p. 13.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

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LeRossignol attempts to distinguish between state socialism, Fabian socialism, syndicalism, guild socialism, cooperative socialism, anarchism, Bolshevism, Fascism,

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Nazism, and Communism. Some of the distinctions are difficult to maintain. Certain elements are common to both Socialism and Communism. Communism, he defines, as "an extreme form of Socialism, which expects and advocates a violent revolution, a temporary dictatorship of the proletariat, and after that complete control by the people of production, distribution, and consumption, to the end that everyone should work according to his ability and receive from the common national income according to his needs."<sup>14</sup>

"Communism is not merely an economic system, it is a concept of the universe, the presentation of an ideal and of a civilization which renovates the whole man. It contains a philosophy which finds its crowning point in anti-religion, a sociology consisting in a new code of morals, a new educational system, a new system of doctrine concerning the state, and finally an economic system."<sup>15</sup>

Communism gives rise to a man-centered "religion" in

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12. Dean of the College of Business Administration, the University of Nebraska.

13. Ibid., pp. 50 & 51.

14. Ibid., p. 50.

15. Delaye, E., What Is Communism?, p. 7. (Translated by B. Schumacher) St. Louis, B. Herder Co., 1938

direct antithesis to Lutheranism. "...it is impossible to deny that Russian Communism does resemble a religion in many respects. Its attitude to the Marxian doctrines is not the attitude of an economist or an historian towards a scientific theory, it is the attitude of a believer to the gospel of salvation; Lenin is more than a political hero; he is the canonized saint of Communism with a highly developed culture of his own; and the communistic ethic is religious in its own absoluteness and its unlimited claims to the spiritual allegiance of its followers."

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Winston Churchill has written a pertinent evaluation of Communism. "Communism is not only a creed. It is a plan of campaign. A Communist is not only the holder of certain opinions; he is the pledged adept of a well-thought-out means of enforcing them. The anatomy of discontent has been studied in every phase and aspect and a veritable drill book prepared in a scientific spirit for subverting all existing institutions. At first the time-honored principles of Liberalism and Democracy are invoked to shelter the infant organism. Free speech, the right of public meeting, every form of lawful political agitation and Constitutional right are paraded and asserted.

"The creation of a mild Liberal or Socialist regime in some period of convulsion is the first milestone. But no sooner has this been created than it is to be overthrown. Woes and scarcity resulting from confusion must be exploited. Collisions, if possible, attended with bloodshed, are to be arranged between the agents of the new government and the working people.....Martyrs are to be manufactured.

"An apologetic attitude in the rulers should be turned to profit. No faith need be, indeed may be, kept with non-Communists. Every act of good will, of tolerance, of conciliation, of mercy, of magnanimity on the part of governments or statesmen is to be utilized for their ruin. Then

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16. Dawson, C., Religion and the Modern State, p. 58.

*New York, Sheed + Ward, 1938.*



when the time is ripe and the moment opportune, every form of lethal violence from mob revolt to private assassination must be used without stint or compunction.

"The citadels will be stormed under the banners of Liberty and Democracy; and once the apparatus of power is in the hands of the Brotherhood, all opposition, all contrary opinions must be extinguished by death. Democracy is but a tool to be used and afterwards broken. Liberty but a sentimental folly unworthy of the logician.

"The absolute rule of a self-chosen priesthood, according to the dogmas it has learned by rote, is to be imposed upon mankind without mitigation, progressively forever. All this set out in prosy textbooks, written also in blood in the history of several powerful nations, is the Communist's faith and purpose."<sup>17</sup>

A Congressional Committee in 1931 submitted this definition of Communism: "A world-wide political organization advocating: 1) Hatred of God and all forms of religion; 2) Destruction of private property and inheritance; 3) Absolute social and racial equality, promotion of class hatred; 4) Revolutionary propoganda through the Communist International stirring up communist activities in foreign countries in order to cause strikes, riots, bloodshed, sabotage, and civil war; 5) Destruction of all forms of representative or democratic governments, including civil liberties, such as freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, and trial by jury; 6) The ultimate and final objective is by means of world revolution to establish the dictatorship of the so-called proletariat into one world union of Soviet Socialist Republics with the capitol in Moscow.

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17. Essay on Trotsky from Mr. Churchill's book, Great Contemporaries, pp. 168-169.

"Communism has also been defined as an organized effort to overthrow organized governments which operate contrary to the communist plan now in effect in Russia. It aims at the socialization of government, private property, industry, the home, labor, education and religion. Its objectives are the abolition of other governments, private ownership of property, inheritance, religion, and family relations." <sup>18</sup>

These are only brief academic definitions of Communism which will be enlarged upon and explained in the sections to follow. They restrict the use of the term to that application of the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin for which the Communists contend today. There has been no basic change in the outlook and teachings of the Party since the Communist Manifesto was written in 1848. Communists are, therefore, not merely economic theorists or members of a political party. Their program has been and continues to be consistently anti-Christian.

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18. In the "Report of the Investigation of Communist Propaganda", House Report 2290, 71st Congress, 3rd Session, (Jan. 17, 1931), p. 4.

for and bitter foe of Communism, is almost unfailingly a signal for mob violence and rioting. Many antagonists of the "Red Movement" were defeated in the first election or have been thoroughly discredited. Certainly it is

## II. The Spread of Communism

With millions in Europe and Asia dying from starvation, with industrial strife continuing unchecked in our own country, when men in responsible positions talk openly and frankly of a third World War, it is undeniable that the soil is fertile for the growth of Communism. At a time when the specter of post-war pessimism and disillusionment stalks upon a world engulfed in chaos it is certainly not amiss to ask how extensively Communism has spread.

Communist propagandists have not left the soil fallow. Recognizing the time is ripe for the reception of revolutionary ideas, they have redoubled their efforts to diffuse their teachings.

### A. Communism in current literature

Even a cursory examination of the profuse writings on this subject will overwhelm the reader. The bare fact that so much literature is pouring off the printing presses is already symptomatic of a condition--increasing unrest. Communism has become a burning issue in America today, both in the political arena and in the Church. The public appearance of Gerald L. K. Smith, nationalist leader

The following periodicals have the approval of the author.  
The Cross and the Flag, edited by Gerald L.

der and bitter foe of Communism, is almost unfailingly a signal for mob violence and rioting.<sup>1</sup> Many antagonists of the "Red Movement" were defeated in the ~~last~~<sup>recent</sup> elections<sup>2</sup> or have been thoroughly discredited.<sup>3</sup> Certainly it is more than a mere coincidence that anyone who dares to raise his voice in criticism of Communism runs headlong into an avalanche of opposition.

Numerous periodicals from every sector of the country have decried the rising tide of Communist influence,<sup>4</sup> and

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1. Riots in Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and Los Angeles. Cf. the fierce opposition met by the Dies Committee investigating un-American activities.

2. E. g., Hamilton Fish, Robert Reynolds, Burton Wheeler. It is interesting to note that the head of the Am. Communist party is interested in discrediting the same statesmen. (Cf., Foster, William Z., The Rankin Witch Hunt, December, 1945). The Rankin Committee is called "an incipient Gestapo and an organizer of native American fascism." In a pamphlet entitled The Strike Situation William Z. Foster warns that "trade unions must sharply oppose the Rankin House Committee on un-American activities, the resurrected Dies Committee. This committee is a combination of Hitlerian red-baiting, Japanese 'dangerous thought' persecution and Salem witch-hunting." (Nov. 1945), p. 18.

Sender Garlin, a member of the editorial staff of the "Daily Worker, 1927 to 1944, has written a pamphlet entitled Enemies of the Peace, Profile of the 'Hate Russia' gang (Nov. 1945) in which he assails magazines, organizations, and individuals. E. g., Reader's Digest, the Hearst-McCormick, Patterson, Scripps-Howard Press; ambassador Herriman, Hoover, Vandenberg (expert on Russian history), Taft, Clare Luce, Bullit, Wm. Hy. Chamberlin, Geo. Sokolsky (columnist), Mrx. Eastman (noted Marxist scholar), Louis Fischer (former contributing editor to the Nation), Alexander Barmine (author of One Who Survived). Anyone who has criticized the Soviet Union is a persona non grata to the Communists.

3. The ill-fated sedition trial which involved such anti-Communists as Gerald B. Winrod, editor of The Defender, and Elizabeth Dilling, author of The Red Network.

4. N. B., the listing of the following periodicals does not imply the approval of the author.

1) The Cross and the Flag, edited by Gerald L.

K. Smith, Detroit, Michigan. Excerpts picked almost at random charge: "Communist Plot in North and South America." (Sept. 1945); "Communist Plot against the Church." (Oct. 1945); Richard Frankenstein, candidate for Mayor in the Detroit city election "has been used as the tool, the stooge, and the front man for Communist strategy for more than ten years." (Dec. 1945); "Charlie Chaplin has been playing the game of Red revolutionists for years." (Jan. 1945).

2) The Western Voice, edited by Harvey H. Springer, Englewood, Colorado. Exposes the so-called "Friends of Democracy" and its director L. M. Birkhead as pro-Communist. (Nov. 1, 1945).

3) The Defender, edited by Gerald B. Winrod, Wichita, Kansas. Condemns Drew Pearson as an apologist for Soviet Russia. Attacks the communistic Protestant. Accuses the American Reds of servitude to Russia. (Oct. 1945).

4) Destiny, edited by Howard B. Rand, Haverhill, Mass. "Identifies the Anglo-Saxon-Celtic and kindred peoples as the house of Israel under the leadership of the United States of America and Great Britain. Voices suspicions of Russian Communism." (Dec. 1945).

5) National Defense, A. Hoeppel Publisher, Arcadia, California. Defends veteran rights. Headlines of several articles are: "Russians Strip American Soldiers", and "Churchill, Hitler, and Pius XII on Communism."

6) The Guildsman, Edward A. Koch, Editor and Publisher, Germantown, Illinois. "Devoted to the cause of a corporative order." Hatred of Germany "derives from the ideological warfare instigated by Karl Marx, the prophet of Communism, against Hegel, the chief exponent of German philosophy." (Nov. 1945).

7) The X-Ray, Court Asher, Editor and Publisher. (Involved in the sedition trial). Muncie, Indiana. "Communism is Red Fascism and any person opposing subversive Jew and Red gangs is called Fascist by these deceptive skunks to confuse the people." (Dec. 15, 1945).

8) America Preferred, Carl H. Mote, Editor and Publisher, Indianapolis, Indiana. "Throughout Europe and Asia, the Roosevelt-Truman Administration is now in open alliance with Communism, and is no longer concealed." (Nov. 1945).

9) National Record, Robert R. Reynolds, Editor (former senator). Carries headlines such as: "Soviet United States in 5 years--Predicted by Stalin." "The Communists are on the March." "Red Press Spurs Anti-God Drive." (Ceased publication since Oct. 1945--was the official organ of the Nationalist Party.).

10) National Progress, Published by W. Henry MacFarland Jr., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The leading article is entitled: "Smashing Communism." Attacks Reader Scope as a "vicious" magazine. "A Communist victory would be final.....Within one month of such a Marxist

have been placed on "the black list" of the "anti-Fascists."<sup>5</sup> Assaulting Communism is like firing into an arsenal. The reaction is instantaneous and deadly. The Constitutional Educational League of New York City has been combatting Communism for years, but the organization has been undermined by the hysterical counter-propaganda of the "Friends of Democracy." Joseph Kamp, head of the League is labeled as "the hero of the pro-Fascists." He is accused of spreading phony and divisive propaganda. An attempt is made by juggling the known facts to link him with the Ku Klux Klan. Typical of the logic employed is a syllogism like this: "World-Service," whose "principal aim is to enlighten ill-informed Gentiles" advertises the weekly organ of the British Union of Fascists and National Socialists. It also recommends a pamphlet by Joseph Kamp. Therefore, it follows that Joseph<sup>Kamp</sup> is a Fascist and an anti-Semitic.<sup>6</sup> This "smear" technique is standard, and there will be occasion to call attention to it again.

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victory at the polls, the streets of every great metropolis in America would be filled with the marching feet of Red Army troops and the softer steps of the Soviet Secret Police!" (Oct. 1945).

11) Also listed by The Propaganda Battlefront, semi-monthly publication of the "Friends of Democracy", are Talk of the Times, and seven other anti-Communist papers.

12) America in Danger, mimeographed publication edited by Charles Bartlett Hudson, Omaha, Nebraska. "Judeo-Reds worldwide have about completed 'take-over.'" (Oct. 25, 1945), p. 4.

5. Cf. the popular books: Undercover, by Carlson; Sabotage, by Sayers; and Kahn; Time-Bomb, by Piller; and The Great Conspiracy, by Sayers and Kahn. (Reviewed in Newsweek, Feb. 18, 1946).

6. Found in Joe Kamp--A Report of Friends of Democracy Inc.

B. Communism is international

Communism knows no national boundaries. Back in 1936 The Living Church commented in an editorial, "Communism is one of the gravest menaces to Christianity in the world today." <sup>7</sup> A communist writer boasts: "Every day, everywhere, communists are news around the world--in China, France, Korea, Brazil, Italy, Belgium, and of course in the Soviet Union. Names of famous communist leaders have become familiar headlines--Stalin, Tito, Duclos, Thorez, Mao Tse-tung, Togliatte, Pollitt, Dimitroff, Buck, Haldane, Prestes, Blas Roca, Gallacher, Pasconaria.....

"The Italian Communist Party.....now has 1,708,000 members and takes its place in the coalition government.

"Chinese Communists, 1,210,000 strong, lead a coalition government of 95,500,000 people in the liberated area of China. The French Communist Party has a million members and received five million votes; 151 French Communists were elected members of the Constituent Assembly and eight Communists are members of the French Ministry.  
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"The Communist Party of Cuba, with 151,000 members has elected seven representatives, three senators, and has the Vice-Presidency in both legislative bodies of that

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7. May 2, p. 555.

country. disintegrated after its central offices were

"These are strong Communist parties in Chile, Colombia, and other South American countries. Communists, men and women, are in every newly formed government of liberated Europe and Asia."<sup>8</sup>

Writing to Marx as early as 1844, Engels said: "You may turn whithersoever you please, you will stumble over Communists."<sup>9</sup> The reason for this was well stated when the Manifesto was published in 1848: "Communism is already acknowledged by all European Powers to be itself a Power."<sup>10</sup> "In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, the Communists point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality."<sup>11</sup> "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!"<sup>12</sup>

Marx and Engels promoted revolutionary agitation all over Europe, and in England as well. The Communist League which Marx joined in 1847 was not confined to any one country. In 1864, the International Workingmen's Association was founded, which "had a general council controlling sections in different nations."<sup>13</sup> Although the First Inter-

8. Flynn, Elizabeth Gurley, Meet The Communists, pp. 3 & 4.

9. Quoted by Ruehle, "Karl Marx, His Life and Work". p. 119.

10. Modern Library, Capital and Other Writings by Karl Marx, p. 320.

11. Ibid., p. 334.

12. Ibid., p. 355.

13. New York Times, (5-23-43).



national disintegrated after its central offices were moved to New York, it was followed by a Second International formed at Paris in 1889. Failure to take a definite anti-war stand in the First World War brought about its collapse. Lenin re-emphasized the world view of his ideological predecessors. He drew a parallel between the American revolution and the Bolshevik revolution, and warns that "before the outburst of the international revolution there may be several defeats of separate revolutions," but concludes, "We are invincible, because the world proletarian revolution is invincible."<sup>14</sup> Lenin then became the guiding spirit behind the Third International which was headed by the Russian Communist Party, and organized in January, 1919. Back in 1914 Lenin had written in his book on The Imperialist War, "The Third International is confronted with the task of organizing the forces of the proletariat for a revolutionary onslaught on the capitalist governments, for civil war against the bourgeoisie of all countries, for political power, for the victory of Socialism."<sup>15</sup> In 1921, after the third Congress of the International he wrote, "We have now a Communist army throughout the whole world..."<sup>16</sup> In his book Left-Wing Communism he boasts, "In all cases and in all countries Communism grows: its roots are so

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14. Lenin, A Letter to American Workers, p. 22.

15. Quoted by Dutt, K. P., The Life and Teachings of V. I. Lenin, p. 89.

16. Dutt, op. cit., p. 90.

17. Dutt, op. cit., p. 91.

deep that persecution neither weakens nor debilitates, but rather strengthens it." <sup>17</sup>

The third International was openly active until May 22, 1943, when as a matter of expediency war conditions in Russia made it imperative that the Comintern be closed to gain the full cooperation of otherwise suspicious allies. The Moscow action was, of course, also designed to counteract the claim of Goebbels that Germany was a bulwark for the rest of the world against the threat of Bolshevism. When "sections in different nations un<sup>18</sup>animously approved the decision to disband," the jubilant announcement was made that the dissolution of the Comintern was complete. Nevertheless, Communism retained its world outlook, and has never renounced its demand for world revolution. Recently Army intelligence claims to have discovered evidence in Germany proving that the Third International was never actually dissolved.

Communists continue to carry on their revolutionary agitation on a worldwide front. Russian arms have triumphed on the continent of Europe, and the conquered territories have been subjected to vicious Communist propaganda. The Finns charged that the Reds are using the war crimes investigation as an instrument for Russification of their country. <sup>19</sup> Louis P. Lochner reported from Berlin that in the Russian occupation zone only the Communist Party is <sup>20</sup> allowed to function effectively.

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18. The full text of the Comintern's Declaration was printed in the New York Times, (5-23-43). Cf. New York Sun, (6-10-43).

It is self-evident that the same situation prevails in the rest of eastern Germany.<sup>21</sup> Winston Churchill asserted in an address to the House of Commons that "almost everywhere in the mountainous, turbulent, ill-organized, warlike Balkans, Communist forces have obtained or are in the process of obtaining dictatorial powers."<sup>22</sup>

An American correspondent reports that in Bulgaria the previous Nazi-controlled governments were replaced by a more autocratic Communist dictatorship.<sup>23</sup> In Jugoslavia, the ironclad dictatorship of Tito is backed by the Colossus of the East. In France, the Communist Party was powerful enough to demand the abrogation of diplomatic relations with "Fascist" Spain. The French are struggling in vain to form a new government, largely because the Communist Party holds a virtual veto power with its control of labor. The Reds can foment a strike almost at will and that would paralyze French industry.<sup>24</sup> Myron C. Taylor, the President's special envoy to the Vatican, complained about the spread of Communism among the disgruntled Ital-

19. Reported in The Pilgrim Torch, Nov. 1945.

20. St. Louis Globe-Democrat, (7-3-45).

21. According to Newsweek, (9-10-45), Robert D. Murphy, political adviser in Berlin was requested to estimate the extent to which the Russian zone is being socialized. "The reply went back that the best indications are that the entire governmental machinery is now in the hands of either the Russian military, Communist-dominated trade unions, Communist Party officials, or Communist-front committees, with newly appointed civil office holders having shadow powers only."

22. Aug. 16, 1945, quoted in "I Saw the Russians Take Over in Bulgaria" in Reader's Digest, (Oct. 1945), p. 20.

23. Ibid., p. 18.

24. Newsweek, (6-26-46).

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ians. Back in 1940, the Communists held six seats in the Swedish Parliament, and the danger was felt to be so serious that a bill was introduced in the Riksdag calling for the dissolution of the Party. According to a Finnish report the Swedish Communists enlisted among Finnish volunteers in order to spread propaganda and tracts. Hungary has yielded to Russian pressure and agreed to disband the Boy Scouts which have been called "Fascist". In England the Communists took advantage of the "squatter" demonstration against the housing shortage to announce that they aimed to "rehouse" at least 10,000 families in London alone. Their placards recalled their objective: "The Communists get things done in a big way; Join the Communist Party." The program of the Communists remains uniform the world over, and has lost none of its fervor for gaining new "converts". Newsweek commented on Communist defeats in European elections: They "haven't discouraged Moscow. The pattern set in Eastern Europe and the Balkans will be imposed to whatever degree opportunity permits."

Ambassador Hurley's explosive denunciation of American foreign policy in Asia reminded us that China has long been a center of Communist intrigue. The Chinese Communist Party was organized in 1920, and has been wooed

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25. By Eleanor Packard, United Press Correspondent.  
26. New York Times, (1-24-40).  
27. Omaha World-Herald, (7-20-46).  
28. Newsweek, (9-23-46).  
29. Ibid., (12-10-45).  
30. Cf., Chicago Tribune, (11-27-45).

by the Soviet Union ever since. In 1927 Chiang Kai-shek's "Purification" coup drove the Communists out of the Kuo-mintang, but they worked underground until 1931 when they became powerful enough to set up an independent government in defiance of the Chinese nationalists.<sup>31</sup> It is difficult to estimate to what extent the Chinese Communists are Moscow-controlled and Moscow-financed, but the connection is undeniable.<sup>32</sup> Now a coalition government has been formed with full Communist representation, and a powerful and victorious Russia continues to press its demands upon Manchuria.

Every continent and every country is faced with the "Red Peril". In a recent "demonstration against the British and Egyptian government, students at Faud I University in Cairo hoisted a Red flag over the engineering school and attempted a sally from the campus to reach the royal palace."<sup>33</sup> And editorial in the Korean newspaper "Dai Dong" complains that "Korean Communists, the fore-running dogs of Red Communism, are ravaging Korea and its people like beasts."<sup>34</sup>

Latin America has become a hotbed for Communist revolutionaries--a fact which makes the outlook even more

31. Far Eastern Affairs, Aug. 1938.

32. Cf., Mao Tse-Tung's China's New Democracy quoted in "The Fate of the World Is at Stake in China", Reader's Digest, (June, 1945): "We cannot separate ourselves from the assistance of the Soviet Union or from the victory of the anti-capitalist struggles of the proletariat of Great Britain, Japan, the United States, France, and Germany."

33. Newsweek, (2-25-46).

34. Ibid., (3-11-46).

ominous for us who live in this hemisphere. In 1940, General Dutra, then war minister under Vargas in Brazil, disclosed a Communist plot to overthrow the existing government.<sup>35</sup> The plot failed, but the Communists have not disappeared. In the last Brazilian election well-organized Communists were conspicuous in the campaigning<sup>36</sup> and vociferous in the support of their own candidate. Public opinion in Cuba is being shaped in the Communist mold.<sup>37</sup> In Mexico their leadership has become so outspoken that there have been strong movements afoot to seek the disbanding of all their organizations.<sup>38</sup> Rumors of Red control in Chile were so persistent in 1940 that the Chilean embassy in Washington felt obliged to deny them publicly.<sup>39</sup> The Party in Chile has maintained its grip on the vitals of the country. This year they called for a general strike twice within two weeks.<sup>40</sup> In the May elections the communists won sweeping victories. Coal, copper and nitrate unions are now communist-controlled. In the event of trouble between the United States and Russia they have stated publicly that nothing will be shipped out of Chile.<sup>41</sup> Radical communist candidate, Gabriel Gonzalez Videla won a plurality of votes and will most likely be

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35. New York Times, (3-28-40).  
 36. Newsweek, (12-3-45).  
 37. Chicago Tribune, (4-2-45).  
 38. New York Times, (12-9-39).  
 39. Ibid., Cf., (12-2-40) with (12-10-40).  
 40. Newsweek, (2-18-46).  
 41. Ibid., (7-1-46).

chosen by the Congress as the new president-elect. <sup>42</sup>

"Correspondence between Luis Carlos Prestes and William Z. Foster" indicates that the Communists are continuing to gain strength in South America. <sup>43</sup>

C. Communism and American youth

Like the Fascists in Italy and the Nazis in Germany, Russian Communists have realized the importance of indoctrinating youth. Lenin is quoted as having said: "Our party will always be a Party of Youth!" <sup>44</sup> The Young Communist League in the United States restricted itself to underground activities until 1934 when the American Youth Congress was established. The scope of the Congress was wide--enrolling some five million of our youth. Communists were not barred from membership, so they proceeded to use it as a Trojan Horse and gain positions of leadership. <sup>45</sup> While the Dies Committee on Un-American activities was exposing the radicals, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt preferred to think that only a small sector had an "intellectual interest" in Communism, <sup>46</sup> and the American Youth Congress defiantly announced that it would continue to welcome Communists into its membership. <sup>47</sup> Republicans declined to send a representative to the Congress because it had "failed to expel Communistic organizations and ele-

42. Ibid., (9-23-46).

43. Political Affairs (Communist), (Oct. 1945).

44. Cf., Meet the Communists, p. 19.

45. Cf., chart published by A. Cloyd Gill, New York, N. D.

46. New York Times, (3-22-40).

47. The Free American, 1940.

ments." <sup>48</sup> When Gene Tunney, ex-heavyweight champion, at-  
 tempted to seat his anti-Red delegates he was turned away, <sup>49</sup>  
 thus confirming the evidence already arrayed against them  
 by the Dies Committee. Catholic newspapers, too, were out-  
 spoken in their contention that the "American Youth Congress  
 is a dangerously radical organization," <sup>50</sup> and Catholic  
 youth groups were ordered to abstain from membership. The  
 Rev. Vincent Mooney writing in The Catholic Mind said:  
 "The position of the Church toward the American Youth Cong-  
 ress.....is based on the belief that the Congress is only  
 a 'front' organization for Left-wing groups whose purposes  
 are the fostering of irreligion and the promotion of class  
 hatreds." <sup>51</sup>

With the entrance of America into the war, the Young  
 Communist League fell in line with the general policy of  
 the Communist Party, and decided to conceal itself under  
 a new and less offensive garb. <sup>52</sup> Dissolving the notorious  
 League, the members announced that they had suddenly be-  
 come part of "American Youth for Democracy." <sup>53</sup> Cloaked  
 beneath this patriotic camouflage they continue to set a

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48. New York Times, (2-5-40).

49. New York Sun, (7-5-40).

50. The Messenger, (1-12-40).

51. Quoted by New York Times, (2-10-40).

52. The outgoing president of the Young Communist  
 League announced immediately that although "a new nation-  
 wide non-partisan organization of anti-fascists for the  
 most effective prosecution of the war effort" would be cre-  
 ated, yet there would be ample opportunity for those who  
 desired to do so "to study Marxism and Marxist theories."  
 New York Times, (10-17-43).

53. Goff, Kenneth, They Would Destroy Our Way of  
 Life, p. 33.



booby trap for unsuspecting young men and women in this country. The Communists were quick to recognize the radical tendencies of the American Veterans Committee and tried to capture the leadership by urging their veteran members to join.<sup>54</sup>

#### D. Communism and American schools

In 1919, a Boston school teacher (Communist) declared: "Give us one generation of small children to train to manhood and womanhood and we will set up the Bolshevist form of the Soviet Government;"<sup>55</sup> and this statement has become the guiding light of the Communist Party of America. It has been adopted as their long-range objective.

Certainly, there is ample evidence available to substantiate the charge of Communist infiltration into our schools. Toward the end of 1939 the American Federation of Teachers was beginning to take cognizance of Communists in their own midst.<sup>56</sup> New York City proved to be the volcano which erupted. In December, 1940, the metropolitan papers were filled with startling disclosures of a Communist fifth column working under cover in the city's schools and colleges.<sup>57</sup>

54. Newsweek, (6-24-46). Cf., St. Louis Globe-Democrat, (11-23-46).

55. An Appeal to America, Danieville Publishers, San Diego, Calif.

56. New York Times, (12-15-39).

57. "Windels tells how Reds Seek to Bore into City's Schools", (N. Y. Sun, 12-2-40). "100 in Teachers Union Depicted as Holding 'Party Line' Meetings", N. Y. Times, (12-4-40). "Dr. Gideonse, president of Brooklyn College, charged today that the Communist Party was 'deliberately

The Rapp-Coudert committee of the New York State legislature found a Communist paper being edited on the campus by one of the instructors at the College of the City of New York.<sup>58</sup> Fourteen faculty members were suspended and had to face trial.<sup>59</sup> It was revealed that an anonymous group, self-styled "The Communist Teachers of Harlem," passed out leaflets and lesson plans criticising the city school administration and praising Earl Browder and the Soviet system.<sup>60</sup> By order of the Board of Higher Education New York City schools were to be purged of Communists.<sup>61</sup> A ban on Communist teachers was to be extended to the lower schools.<sup>62</sup> Testimony also disclosed that one public school teacher had been dividing his time between the Bronx and Moscow, and was identified by ex-Communists as an agent of the Communist International.<sup>63</sup> The proceedings did not discourage the Red educators. By the end of 1941 the banished professors launched their own "School for Democracy" in mid-Manhattan.<sup>64</sup> The George Washington Carver school in Harlem received the full backing of the "Reds" who are accused of using it as a propaganda weapon.

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using' the free colleges of New York City as 'sounding boards for its own activities'." St. Louis Post-Dispatch, (12-4-40). "Teaching of Communism at Hunter College (New York) Alleged." St. Louis Post-Dispatch, (3-11-41).

- 58. Newsweek, (3-31-41).
- 59. New York Sun, (4-22-41).
- 60. Ibid., (3-11-41).
- 61. Ibid., (3-18-41).
- 62. Ibid., (3-19-41).
- 63. Time, (6-16-41).
- 64. Newsweek, (12-15-41).

New York Herald, (Dec., 1945). "An active cell of the Party was also discovered."

New York Herald, by Murray Flaxner, 1940.

One director of this "people's institute" is the same man who was elected to the city council on the Communist ticket.<sup>65</sup>

In Chicago a Communistic school is being conducted under the name of the "Abraham Lincoln school", which had an enrollment of 3,500 students after it had been in existence for only seven months.<sup>66</sup> More recently yet, the board of regents of the University of California at Los Angeles threatened to expel students for their part in the Hollywood film strike, and faculty members for their espousal of Communism.<sup>67</sup>

The American Student Union is a national college organization which is used as a "front" by Communist youth leaders. It was formed in 1935 after a merger of the Communist National Student League and the Socialist Student League for Industrial Democracy. The Communist Party line has been followed consistently. When Moscow was reading Mein Kampf with apprehension in 1937, their publication, "The Socialist Call", was bitterly anti-Fascist; when the Nazi-Soviet pact was signed in 1939, all wars were condemned as imperialistic, but the invasion of Finland met with approval.<sup>68</sup>

In summarizing this section, I conclude that despite their seemingly insignificant minority in numbers, Communists have succeeded, through their assiduous efforts,

65. Chicago Tribune.

66. Ibid.

67. Omaha World-Herald, (Dec., 1945), "An active cell of the Youth for Democracy was also discovered."

68. New York Tribune, by Murray Plavner, 1940.

in exercising an influence out of proportion to their size. American educators are consciously and unconsciously infected with the poison of Communism.

#### E. Communism and Labor

Since Communism purports to be the benefactor of the "toiling masses," groaning under the yoke of capitalist overlords, it is toward them, first of all, that they have directed their propoganda. They have concentrated their efforts on enrolling the laborer into their ranks. They have not rallied a united labor front under the Red banner, but the gains scored by the Communists cannot be dismissed as negligible.

Although AFL leadership has been traditionally anti-Communist, not all of its members have subscribed to this policy. In the CIO the trend has been increasingly toward the left of center. A report of the Dies Committee in 1940<sup>69</sup> charged that there was "more than a Red tinge in the CIO." Some observers contend that John L. Lewis withdrew from the CIO because he realized that they had gained control of the voting power in his executive council and could outvote him on any issue. That he was already familiar with the plot to capture the American labor movement is evidenced by the document he compiled early in the "20's" which stated: "Imported revolution is knocking at the door of the United Mine Workers of America and of the American people. The seizure of this union is being attempted as the first step

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69. New York Times, (1-4-40).

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in the realization of a thoroughly organized program for  
the conquest of the American continent.<sup>70</sup> In 1944 Lewis  
stated in a published interview in New York: "The Com-  
munists dominate the CIO today. Philip Murray is today  
the prisoner of the Communists in his own union. They  
control him through their seats on his executive commit-  
tee and there isn't a blessed thing he can do about it.  
Sidney Hillman is just as badly off. Both of them have  
got to play ball with the Communists now or die."<sup>71</sup> It  
was widely suspected that the Russian-born Hillman who  
wielded such tremendous power as head of the Political  
Action Committee was a secret member of the Communist Par-  
ty. The Council on Religious Freedom points out, however,  
that the "question as to whether Sidney Hillman is a pro-  
fessed Communist is relatively unimportant. His PAC has  
welcomed the leading Communists of this nation into the  
fold."<sup>72</sup> These facts become all the more inauspicious  
when we bear in mind that the PAC has been a vital in-  
strument in perpetuating the Democratic administration in  
Washington. Through the controlled agency of the PAC, the  
Communists are in a position to bore deeply into the De-  
mocratic party and countless government institutions.

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70. Senate Document # 14 of the 68th Congress, p. 1.

71. Constitutional Educational League, "Comments on  
Communists and Communism", p. 20. Philip Murray has made  
a desperate effort to rid CIO unions of Communist control,  
but complains of the extreme difficulty he encounters in  
identifying members of the Party.

72. An Unholy Alliance, p. 9.

Although the actual number of active Communists remains small, the total membership of CIO unions under their domination is estimated at a million and a half.<sup>73</sup> The Harvard historian, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., gives an up-to-date picture of Communist penetration in the trade unions: "The national leadership of certain CIO unions--the National Maritime Union, the International Longshoremen's, the American Communications Association, the United Office & Professional Workers, the United Electrical Workers, the United Public Workers, the Transport Workers, the Fur & Leather Workers--can be relied upon to follow the line with fidelity. Communists are active in the United Auto Workers in the hope of overthrowing the anti-Communist leadership of Walter Reuther, and they are even boring into Phil Murray's own union, the Steelworkers."<sup>74</sup> How did the Communists gain their foothold?--"...by 'boring into' the locals and gaining control of the delegates, largely because the average union member fails to attach sufficient importance to the position of delegate."<sup>75</sup>

All CIO leaders denied in June that the projected strike among the maritime unions was being timed to help Russia build its merchant marine, but most of them admit that Communists are spearheading the strike movement.<sup>76</sup>

73. "Radicalism and America" in Between the Lines, Oct. 8, 1945.

74. Life, (7-29-46).

75. Police, pub. by "League for Justice", July, 1943.

76. Newsweek, (6-24-46).

Columnist Geo. Sokolsky charges that Communists have assumed control of Joe Curran's Maritime Union. He complains: "Joe Curran.....should have known that sooner or later the 'Commies' would steal the union. He saw them steal John L. Lewis' CIO and push him out. He saw them steal Heywood Broun's Newspaper Guild in New York. He knew how Harry Bridges was working on the West coast. He should have understood the nature and purpose of Communist infiltration.....What it means in unmistakable language is that a foreign country has taken over our shipping. The American Communist Party is Soviet Russia's Fifth Column in the United States....."<sup>77</sup>

Thirty-four officials of six CIO affiliates in New York City recently (October 2, 1946) organized the CIO committee for Democratic Trade Unionism. They freely admitted that the CIO was contaminated with Communist influence and pleaded with members to rid their unions of Communist control. At Grand Rapids, Michigan, 2,500 members of the United Furniture Workers--CIO--have voted to switch to the AFL in protest against Communist domination of their union.<sup>78</sup>

F. Will there be a Communist Revolution in America?

The American people hailed the termination of the Japanese war and the removal of rationing restrictions with de-

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77. 7-17-46.

78. Omaha World-Herald, (8-20-46).

light. The expectancy was that the miracles of war-time production would be carried over into the post-war era, and soon the market would be flooded with the new washing machines, radios, and automobiles, which would once again be designed for civilian use. These fond hopes were soon crushed when a wave of strikes began to spread across the nation, and many of the major industries were compelled to cease production. Senators and public officials did not hesitate to accuse the Communists, and even charged that it was a rehearsal for revolution.

As Upton Close pointed out, the paralysis of production was the last thing that the returning servicemen would want. It is "not what labor wants--not even what nine-tenths of the Union men on strike want.....Union men are being used for a political purpose, which is to destroy, at this critical point of our rivalry with Russia, our American production system, and possibly even to paralyze us with civil turmoil. In other words, the strike situation here ties in with Russia's challenge of the Anglo-Saxon plans for reconstructing Europe and protecting democracy there." 79

Certainly this idea is not foreign to the mind of William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party in the United States. In his book Toward a Soviet America he wrote: "It may be stated that Stalin is one of those



who think that an economic crisis after this war is inevitable in the United States.....Conditions are more ripe for revolution in the United States than they were in old Russia. The American revolution, when the workers have finally seized power, will develop even more swiftly in all its phases than has the Russian revolution." <sup>80</sup>

J. Reuben Clarke Jr., former Ambassador to Mexico warned the American People last year of a conspiracy for revolution when he declared: "A great depression will follow World War II and the Communists will stake everything to cash in to transplant Russia to the United States. There will be postwar strikes and industrial tie-ups--- brought about under the tutelage and direction of alien revolutionists---so the Government can take over, with the revolutionists figuring to go into the driver's seat later." <sup>81</sup> One of their election platforms sounds like a prophecy already partially fulfilled: "The revolutionary way out of the crisis begins with the fight for unemployment insurance, against wage cuts, for wage increases, for relief to the farmers through demonstrations, strikes, general strikes leading up to the seizure of power, to the destruction of capitalism by a revolutionary workers' government." <sup>82</sup>

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80. "Comments on Communists and Communism", pp. cit., quoted on p. 36.

81. Ibid., p. 38.

82. Ibid., p. 22.

James Trustlow Adams, contemporary historian, agrees that "some of the strikes called during the year 1941 may have been Communistic in origin, to halt war production at strategic points."<sup>83</sup> In 1943 The Chicago Tribune uncovered a specific instance of how Communists had gained control in the big Chicago Studebaker airplane engine plant and intentionally slowed down production, so that R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile Workers of America, found it imperative to order an immediate investigation.<sup>84</sup> Communist leader Foster was not entirely pleased by the strike situation in February, 1946. He predicted that the present turmoil would increase in intensity, complained that there was too much of the defensive in the present strategy, and urged labor to "carry on the fight more militantly."<sup>85</sup>

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has specified numerous instances of how Communists in this country are actively promoting Soviet foreign policy and fomenting strikes for the deliberate purpose of disrupting American industry. It has been unpublicized that President Truman found it necessary to discuss the findings of J. Edgar Hoover with his cabinet. Attorney General Tom C. Clark recognizes Communist forces at work behind the American scene. In a speech to the American Bar Association he said: "No one

83. The March of Democracy, Vol. V, p. 267, (1941).

84. Nov. 19, 1943.

85. Time, (1-23-46).

but a complete 'crackpot' can be deluded by what we see going on today. We know that there is a national and international conspiracy to divide our people, to discredit our institutions, and to bring about disrespect for our government.....There is a deep-seated and vicious plot to destroy our unity--the unity without which there would be no United States.....No country on earth, and no government, can long endure this vicious attack....." <sup>86</sup>

#### G. Communist publications

Communist publications undermining American institutions are sold in every large city and distributed openly. The International Publishers in New York specialize in the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Browder, and Foster. Ex-Communist Benjamin Gitlow asserts that the idea for these publishing houses originated in Moscow, and they <sup>87</sup> were given financial support. The market is glutted with pro-Soviet publications. Eugene Lyons lists the following in his book, The Red Decade: the "New York Daily Worker"; "Equality"; "Bulletin of the League of American Writers"; "The Communist"; "Communist International"; "Dialectics"; "Die Freiheit"; "Labor Defender"; "Labor Fact Book"; "Chicago Mid-West Record"; "New Masses"; "People's Press"; "San Francisco People's World"; "Soviet Russia Today";

86. Newsweek, (6-24-46).

87. I Confess, p. 305. Foreword is written by Max Eastman.

"World News and Views"; "Science and Society"; "TAB"; "In Fact"; and "Friday". <sup>88</sup> Political Affairs, a monthly booklet corresponding somewhat to Reader's Digest, has replaced "The Communist", and still reflects the Marxian philosophy. New Century publishers announce a forthcoming Marxist literary quarterly Mainstream. The first issue is scheduled for publication in January, 1947. Poems, stories and critical essays will provide an outlet for the literary talents of Marxian intellectuals. Reader's Scope, which can be picked up at almost any newsstand is edited by E. A. Piller, the author of Time Bomb, one of the latest books to attack the reputation of anti-Communist leaders and writers. Political Affairs: ".....we are not yet a large

It is impossible to ascertain how many newspapers may be tainted with the Red movement in America. That Marshall Field's "PM" is permeated with Communism is well-known. <sup>89</sup> William Henry Chamberlin has announced his resignation as foreign-affairs consultant to The Atlantic Monthly staff because it has gone "overboard for the Communist point of view." <sup>90</sup>

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88. Lyons, Eugene, The Red Decade, pp. 376. 377.  
 89. Has been analyzed by Harper's, the American Mercury, the New Leader, and others. Cf. Newsweek, (6-24-46), "PM's" Washington staff resigned because the editor and founder, Ralph Ingersoll, "has continuously yielded to Communist pressure and has denounced as factionalists..... those who have tried to keep the party line out of the paper."

90. Newsweek, (2-18-46).

## H. Communism in general

There is scarcely a phase of our life which the Communists have left uncontaminated. They have never boasted of large numbers. Estimates as to their membership have varied. In 1931 the Fish Committee suggested that there might be in the neighborhood of 500,000. Julius Gerber, executive secretary of the New York Socialist organization, put the figure at 7,000.<sup>91</sup> Earl Browder explained in 1936 that although the Communist Party as such in the United States numbered only 24,500 active members there were 500,000 Communists in other organizations not directly affiliated with the Party. More recently, Eugene Dennis wrote in Political Affairs: ".....We are not yet a large Party, but we have over 12,000 of our best sons in the armed forces."<sup>92</sup>

Interpreting figures like these, The Washington News, commented editorially: "How many Communists would be required to seize control of the American government? Not many, compared with the total population.....At the outbreak of the Russian revolution there were only about 200,000 Bolsheviki among 178,000,000 people. But they were in the spots that counted. The Communist technique is to worm, to burrow, to seize strategic places."<sup>93</sup>

91. New York Herald-Tribune, (1-18-31).

92. Political Affairs, Oct., 1945, article entitled "America Needs the Communist Party." Cf. Elizabeth Gerley Flynn in Meet the Communists: "On March 15, we opened our 1946 Party Building campaign.....to add at least 20,000 new members to our Party."

It is no secret that Communism has invaded the movie capital. Some students of American Communism are convinced that Hollywood will supersede New York as headquarters for the "Red network." Among the actors named by Andrew Avery in an article appearing in the Chicago Journal of Commerce, as supporting the Communist movement we find: Edward G. Robinson, Orson Welles, Fredric March, Frank Sinatra, Gene Kelly, Paul Robeson, Groucho Marx, and John Garfield.<sup>94</sup> The prevalence of Communist sympathizers has become so obvious that the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities initiated an investigation last year.<sup>95</sup> The alert movie-goer will have sensed the pro-Soviet tendency in the recent war propaganda films. Mission to Moscow, featuring the career of ambassador Davies, was a typical example.

Communist agitators have not limited themselves to the industrial centers, but have even invaded the farm belt. It is claimed that nine large Communist branches are maintained in a prairie State like Kansas.<sup>96</sup> A concerted effort has already been made to seize control of the National Farmers' Union.<sup>97</sup> Before the resignation of Martin Dies, his committee sent to Attorney General Biddle

93. Oct. 23, 1944.

94. Reprinted in The Communist Fifth Column, p. 27.

95. St. Louis Globe-Democrat, (7-13-45). New York Sun, (8-15-40).

96. Telling Facts Concerning Communism, I, 3, p. 21.

97. Cf. Congressional Record, (9-24-42), Vol. 88,

the names of 1,124 federal employees, who were regarded as subversive Communist elements in Washington. The Federal Bureau of Investigation discovered that six persons directly connected with taking the 1940 census in California were active members of the Communist Party. The United States Chamber of Commerce has prepared a lengthy report on Socialism and Communism in which they specify the Treasury and Labor Departments as agencies into which the Communists have bored. The report asserts that two of the "top advisers of the CIO Political Action Committee are Communists. Investigators have found that hundreds of organizations--\*governmental, educational, among labor, in music and athletics, among youth and among women, are Communist-directed or Communist-influenced.

#### I. Communism in the Church

This deep and far-reaching penetration into every nook and cranny of our land augurs possible disaster for our traditional American institutions, but from the viewpoint of a Christian, the worst is yet to be considered. Until one becomes familiar with the Communist technique, it may seem like a strange paradox that those who denounce Christianity so vehemently should be stationed right within her ranks. But a minority Party cannot well

98. The Western Voice, (12-4-41).

99. New York Times, (3-6-40).

100. St. Louis Globe-Democrat, (10-10-46).

afford to antagonize religious-minded people needlessly. Besides, radically-minded clergymen can be used to good advantage in achieving Communist aims. Browder ardently defended his association with Father Divine and commended the "God of Harlem" for his opposition to war and Fascism. While courting the favor of suppressed negroes the Communists could afford to be generous, and tolerantly overlook the fantastic claims of this negro cult.

Since modernist theology has denied the fundamental tenets of the Christian faith, it is not so astounding to find that Communism has found sympathizers within the Church, and avowed supporters among the clergy. The enormous gulf between evangelical Christianity and atheistic Marxism has been bridged by concessions made to the secular spirit of our age, and the adoption of the evolutionary theory by the intellectuals of the Church. If man was not created in the image of God, but descended from lower animal forms; if Christ was not true God, and His death was only an heroic example of self-sacrifice; it is only another step to become an out-and-out atheist and deny the existence of God altogether. Few modernist clergymen are acknowledged atheists, but they mirror in their teachings the materialistic age in which they live.

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101. "Christianity Today", March, 1936, p. 239, or see the descriptive data concerning more than 460 organizations in "The Red Network", by Elizabeth Dilling, pp. 101-256.

102. "We respect these beliefs, because we think that religious-minded people will participate in the Socialist Revolution," Browder, What Is Communism, p. 146.



Having become indifferent to Creeds, they have become tolerant of diverse faiths. They have lost all interest in an Absolute Truth. Without any compunctions of conscience, they can work hand in hand with the godless followers of Karl Marx--their logical bed-fellows. Undisguised radicalism has invaded many Churches. Sometimes they prefer to pose as liberals. Concerning certain liberal Church groups Mr. Browder said: "It is significant that the Communist Party has been able to achieve successful united fronts with Church groups on the most important issues of the day. This is not due to any compromise with religion on our part. In fact by going among the religious masses we are for the first time able to bring our anti-religious ideas to them. Many Church organizations have joined in a broad united front against war and Fascism, and are glad to find the anti-religious Communists fighting alongside of them, shoulder to shoulder."<sup>103</sup>

In England, the Dean of Canterbury, Hewlett Johnson, admits his admiration of the Soviet system, and earnestly advocates the cause of Communism.<sup>104</sup> In 1939, he preached a sermon in Westminster Abbey in which he expressed the belief that Communism had recaptured the real God which organized Christianity has lost.<sup>105</sup> In the foreword to his Russian apology, The Soviet Power, he goes into ecstasies over the promise of a new economic era. He makes

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103. Quoted by Horsch, Communism, A Deadly Foe to the Christian Fable, Assuming the Guise of Christianity, p. 9.

104. Cf. Time, (11-28-45).

no attempt to conceal his enthusiasm as he writes:

"Proudly I nail my colors to the mast of the new." <sup>106</sup>

International Publishers (Communist) advertise this book as well as its sequel, The Secret of Soviet Strength, along with the "classics" of Marx and Lenin.

Harry F. Ward, professor emeritus at Union Theological Seminary, is another hero of the Communistic press. In 1944 they published his ridiculously one-sided Russian eulogy, The Soviet Spirit, which conveys the impression that under Moscow's supervision the ultimate Utopia has been attained. Rev. Ward's record is that of a Left-Wing leader. For many years he was associated with the Federation for Social Service, which was so radical that a band of laymen forced his denomination to renounce it officially. He was one of the founders of the Garland Fund, which made extensive contributions to the Daily Worker, the mouthpiece of the Communist Party in the United States. He was national chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union which endeavored to promote Communist organizations, and provided legal talent for the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism when that group filed suit to prohibit the reading of the Bible in the public schools of the State of New York. He was national chairman of the American League against

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105. Newsweek, (9-26-45).

106. P. xviii. Some 3 million copies of this book were sold. (~~Not in the 4th U. S. A. printing~~).

War and Fascism at the same time that Earl Browder was Vice-Chairman. While he was the editor of the Social Service Bulletin the statement was printed on the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx suggesting that readers buy Lenin's The Teaching of Karl Marx, and looking forward with keen anticipation toward the day when Marxism will come into vogue.

In 1936 the Rev. John Thompson, pastor of the First Methodist Church of Chicago made the public demand that Methodist pulpits be cleared of Communist sympathizers. He was quoted as saying, "The Methodist board of education is shot through and through with radicalism..... What we need there is sane, balanced men who stand for Christ's teaching, instead of Stalin's atheism." E. Stanley Jones, regarded as one of the foremost Churchmen in the Methodist Episcopal Church, in his book, The Choice Before Us, draws a close parallel between his concept of the Kingdom of God and Russian Communism. Overlooking the hostility of Communism to Christianity, this ~~area~~-liberal suggests that we may be able to give them the first Commandment while they teach us a second.

The heretics in the Christian Church of the twentieth century make Arius and Pelagius appear like saints in comparison. The doctrines of Jesus have been thrown

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107. Cf. The Red Network, p. 331.  
 108. Chicago Herald and Examiner, (1-7-36).  
 109. Christian Beacon, (12-1-38).

overboard in favor of "The Social Gospel." <sup>110</sup> Worse than that, some proponents of modernism push St. Paul aside to make room for Marx and Lenin. Bishop William M. Brown had to be unfrocked by the Episcopal Church because he worked for the furtherance of the Communist cause in America. <sup>111</sup>

Among other radical activities, it was found that he was serving as chairman of the Communist Workers' International Relief in the United States, and a contributing editor to the Communist youth publication, New Pioneer.

The Church League for Industrial Democracy has been uncovered as the Church Socialist League camouflaged and dispensed to the unsuspecting members of the Episcopal Church under a less offensive label. In response to questions asked by the editor of The Living Church, the Rev. William B. Spofford, executive secretary of the C. L. I. D., denied that the League was Communistic, but admitted "there are Communists who are members of the League as individuals, and there are two Communists on the national executive board." In another connection, he averred: "I see no reasons why Christians and Communists should not cooperate in the areas where they agree." <sup>112</sup>

Prof. Macmurray, a leader in the Christian Left, a radical Socialist organization in England, is of the

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110. Cf. Rauschenbusch, Rise of the Social Gospel.

111. Our Hope, pp. 626 ff. N. D.

112. Reprinted from The National Republic, by "American Women against Communism, Inc.", p. 261. N. D.

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 opinion that the Communists' belief in "Creative So-  
 ciety" is superior to the faith of professing Christen-  
 dom. He writes: "There must be war to the death be-  
 tween real and unreal religion, even if it should cleave  
 organized Christianity in two and destroy all its exis-  
 ting forms." <sup>113</sup> The position taken by Reinhold Niebuhr  
 is similar when he contends that a radical change in the  
 economic system is necessary, and can only be effected  
 through a violent revolution. <sup>114</sup> Nine Canadian scholars,  
 members of the United Church of Canada, wrote a book en-  
 titled Towards the Christian Revolution, which approves  
 of a bloody insurrection, and puts its stamp of approval  
 on the Communist movement with a passage like the fol-  
 lowing: "This generation seeketh after a sign, and there  
 shall no sign be given it but the sign of the prophet  
 Marx." <sup>115</sup>

Many pastors are unaware that The Protestant maga-  
 zine which hurls a constant stream of thunderbolts at the  
 Roman Catholic Church in the name of Protestantism is in  
 reality a particularly vicious Left-Wing journal. John  
 T. Flynn, noted author and economist, says: "Communist  
 writers are among the most numerous contributors to The  
 Protestant. In seven issues of the magazine I noted 26  
 articles in praise of the Soviet Union and its philoso-

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113. In "Creative Society" quoted by Horsch, op.  
 cit., p. 12.

114. Ibid., p. 14.

115. Ibid., p. 16.

116  
 phy." The Congressional Record contains this statement: "The Protestant.....is devoted, so far as it deals in religion, to the most incessant denunciation of the Roman Catholic Church, to most slavish exaltation of the Soviet Union, and to persistent efforts to inflame the Jewish and Negro citizens of America."<sup>117</sup>

One of the editors of The Protestant has been the notorious L. M. Birkhead who now heads the so-called Friends of Democracy. From his headquarters in New York City he disseminates malicious attacks against prominent citizens who have opposed Communism, casting aspersions on their loyalty by flinging the usual epithets of "pro-Fascist" and "anti-Semitic" with reckless abandon. While he was a Unitarian pastor he established the "Liberal Center" to which he invited Sally Rand as a guest speaker. Dr. Wm. B. Riley revealed that Sinclair Lewis' Elmer Gantry, his scurrilous book ridiculing the Protestant clergy, was written with the collaboration of Birkhead and a Jewish rabbi. In November, 1927, Birkhead conducted a "companionate marriage" for the daughter of Mrs. Marcel Haldeman-Julius, a director of the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism. In 1933 he assisted the "Freethinkers' Society" raise funds to erect a monument to the memory of the super-infidel

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116. Quoted from The Defender, 1945. Cf. The Western Voice, (10-4-45).

117. Congressional Record, February 1, 1945.

Colonel Robert S. Ingersoll. The latest victim of his character assassination has been Dr. Walter A. Maier, Lutheran Hour speaker, who is accused of using his radio broadcast to spread pro-Fascist propaganda. <sup>118</sup>

One of the most shocking examples of Communist penetration into the citadel of the Church is the case of the "Reverend" Claude Williams, an ordained minister in the U. S. A. Presbyterian Church. Early in his ministry he came in contact with the Christ-denying writings of Harry Emerson Fosdick and lost his faith as a Bible Fundamentalist. He served as director of Commonwealth College of Mena, Arkansas, which was closed by the State of Arkansas, following public testimony that it was a training school for Communists. He has since become the head of "The People's Institute of Applied Religion", a national organization with headquarters in Birmingham, Alabama. In an address delivered in Los Angeles Williams contended that the closest approach to true religion in the world today is pure Communism; as far as he is concerned, Catholicism and institutional Protestantism form a bulwark of reaction. He said he would not waste his time preaching to his congregation the need for saving souls, immortality, the divinity of Christ, and other fundamentals of the Christian faith. <sup>119</sup> Concealed behind

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118. Photographic print can be found in The Western Voice, (10-4-45).

119. Los Angeles Daily News, (4-27-46).

the sanctimonious front is a determined endeavor to uproot and destroy "traditional" Christianity which is the chief bulwark against Communism. The biography of Williams is found in A Faith to Free the People by Cedric Belfrage. A few quotations from this book will serve

to prove its blasphemous character and the seriousness of the inroads Communism has made in American pulpits:

"And I do not even know, nor can any of us know, whether He (Jesus) ever actually existed. I do not care whether He is fact or myth."<sup>121</sup>

"As for himself (Williams), he saw the nudist movement as a sincere revolt against the moral hypocrisy found in most churches."<sup>122</sup>

"I have no use for supernatural belief .....I have ceased to believe in anything absolute in life." <sup>123</sup>

"Reading for the first time the whole of Marx's passage about religion, a light suddenly shone on him: the passage actually had a beauty and nobility almost worthy of the Bible itself. It was like reading Isaiah." <sup>124</sup>

"Claude went back to the manse and sat with Joyce in the little study, surrounded by the books which had led them astray from the God of juries. From the wall Jesus, Debs and a third face, Lenin, looked down on them." <sup>125</sup>

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The primary purpose of this entire chapter has been to show the wide range of Communist influence throughout

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120. Published by Dryden. Sold by the "People's Institute" and Communist bookstores.

121. A Faith to Free the People, (Dryden publishers), p. 127.

122. Ibid., p. 111.

123. Ibid., p. 218.

124. Ibid., p. 138.

125. Ibid., p. 145.



the world, and particularly as it is affecting us in the United States. Above all, when we remember that treacherous Communists have wedged their way into Christian circles, that American churches are consciously or unconsciously adopting the anti-Christian teachings of the Communist Party, it would be foolhardy to minimize the danger or assume an attitude of indifference toward the menace which confronts us.

The whole household was regarded as the nominal owner of the property which was shared by the whole household. The family solidarity was due primarily to the necessity for protection. As civilization advanced, the individual found that he could rely upon the state for security, and disengage with the family as a political unit. The similarity between the primitive family and modern Communism would seem far-fetched even to a casual observer.

Pericles is alleged to have divided the land of Sparta among its indigent citizens after he confiscated it from its original owners. Plato advocated that only the middle class be entitled to hold property, and yet the resemblance of the socialist with the founders of modern Communism is most remote.

The Utopian dream—beginning with Sir Francis Bacon and his New Atlantis in the middle of the sixteenth century and continuing down to Jean Jacques Rousseau and his Social Contract in the eighteenth century had ideas

### III. The Origin, Development, and Teachings of Marxism

#### A. The Precursors of modern Communism

Communists today in their endeavor to find a more remote and pristine basis for their community of property theory direct us to the period in ancient history when family ownership prevailed. The members of the family were united by blood, marriage, or adoption, and the male head was regarded as the nominal owner of the property which was shared by the whole household. The family solidarity<sup>arity</sup> was due primarily to the necessity for protection. As civilization advanced, the individual found that he could rely upon the state for security, and dispense with the family as a political unit. The similarity between the primitive family and modern Communism would seem far-fetched even to a casual observer.

Lycurgus is alleged to have divided the land of Sparta among its indigent citizens after he confiscated it from its original owners. Plato advocated that only the middle class be entitled to hold property, and yet the connection of the ancients with the founders of modern Communism is most remote.

The Utopian dreamers beginning with Sir Francis Bacon and his New Atlantis in the middle of the sixteenth century and continuing down to Jean Jacques Rousseau and his Social Contract in the eighteenth century had ideas

which have been adopted by Communists, but still the relation is only incidental.

Robert Owen of England first used the word "Socialist" about 1835. M. Leroux of France defined Socialism in 1840 as a political organization in which the individual was sacrificed to society. In the same year the term "Communism" was introduced for the first time. Among the other forerunners of Communism Saint Simon, Fourier, Louis Blanc, and La Salle are usually mentioned.

When we seek to explain how Communism acquired its godless character we have to point back to the influence of anti-religious leaders in the French Revolution. Their devastating attacks on the Church were not forgotten in the aftermath of reaction. The satirical arguments advanced by Voltaire against the Church and the clergy continued to pervade the intellectual atmosphere of Europe. Some historians emphasize the importance of the Illuminati, a renegade cult organized by an apostate Jew, Adam Weishaupt, in Bavaria in 1776. The tenets of Illuminism were:

- a) Hatred of God and all forms of religion;
- b) Destruction of private property and inheritance;
- c) Absolute social and racial equality, promotion of class hatred;
- d) Destruction of all forms of either monarchal or democratic governments, including civil liberties, such as freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, and of trial by jury;
- e) Destruction of all nationalism, love of country, patriotism, and allegiance to civil or political rulers;

1. The definition of Mrs. West's Webster, author of The French Revolution. Cf. The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, V, p. 449.  
 2. Cf. Chapter I on "Communism Defined", the Fish Report. Cf. also The Mexico Plot of Communism by E. A.

f) Abolition of marriage and practice of free love.<sup>1</sup>

If we compare the aims of the Illuminati with the definition of Russian-American Communism advanced by one of our congressional Committees<sup>2</sup> we are struck by the amazing resemblance.

### B. The historical setting

The discovery of the New World, a long series of mechanical inventions, and the development of a merchant class were some of the factors which made feudalism obsolete. A new economic order arose. International trade flourished and banking and money-lending became a profitable enterprise. England, Spain, Holland, and France became colonial powers. A new middle class was evolved—the bourgeoisie. The craftsmen and the artisan guilds had to surrender their independence as they lost control of production. The old methods of working became outmoded. New inventions followed one another in rapid succession. Hargreaves invented the spinning jenny, Cartwright the power loom, and cotton was soon being produced on a mass scale. Steamships crossed the ocean, railroads were built---the industrial revolution swept over Europe. Factories sprang up almost overnight. New sources of wealth were opened up. Political revolution wrested the

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1. The definition of Mrs. Westa Webster, author of The French Revolution. Cf. the New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, V, p. 449.

2. Cf. Chapter I on "Communism Defined", the Fish Report. Cf. also The World Plot of Communism by E. A.

power of government from absolute monarchy and aristocratic overlords.<sup>3</sup>

The new capitalism was everywhere triumphant. Nations and individuals within nations fought for economic supremacy.

At the bottom of the scale was another class---the freed serfs, the landless peasants, the displaced craftsmen, the petty burghers. In the mad struggle for wealth, this lower class---the proletariat could take no part. They had no choice as to their lot in society. They could only submit to the new system as they found it or face starvation. They entered the factories and workshops and became the "wage slaves" of their new masters.

The results were deplorable. Money-conscious employers, interested only in swelling their profits, forced the laborers into a life of regimentation that degraded their personalities as human beings. The introduction of child labor, long and wearisome hours under dreadful working conditions, arbitrary dismissal of employees without security from fear and hunger, were some of the immediate abuses which became evident. It was into this tempest of social turmoil---this Europe of the early nineteenth century that Karl Marx was born.

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Dobberstein in The Lutheran Standard. (2-2-35).

3. Revolution in France in 1830. Reform Bill in England in 1832.

C. The life of Karl Marx

Marx was a German Jew by birth. His male forebears on both sides of the family were rabbis, but his father was a lawyer. Born in 1818, Karl was six years old when his parents adopted the Protestant faith. We have no definite information regarding the motive behind this apostasy, but it may have been to remove the stigma attached to the Jewish race in the Rhineland and to facilitate his son's entry into political circles which might otherwise be closed to him.

As a young child Karl was already precocious. At the age of seventeen he entered the University at Bonn. There he fell in love with a girl of noble birth, Jenny von Westphalen, who later became his wife. After a disappointing year at Bonn, Karl went to the University of Berlin in the autumn of 1836. Here the influence of Hegel's philosophy was predominant, and although Marx chose jurisprudence as a special topic of study, philosophy and history became his chief academic interests. He devoted himself with the utmost zeal to the most diversified domains of science and literature, trying to master as much learning as possible. He revolted against formalism and the abstract speculations of the traditional idealist philosophy which had isolated thought from the objective happenings of nature and made the Idea a self-existent, world-animating principle apart from external reality. Hegel had transcended the opposition

between thought and being, regarding the world of experience as the living self-disclosure of the Idea. He had gone this far, but no farther. For him, the conceptual unity of thought and being remained purely metaphysical-- a fact which Marx detested. It was by striking at this weakness, that he aspired to dethrone Hegelianism, which had practically been adopted as the official philosophy of the Prusso-German bourgeoisie. Reason and being, the Idea and reality, though harmonized in the philosopher's mind, were at conflict in actual life. After two decades had elapsed (1810-30) it was apparent that the Prussian monarchy had an Hegelian moral consciousness which was at variance with the developing social conditions. During the years that followed, Marx began to point out these discrepancies, and at the same time evolve a philosophy of his own which would answer the problems of the day.

It is noteworthy that while Marx was formulating his concept of life, "higher criticism" reared its ugly head with telling effect all over Germany. It was the Enlightenment carried to the extreme. In 1835 David Friedrich Strauss published his Lebens Jesu which stripped the Gospels completely of any claim to authenticity, and reduced them to pious myths. The book was read by the circle of "Young Hegelians." Bruno Bauer went to the limits of antitheology and atheism and contended that

not Jesus and Paul, but Seneca and Philo were the ~~or-~~<sup>4</sup>iginators of Christianity. Marx viewed this negative extremism with full approval, and hoped to join with Bauer in publishing some scientific journal. Meanwhile, he wrote a thesis "On the Difference between the Democritean and the Epicurean Natural Philosophy" in 1841, and was granted his doctor's degree by the University of Jena.

Another pupil of Hegel became an even more pronounced influence on Marx. Ludwig Feuerbach inverted the Hegelian system and made man the subject rather than the object of true reality. He declared that nature has an independent existence. In other words, he was a materialist.<sup>5</sup> In his Wesen des Christentums he made the application to religion and taught that since ideas are only reflections of nature, the gods are merely products of the imagination---personifications of human qualities projected into heaven.

Marx voiced his enthusiastic agreement with Feuerbach. The potential effects promised to be world-shaking. The authority of religion had been challenged. If men could create their own gods there was nothing to prevent them from overthrowing established government

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4. In Der Ursprung des Christentums aus dem roemischen Griechentum.

5. Cf. his Kritik der Hegelschen Philosophie, (1839).



and creating their own political and social conditions. These early formative influences on the life of Karl Marx are especially important in understanding how Communism became so entrenched in materialism and so unequivocally atheistic.

In 1842, Marx, previously only a theoretician, joined the editorial staff of the Rheinische Zeitung, and was initiated into his journalistic and political career. After wrangling with censorship for some time, the paper was suppressed by government order the following year, but Marx was only convinced that he needed to make a more thorough study of Socialism. He married, and went to Paris where he became acquainted with some of the prominent Socialists of the day---among them Louis Blanc and Proudhon. Together with Ranold Ruge, he published, early in 1844, the Deutsch-Franzoesische Jahrbuecher. During the time that had intervened, he had perused and absorbed an amazing amount of literature. In an article in their new publication he echoed Feuerbach's appraisal of religion: "Man makes religion; religion does not make man. Religion, indeed, is the self-consciousness and the self-feeling of the man who either has not yet found himself or else (having found himself) has lost himself once more...."

"Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the feelings of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit

4. Marx Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie. In Marx, Karl, His Life and Work, pp. 57-59.  
 5. St. Frederick Engels by Lenin.

of unspiritual conditions. It is the opium of the people.

"The people cannot be really happy until it has been deprived of illusory happiness by the abolition of religion.....

"The criticism of religion ends with the doctrine that man is the highest being for man."<sup>6</sup>

While in Paris at this time Marx met the man who was destined to become his most trusted and intimate associate. The co-founder of modern Communism was born in 1820, the son of a textile manufacturer in Barmen, Germany. He was reared in an atmosphere of Calvinistic pietism, but lost his faith after he read Strauss's Lebens Jesu, and pursued the new ideas to their logical conclusion. He gained a reputation among radical intellectuals at the University of Berlin by penning a fierce polemic against the philosophy of Schelling. Engels moved to England in 1842, and witnessed first-hand the poverty and misery of the working classes. His observations appeared in 1845 in his book, The Condition of the Working Class in England. The underlying thought was that the suffering proletariat will inevitably become conscious of its political power and fight for its own emancipation.<sup>7</sup>

Employed in Manchester in a commercial house of which his father was a shareholder, Engels later became the fi-

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6. Zur Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie. In Ruehle, Karl Marx, His Life and Work, pp. 57-59.

7. Cf. Frederick Engels by Lenin.

nancial prop for Marx who was too unstable to earn a steady income. In Paris, he joined forces with Marx whom he worshipped with unwavering admiration. Throughout his life, he remained loyal to his friend, and many a time sacrificed his own personal interests to bolster the erratic and irresponsible Marx. He was the co-author of the famous Manifesto, and his Anti-Duehring is still regarded by his followers as "a wonderfully rich and instructive book."<sup>8</sup> The self-glorification of Marx tended to obscure the figure of Friederich Engels, and cause his importance to be underestimated. "One might truly say: Without Engels there would have been no Marx."<sup>9</sup>

The friendship between Marx and Heinrich Heine reacted on both. Heine expressed his unreserved support of Communism and accelerated Marx's adoption of this form of Socialism toward which he had already been leaning for some time. In turn, Marx urged Heine to devote his satirical poetry to assailing reaction and sanctimoniousness among German government leaders.

With the publication of Die Heilige Familie Marx and Engels made a decisive break with philanthropic utopianism, and "deduced the necessary connection of materialism with Communism and Socialism."<sup>10</sup>

8. Footnote by the editors of Political Affairs, Nov. 1945, p. 1023.

9. Le Rossignol, op. cit., p. 78.

10. Ruehle, op. cit., p. 85.

with Expelled from Paris, Marx moved to Brussels where he was supported by the generous financial aid of his companion-at-arms, sent from Germany where Engels had already participated in "The first consistent attempt to establish a Communist press",<sup>11</sup> a short-lived monthly, the Gesellschaftsspiegel. After nearly a year's preparation, the two collaborated again in writing a two volume work entitled, Die Deutsche Ideologie, which meant the final parting of the ways with Feuerbach, Bauer, and the other post-Hegelians.

Brussels, where Marx resided until the outbreak of the French Revolution of February, 1848, was at this time the gathering-post for political exiles and the center of Communist propoganda. From the Belgian capital Marx also issued his Misere de la Philosophie, a devastating criticism of Proudhon.

Of all the popular protests against existing social conditions it was Chartism, a working class movement in England, which most appealed to Marx and Engels. Marx accompanied Engels to England to spend six weeks in acquainting himself with the movement.

Europe was teeming with revolutionary undercurrents. In the Belgian Mecca of Communism "were centered countless threads of communication with all revolutionary foci,

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11. Ibid., p. 87.

with representatives of the Communist idea; with kindred movements in France, England, Germany, Poland, and Switzerland---though as yet these movements may have been based on other principles." <sup>12</sup> The Workers' Educational Society was founded by revolutionists from a number of different countries. The lectures which Marx delivered to this organization were later epitomized in his Lohnarbeit und Kapital, which constituted his first systematic criticism of political economy.

Momentous events were piling up with staggering rapidity. The Federation of the Just, a secret society founded in 1836 by German exiles in Paris, decided at its second congress in London in 1847 to repudiate utopian Socialism, and adopt the name of The Communist League. The announced program called for "the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the dominion of the proletariat, the abolition of a class society, and the introduction of an economic and social order without private property and without classes." <sup>13</sup> Marx and Engels were commissioned to draft a statement of principles, and the celebrated Manifesto of the Communist Party was the result. It expressed exactly the same views as were adopted by the League, and is still retained as the "Bible" of Communists everywhere today.

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12. Ibid., p. 124.

13. Ibid., p. 129. 130.

Contrary to the fervent expectations of Marx, the February revolution failed to take a Communistic turn. In desperation he published the Neue Rheinische Zeitung in Cologne to wave the Red flag before the eyes of the workers, but the violence subsided and his cause had to be abandoned. He was ordered out of Germany, expelled from Paris, and had to take refuge in London where he spent the rest of his life handicapped by illness and poverty. Communist leaders were tried and sentenced in Cologne, the Communist League had to be dissolved, and Marx buried himself in scientific research at the British museum. For a time he persisted in maintaining the illusion that "the social revolution, as the last decisive struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in Europe, will necessarily follow hard upon the revolutionary upheaval of 1848." By 1852 he had revised his opinion in Der Achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte, and became reconciled to the indefinite postponement of world revolution.

In an effort to replenish his depleted funds Marx wrote a series of articles with the help of Engels for the New York Tribune. They were re-published in 1896 by Karl Kautsky under the title Revolution and Counter-Revolution, and are still advertised and sold by the Com-

14. Ibid., pp. 191. 192. In Marx's Klassenkaempfe in Frankreich. Quoted by Ruehle, op. cit., pp. 197 ff.

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munist Press in New York.

Marx was unable to recover his status as a Prussian subject and was condemned to permanent expatriation. Numbered among his associates in the '50's were the British diplomat David Urquhart, an arch-enemy of Lord Palmerston, and two leaders in the Chartist camp--- George Julian Harney and Ernest Jones. In his ebullitions of impetuosity, Marx wrangled with all of them at one time or another for making concessions to opposing parties or daring to disagree with his views. He never warmed up to the friendly overtures of La Salle. In his selfish desire to dominate the scene Marx must have regarded him as a dangerous rival.

In 1864 the International Workingmen's Association<sup>16</sup> was organized. The advance of the trade-union movement in England and the sentiment aroused by the suppressed Polish uprising were the objective conditions which had hastened a union of workers. Immediate practical aims were emphasized to insure cohesion of the membership, but revolution was by no means renounced as the ultimate objective. Congresses were held in 1866 and 1867, and attracted such wide representation that the dread spectre of the Red Peril alarmed all the govern-

15. Cf. Catalogue of the "International Publishers", 1945.

16. Cf. Chapter I, Communism is International.

ments of Europe. Strangely enough, the General Union of German Workers, which under La Salle had become Germany's leading labor organization, was not represented in the First Internationale.

J. B. von Schweitzer who took control after La-Salle's death would like to have collaborated with Marx, but the intolerant egotist was prejudiced against him with unfounded suspicions. In stead of accepting the proffers of Schweitzer who adhered faithfully to the principles of the Manifesto, Marx chose to use his pupil Liebknecht, whose intelligence he disparaged, as a tool against him. The mistake should have been recognized by Marx when Liebknecht joined forces with Bebel, organized the Sozialdemokratic Partei and began to advocate "a confused brand of bourgeois Socialism." <sup>17</sup> The incident serves to disclose a glaring defect in the character of Marx.

His struggle with the Russian revolutionary, Michael Bakunin, was even more bitter. Bakunin's version of the disagreement emphasizes again the peremptory dogmatism of Marx. He wrote: "My ideas and aspirations could not fail to be very displeasing to Marx. First of all because they were not his own; secondly because they ran counter to the convictions of the authoritative Communists....." <sup>18</sup> Bakunin wanted to have his Alliance

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17. Ruehle, op. cit., p. 273.

18. Ibid., p. 277.



of Social Revolutionaries admitted into the Internationale, but his disagreement with Marx was too fundamental. While Marx favored centralism, he proposed federalism. He advocated collectivism, the socialization of the individual by way of free association rather than compulsory Communism. He looked upon man as the subject of history who spontaneously ripens into a revolutionary, but Marx regarded man as the object who must be trained for his role in the class struggle. Marx refused steadfastly to budge one inch on any disputed point, and inspired the General Council of the Internationale to refuse affiliation with the Alliance. At the London Conference in 1872, Bakunin was expelled, but Marx had to admit when Bakunin died in 1876 that the Marxian Internationale was also "dead and buried."<sup>19</sup>

During these years in London, when he was hard pressed to earn a livelihood, Marx wrote his magnum opus, Das Kapital. The first volume came out in 1867, and dealt with the problem of the origin of profit. The second volume and the third were completed by Engels and were not published until 1885 and 1894, after the death of Marx. The second volume takes up the process of the circulation of capital in three sections entitled: The Metamorphoses of Capital and their Cycles; The Turn-

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19. Cf. Chapter I.

Over of Capital; and The Reproduction and Cirulation of the Aggregate Social Capital. The third volume discusses the mystery of why capital invested in different branches of production produces an average rate of profit.

Marx suffered from miserably poor health in the last years of his life. When his wife died in 1881 he felt more than ever like a lonely and forsaken man. He had seven children, but his only son was sickly and died at the age of nine. Two of his children did not survive infancy, and the others married or left home. Two of his daughters committed suicide. The death of his favorite daughter Jenny hastened his own end, and despite all efforts to regain his strength, he died on March 14, 1883. Engels, who outlived his demigod by twelve years delivered his funeral oration and summarized his life's work with these words of admiration: "Just as Darwin discovered the law of evolution <sup>in</sup> inorganic nature, so Marx discovered the law of evolution in human history..... Before all else, Marx was a revolutionist. To collaborate in one way or another in the overthrow of capitalist society and of the State institutions created by that society; to collaborate in the freeing of the modern proletariat, which he was the first to inspire with a consciousness of its needs, with a knowledge of the conditions requisite for its emancipation---this was his

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 true mission in life."

D. An Appraisalment of Marx

Otto Ruehle, his biographer, rivets attention on three characteristics of Marx, which are basic for interpreting his life and teachings. He distinguishes a biological, a social, and a family trait, but shows that they can be reduced to a common denominator.

First of all, Marx suffered from persistent ill-health, indicating that he was born with some organic defect. Early in life he was bothered with liver trouble which he considered an inherited family disease. Later, he complained of all sorts of metabolic disorders. Beyond question, this contributed to his morbid disposition and his sense of insecurity and inferiority.

To this must be superadded a social factor, his Jewish origin. He felt the stigma attached to his race. He endeavored in every way possible to compensate for the odium of his birth, particularly by applying his unusual intelligence in an indefatigable effort to excel all competitors. He made it a special point to demonstrate his opposition to Judaism by denouncing Jews as allies of blood-sucking capitalists.

The fact the he was the firstborn child and only son, reinforces the same trend in his behavior. His family's

high expectations aroused in him an unremitting passion for success. He became "diligent to excess." "This will-to-conquest and this urge-to-superiority dominate all the phases of his existence as worker and fighter."<sup>21</sup>

Essentially, Marx was an introvert. He was "an un-social being, and was happiest in solitude."<sup>22</sup> "He was not a team worker.....he was a lonely eagle on an ice-bound crag."<sup>23</sup> He was overpowered by an urge that spurred him on to be pre-eminent among the expounders of economic theory. His ambitions were self-centered. He was arrogant in insisting on the infallibility of his own ideas. For those who dared to oppose him he had only contemptuous hostility. Bakunin wrote: "Marx loved his own person much more than he loved his friends and apostles, and no friendship could hold water against the slightest wound to his vanity."<sup>24</sup> "Marx is egotistical to the pitch of insanity.....Marx, who was already constitutionally inclined towards self-glorification was definitely corrupted by the idolization of his disciples, who have made a sort of doctrinaire pope out of him."<sup>25</sup> Communists today still pay homage to Marx, their lord and master.

Marx was strictly a theorist. His genius is undeniable, but "in that world of concrete reality, he failed of what they mean by "dialectics" is fundamental for an

21. Ibid., p. 379.

22. Ibid., p. 211.

23. Ibid., pp. 238. 239.

24. Ibid., p. 280.

25. Ibid., p. 292.

no less utterly than he triumphed in the realm of abstract intelligence." <sup>26</sup> His incapacity in monetary matters kept him continually in debt, and his family on the brink of starvation. To avoid financial chaos he became a parasite on his loyal friend Engels who unfailingly responded to every appeal and rescued him from many a dire strait.

The heirs of Marxism have guarded the "purity" of his doctrine with the utmost care, and all "errorists" are promptly reprimanded. Lenin, for instance, could not stomach the reformists and the Kautskyites who had deviated from the path of "orthodox" Marxism.

Marx was original in making the class struggle a law of historical evolution, but when he sought to explain all history as a series of economic conflicts he was guilty of an obvious oversimplification. For the downtrodden proletariat he appeared on the horizon as a star of hope, but for the Christian he is a false prophet whose teachings are not only inimical to religion, but a baneful curse to humanity.

#### E. The teachings of Marxism

"Highbrow" Communists like to speak and write much about "dialectical materialism." <sup>27</sup> An understanding of of what they mean by "dialectics" is fundamental for an

26. Ibid., p. 383.

27. Stalin wrote on Dialectical and Historical Materialism, and T. A. Jackson, in 1945, on Dialectics. Both are advertised by International Publishers.

understanding of their philosophy of life. The roots of it are to be found in the Greek idea of perpetual conflict.<sup>28</sup> Nothing remains stagnant, but all is in a constant state of flux. Fichte coined the terms thesis, antithesis, and synthesis---which were then accepted by Hegel, and applied to history. The existing situation at a given time is the thesis. In the course of evolutionary development a new situation arises which is in opposition to the prevailing order of things. A struggle between the two ensues, and a higher and better synthesis---the negation of the negation, emerges. This process axiomatically repeats itself.

Marx was a student of Hegel. He and Engels denuded Hegelian dialectic of all idealistic fanfare and religious trappings, and dipped it in revolutionary materialism. Marx wrote: "No great perspicacity is needed.....to deduce the necessary connection of materialism with Communism and Socialism."<sup>29</sup> "The first historical act is the production of material life.....Consequently what individuals are, depends upon the material conditions of production."<sup>30</sup> This was not vulgar materialism because "we may distinguish human beings from animals by consciousness."<sup>31</sup>

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28. E. G., Heraclitus.

29. Die Heilige Familie, quoted by Ruehle, op. cit., p. 85.

30. Die Deutsche Ideologie, quoted by Ruehle, op. cit., p. 94.

31. Ibid., p. 93.

Bukharin and the Communist left-wing believed in a mechanical materialism. In any case, refined or gross materialists, their attitude toward Christianity has been equally antagonistic.

Marxian Socialists have ignored the intrinsic antipathy of the very concepts of dialectics and revolution---the former presupposing evolution and compromise, and the latter destruction and excessive negation. The whole philosophy of Communism is propped upon self-contradiction and illogical deduction.

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When dialectical materialism is applied to the interpretation of history by Marx and Engels it yields these two conclusions: "First, that the way in which men earn their living determines all the other features of their social life; second, that the inevitable conflict of economic in-

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32. Redden, John D. & Ryan, Francis A., A Catholic Philosophy of Education, (1942), p. 460. "The main tenets of Communism are:

- a) There is no "First cause." Motion is immanent in matter;
- b) Man is essentially a product of matter, subject solely to the laws of nature;
- c) Materialistic evolution---man and his activities are in a continual state of change;
- d) Man and his environment continually change due to "class struggles" between those who exploit and those who are exploited;
- e) All human activities are determined by these economic forces;
- f) The machine age has reduced society to two classes ---capitalist and laborer, employer and employee;
- g) In the process of materialistic evolution the capitalist becomes richer and the laborer poorer, so that successive economic crises develop. The final result must be the proletariat revolution and the creation of a "classless" society.

33. Three principles of dialectical materialism:

terests has brought about class struggles which, since the dawn of history, have been the controlling forces of evolution and revolution."<sup>34</sup> This is what they call historical materialism. Engels has made the application to religion, showing "how the gods created by each people were national gods, how Jewish monotheism, as represented by Christianity, at first a religion of slaves, became a world religion as a complement to the Roman empire; how the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Middle Ages corresponded to the feudal hierarchy; how the moderate heresy of the Protestant Reformation represented the growing power of the bourgeoisie; and how the extreme heresy of the proletariat, materialism, now threatens the abolition of both Church and State."<sup>35</sup>

a) The law of the permeation of opposites, e. g., day and night; male and female, rest and motion. Although mutually exclusive concepts, they can be unified. All things merge in the last analysis into an absolute unity;

b) The law of the negating of the negation (creation of the new out of the old---thesis, antithesis, and synthesis);

c) The law of transformation---quality into quantity and quantity into quality. The mere increasing of a thing causes a qualitative as well as quantitative change in that thing.

34. Le Rossignol, op. cit., p. 127.

35. Ibid., p. 132. Marxism teaches that religion acts as an opiate in three ways:

a) Teaches the rich their rights and sanctions their exploitation of the poor;

b) Teaches the poor to obey and serve the ruling class;

c) By insisting on passivity tends to retard and destroy human initiative designed to improve man's economic status.

36. Edition of the International Publishers, pp.



Marx looked upon history as a record of class conflicts. In the nineteenth century the old society had disintegrated and dissolved, and two new classes were distinguishable---the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the capitalist oppressors, and the enslaved masses. No conciliation between the two is possible, Marx argues. However, as the proletariat becomes conscious of its existence and its strength, as it inevitably will, capitalism will be overthrown, and a classless commonwealth ---the Marxian "millenium"---will ensue. In the words of the Communist Manifesto: "The first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class." Then, "the proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i. e., of the proletarian organization as a ruling class, and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.....In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonism, we shall have an association on which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

Marx and Engels expected England and France, the most highly industrialized nations, to experience an uprising of the proletariat during their lifetime. Later,

Marx conceded that he had been over anxious in anticipating a world revolution, but with the dogmatism of an infallible prophet he always insisted that it would invariably come, (and not in the too distant future at that), although he never repeated the mistake of setting an exact date. For these reasons, it is altogether unlikely that Russian Communists, with their satellites in all countries of the world, have or ever will abandon their schemes for international revolution.

In Russia, the proletarian revolution is said to have taken place. Why do the "Messianic" dreams of Marx remain unfulfilled? Lenin and Stalin have explained the enigma as a temporary period of the dictatorship of the proletariat---a sort of transitional period during which force and violence must crush all opposition until every class is amalgamated with the one unified classless society. Theoretically, the Soviet Union is still in this stage of evolution. All this was predicted in the Communist Manifesto: "When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances,

to organize itself as a class; if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonism, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class."<sup>37</sup>

Jacues Duclos elaborates on the profound transformation which will take place when France adopts Communism: "Man will not be eternally opposed to himself. Man will not be forced to waste his energy in class struggles and war. Man will not see poverty eternally rising out of abundance. Man will not be eternally a wolf for man..... Nothing will prevent, finally, the establishment of a society of harmony of work and progress, a society born of science."<sup>38</sup>

37. Ibid., p. 31. Cf. Lenin, State and Revolution, where these ideas are even more clearly unfolded.

38. Communism, Science and Culture, International Publishers, (1939), p. 44.

1. Was suppressed by force of arms, and achieved

2. Borzov, The Origin of Russian Communism, p. 34.

#### IV. Communism in Russia

##### A. The roots of Russian Communism

Russia today is the extant example of a Communitistic state. Here we find the teachings of Marx applied to the peculiar position of a semi-Oriental country, through the efforts of Nicholas Lenin and Josef Stalin. True, there were factors other than pure Marxism which shaped the character of Russian Communism, but unfortunately they did not devilitate its anti-Christian character. In many instances, they served to strengthen it.

The Russian intelligentsia which developed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries promulgated ideas which fused well with Marxian materialism, socialism, and totalitarianism. Intellectuals like Radischev decried the degradation of the masses. The Decembrist uprising<sup>1</sup> in 1825 aimed at liberation from autocracy and serfdom. The Commune was regarded as the organic and original economic unit in Russia and property was never thought of as sacred or absolute. Socialism was not at all unnatural to Russian tradition, but rather an irresistible development. "Russian Marxism, as a movement, arose only in the second half of the 'eighties', but individual Russian Marxists existed already at the end of the 'forties' in Paris."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Was suppressed by force of arms, and achieved little.

2. Berdyaev, The Origin of Russian Communism, p. 34.

As in Germany, so in Russia, Hegel was eagerly studied, and as Marx had reacted against Hegelian idealism, so Belinsky in Russia rebelled against the conception of a world soul which loses sight of the concrete realities of life. Belinsky also combined atheism with revolutionary socialism, and became the ancestor of Russian Communism as he proposed dictatorship to enforce justice.

Nihilism is a unique Russian phenomenon which seeped into the subsoil of socialist thinking. It has been called "Orthodox asceticism turned inside out," for it was not only directed against sinful luxury, but all religion, as it denied God, the soul, and all spiritual values. Turgenev sketched a typical nihilist in his novel Fathers and Sons. "The intellectual asceticism of nihilism found expression in materialism," and turned into a dogma of faith while it became idolatrous in its veneration of science. Pisarev, the principal exponent of Russian nihilism wanted to produce a new type of human being called "the thinking realist." His adherents were the men who looked for the solution of the mystery of life in the dissection of a corpse, and when no soul was uncovered were confident that they had disproved its existence.

Narodnichestvo is another distinctively Russian phenomenon which enters into the background of Russian Communism. The narodniks believed that among the simple laboring people, and especially among the peasantry, was

preserved the secret of true life. They felt a sense of guilt over the existing gulf between themselves and the people. They were conscious of their social sin in enslaving the serfs, and were determined to make recompense. After the agrarian reform had liberated the peasants, they concentrated their attention on the question of how Russia could escape capitalism.

Nechaev founded a revolutionary society and composed the Revolutionary Catechism, which contained the extreme expression of atheistic, revolutionary, asceticism. Dzerzhinsky, the founder and controller of the Cheka, whose hands were covered with blood in the Revolution, was only putting Nechaev's ideas into practice.

Bakunin was a forerunner of Russian Communism in his passion for a worldwide insurrection. His atheism was militant and violent. He made of God a devil and saw Christ as an idler and a tramp who should have been incarcerated. In his spirit of rebellion he is another predecessor of the Communists.

In the 'seventies' Tkechev was a notable revolutionist, but he was sharply opposed by Plekhanov, the founder of Russian Marxism and Social Democracy. It was a foretaste of the coming struggle between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. The former believed in the seizure of power through revolution. The latter were willing to await reform through enlightenment.

3. *RAF and USSR*, p. 1064.

4. *History of Bolshevism*, op. cit., p. 92.

The Russian literature of the nineteenth century was filled with forebodings of impending catastrophe. It bears witness to the inward revolution which was taking place in the Russian spirit. Although Gogol, Tolstoi, and Dostoyevsky were anti-materialist, they were psychologically tuned to the nihilists and the narodniks. They would have been nauseated by the Russian revolution, and yet they were its forerunners. "Once admit that human life can be guided by reason and all possibility of life is annihilated,"<sup>3</sup> wrote Tolstoi, unaware that he was echoing a sentiment of the nihilists.

Gogol desired the subordination of art to social ends. Pushkin foresaw the possibility "of a Russian revolt senseless and merciless." But most striking of all, in view of its exact fulfilment, is Lermontov's poem, Prediction, written in 1830:

"The day will come, for Russia that dark day  
 When the Czar's diadem will fall, and they,  
 Rabble who loved him once, will love no more,  
 And many will subsist on death and gore.  
 Downtrodden law no shelter will provide  
 For child or guiltless woman. Plague will ride  
 From stinking corpses through the grief-struck  
 land  
 Where fluttering rags from cottages demand  
 Help none can give. And famine's gnawing pangs  
 Will grip the countryside with ruthless fangs,  
 Dawn on the streams will shed a crimson light.  
 And then will be revealed the Man of might  
 Whom thou wilt know; and thou wilt understand  
 Wherefore a shining blade is in his hand.  
 Sorrow will be thy lot, grief melt thine eyes  
 And he will laugh at all thy tears and sighs." 4

3. War and Peace, p. 1064.

4. Quoted by Berdyaev, op. cit., p. 92.

Leontyev, the Russian Nietzsche, predicted the Communist revolution in greater detail. "He foretold that the revolution would be tyrannical and bloody, that it would not be liberal but Communist; that it would bring no proclamation of rights and of freedom, and that the liberal radical intelligentsia would be overthrown."<sup>5</sup>

Narodnik Socialism spent its force as Plekhanov came to the foreground as the outstanding successor of Marx and Engels. Russian Marxists substituted the myth of the proletariat for the narodnik myth about the people. After the split in the Social Democratic Party in 1903, the Bolsheviks prepared to carry forward the banner of orthodox totalitarian Marxism. Their greatest leader was Lenin.

#### LENIN

Vladimir Ilyitch Ulyanov, later adopting the revolutionary pseudonym of Lenin, was born in 1870. At the age of seventeen, he was expelled from Kazan University for being involved in a revolutionary demonstration. His brother and four sisters were all of revolutionary temperament.

Lenin was a thorough student of Marx's writings, was bitter in his opposition to the reactionary Menshe-

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5. Ibid., p. 104.



viks, and vigorously combated all "sectarian" tendencies among the Bolsheviks. When the First World War broke out in 1914, the Second Internationale folded up as all the workers rallied to the cause of nationalism. Lenin emerged as the direct leader of international Socialism. He started agitation from Switzerland with only a small nucleus of supporters, but wrote numerous articles and brochures. Most basis for an insight into his doctrines are: Imperialism written in 1916, and State and Revolution in 1917.

While in exile he contended: "First, that the war was not a war for 'national defense,'.....but an imperialist war.....of finance---capitalist groups for world profits and world plunder.....Second, that the consequent line of the working class in every country must be to fight their own imperialists.....Third, that the collapse of the Second Internationale was.....the exposure and inevitable outcome of the opportunist degeneration of the old Socialist parties and their leadership. A new revolutionary working-class International would have to be built up." <sup>6</sup> Lenin's slogan "transformation of the imperialist war into civil war" represented the core of his leadership.

When the czarist regime fell in the February Revolution Lenin was able to return to Russia. He found the

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6. Dutt, Life and Teachings of V. I. Lenin, pp. 38. 39.

Bolshevik leaders, among them Stalin, floundering about helplessly without a clear plan of procedure. He quickly assumed control, demanded war upon Kerensky's Provisional Government, and the imposition of the dictatorship of the Bolshevik Party.

The outcome was the October Revolution, and the subsequent, humiliating treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany. The Bolsheviks seized the reins of power, and Lenin remained their guiding spirit until his fatal illness in the spring of 1922. He died early in 1924 after reaching the heights of revolutionary leadership. His overpowering personality forced Trotsky and Stalin to recede into the background while he was still living.

### C. Russia since the Revolution

The czar and his family were murdered in an orgy of bloodshed that killed an unknown number of his supporters. The Bolshevik revolution was followed by a period of civil war and attempted allied intervention. The "Reds" were in the minority, but attacked the so-called "Whites" with such ruthless efficiency that they were soon able to gain control of all vital centers. The armistice in 1918 signalled the recall of weary allied troops from Russian soil, and all uprisings were suppressed.

7. These views were formulated in his April Theses.

8. 108 peasant revolts in 3 months, according to Spinka, Christianity Confronts Communism, p. 40.

Meanwhile, factory output in the towns had fallen by 85 percent,<sup>9</sup> the workers looted the countryside in search of food, and a colossal famine ensued. The number of people who actually died from starvation has been estimated at from two to five millions.<sup>10</sup> Communist economy had been imposed upon the country and contributed to the stagnation of economic life. All private property was confiscated, all debts were repudiated, and all banks were nationalized. All production was placed under state control with an unwieldy bureaucratic machine adding to the inefficiency and confusion. Money ceased to have any value. Private fortunes were wiped out. Taxes were to be abolished. But by 1921 Lenin conceded the failure of the Communist economy, and the New Economic Policy was introduced, postponing the establishment of pure Communism. The government adopted a system of "state socialism." Private trade was resumed to some extent, labor had to be hired on the basis of wages, and manufactured goods were sold to the populace. A new privileged class composed of Party members and bureaucrats arose, and the very abuses which Marx and Lenin fulminated against in capitalist countries were present to an even greater de-

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9. According to Rykov, Commissar for Industry.

10. Spinka, op. cit., p. 45. Cf. Duranty, I Write as I Please, p. 132. (World Publishing Company, 1935). He reports that after he visited the region: "I went away feeling sick, and hating myself for being healthy and well-fed."

gree in Russia. The professional politicians of the Communist Party became the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

Inequalities between classes were as pronounced as ever.

After the death of Lenin, power passed over into the hands of a triumvirate---Kamenev, Zinoviev, and Stalin. As General Secretary of the Party Stalin's position was predominant. He obtained absolute power such as Lenin never claimed, and while other dictators have met their doom, he retains national leadership. His chief antagonist was the internationally-minded Jew, Trotsky, who won distinction as foreign minister under Lenin and organized the Red Army. He clamored for an immediate world revolution, while Stalin was determined to soft-pedal international Communism until he had built up Russia as a Socialist state first. Violent disagreement led to the eventual expulsion of Trotsky who continued to conspire against Stalin from abroad until he was assassinated in Mexico. His followers, the Trotskyites, are still active as the bitter opponents of the Stalinists. They publish their own paper in the United States, called The Militant.

Has Russia with her nationalistic aspirations abandoned the ideals of Lenin and Marx? Krupskaya, the widow of Lenin, said in one of her last speeches (1939): "The name of Lenin, the name of Stalin---these to us are a banner. When we speak of Lenin or of Stalin we think

of Socialism---of the great successes we have attained--of the victory of Communism. We must bring up our children to be true Leninists, true Stalinists.....You must work more and more to improve your own knowledge--you must get down to a real study of Marxism---Leninism---you must raise ever higher the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin." Krupskaya's Communist biographer assures us that on the day of her funeral young Russians "vowed to carry on the cause of Lenin and Stalin, the cause of Communism, with all their strength."<sup>11</sup>

There have been conflicting evaluations of economic progress in Russia since the two five-year plans<sup>12</sup> were put into operation. It became evident to the outside world that the Russia of 1941 which stood up under the impact of the German invasion had achieved some remarkable feats of production under the new state planning. In a material way, the masses were at last receiving more benefits than they had under the czarist regime. Visitors to the Soviet Union have found much to admire in the line of increased social services. The standard of education has been appreciably raised. The census of 1939 announced that 81.2 per cent of the population were

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11. Obrooskaya, C., Lenin and Krupskaya, (Workers' Library Publishers, 1940), pp. 46. 47. (New York).

12. 1928-33 and 1933-38.

literate.<sup>13</sup> But these material advantages have been achieved at a heavy cost in blood and tears.

#### D. The fate of religion in Russia

It is not my intention to gloss over the abuses in the Russian Orthodox Church prior to the Revolution of 1917,<sup>14</sup> but it is necessary to guard against the false deduction which is usually made. The Communist persecution of religion in Russia was not a "severe but justified punishment inflicted upon a corrupt and superstitious Church."<sup>15</sup> For Lenin "a progressive and regenerated Christianity was worse than the old corrupt Christianity."<sup>16</sup> Matthew Spinka raises the question, "Had Russia possessed an exceptionally vigorous, pure, and spiritual form of Christianity, would not the Bolsheviks have changed their attitude toward it?" and answers by quoting Lenin's furious letter to Gorky: "A Catholic priest who violates young girls.....is much less dangerous to 'democracy' than are the priests who do not wear surplices, priests without vulgar religion, ideological and democratic priests.....The first type of priest can easily be exposed, condemned and driven out---but the second cannot be driven out so easily. It is a thousand

13. New York Times, (4-20-40).

14. Cf. chapter VI on "Indictment against the Church".

15. Zernov, Moscow, the Third Rome, p. 11.

16. Berdyaev, op. cit., p. 195.

times more difficult to expose him, since not a single 'frail and pitifully weak' philistine will agree to 'condemn' him." <sup>17</sup> Since Communism rejects religion as a matter of principle, the better the religion---the more vigorous is their opposition. It was clear from the beginning that the assault upon the Church in 1918 "was aimed not only against the Orthodox Church, but against every form of religion, being based on an antagonism to the belief in God and in the immortality of the human <sup>18</sup> soul." Communism is an implacable foe of Christianity for which it seeks to substitute its own fanaticism.

If we conduct an honest historical examination of the shortcomings of every Church in every age we are likely to become more mellow in our judgment of the Russian Church. "The famous Rasputin is usually put forward as an example of the immorality and greed of its clergy, and it is felt that he sufficiently explains the Communist's disillusionment with Christianity. Foreigners visiting Russia, moreover, were usually struck by the magnificence of the long and elaborate services, the lack of social activity among the clergy, the seeming passiveness of the laity, and the rigid control which the State exercised over the Church through the person of the <sup>19</sup> lay Over-procurator of the Holy Synod."

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17. Ibid., pp. 163. 164.

18. Zernov, op. cit., p. 89.

19. Ibid., p. 82.

This dismal picture can truthfully <sup>be</sup> said to be over-drawn. The ability of both clergy and people to withstand the persecutions argues against it. "When people die for their religion can anyone say that their faith is dead?.... There are martyrs for the faith in the Soviet Union whose heroism and constancy are equal of the celebrated saints of the first three centuries."<sup>20</sup>

"The Russian Church, like every historic body, has had and will have, many failures and shortcomings, but one of the most tragic consequences of isolation is that of ascribing to her sins which she has never committed and qualities which she has never possessed."<sup>21</sup> In all fairness, Zernov, an apologist for the Russian Church, asks us to remember that "under the Empire it lived in a state of siege. The Germanized bureaucracy of St. Petersburg carefully supervised its every movement, ready to crush out any spontaneous manifestations of religious activity. But the Church, though deprived of the right of self-expression was rich in life, and found divers subterranean channels through which to maintain its contact with the people."<sup>22</sup> There were indications shortly before the Revolution "that a considerable proportion of the priests were leaning towards the 'Non-possessors', position, and

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20. Spinka, op. cit., p. 117.

21. Zernov, op. cit., p. 12.

22. Ibid., p. 82.

23. Ibid., p. 80.

24. Spinka, op. cit., p. 104.



were deeply dissatisfied with the conditions of both Church and State."<sup>23</sup>

Zernov's reference brings to memory the split which threatened to take place in the Russian Church in the late fourteenth century. St. Joseph's party, contending for the ownership of lands by the monasteries, tended toward a highly developed ritualism to the neglect of sanctification of life, and finally led the Church into a position where it became subordinate to the *Czar*. Unfortunately, the "possessors" emerged victorious. Concurrently, however, the ideals of St. Nil of Sorsk were always maintained by a minority. The "Non-possessors" stressed the New Testament concept of love and freedom, and would like to have divorced the Church from politics.

To condemn the Russian Church without reservation is unjustified, and to explain the Communist aversion to religion as a natural reaction against a "spiritually dead" Church is confusing the issue. "It certainly must not for a single moment be assumed that there were not various degrees of genuineness in Russian Christianity, or that it was as a whole, a mass of corruption. Communism in other countries where presumably more enlightened and social-minded Christianity prevails, makes no attempt to differentiate among the various forms, but rejects all without discrimination."<sup>24</sup>

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23. Ibid., p. 88.

24. Spinka, op. cit., p. 164.

The Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic of 1918 guaranteed the freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda. In 1928 the constitution was revised and only anti-religious propaganda was accorded official sanction. The present constitution reads: "In order to insure to citizens freedom of conscience, the Church in the U. S. S. R. is separated from the State, and the school from the Church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens." <sup>25</sup> Regardless of the formula used, the attack on religion has continued, fluctuating between open persecution and advantageous compromise.

- During the period from 1917 to 1922 three features may be distinguished in the anti-religious policy. The first was to deprive Churches of material means and legal existence. All Church property had to be forfeited to the government without compensation, and all religious societies were prevented from acquiring any new property. The only buildings which could be retained were held by individuals acting as trustees of the Church. The second step taken had to do with reducing priests and ministers to a status of social inferiority. Classified as non-workers they were deprived of the franchise, and when ration cards were distributed they were either omitted en-

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25. Article 124, Ogiz, State Publishing House of Political Literature, Soviet Union. 1938.

tirely or received only enough for a meagre subsistence diet. "Priests were forbidden to live within towns, and had to come in from outside to do their work. They had often found homes among the peasantry, but such peasants as harboured them were more heavily taxed." <sup>26</sup> The third anti-religious measure dealt a deathblow to organized education. "Religious instruction was prohibited in state, public, and private schools by Article 9 of the decree of 1918. In 1921 it was forbidden to give religious instruction to organized groups of persons below the age of 18. Religious education could be given adults nowhere but in seminaries," <sup>27</sup> and permits to open these were difficult to obtain. In 1924 teaching religion privately to groups of more than three children was prohibited. <sup>28</sup> In 1929 anti-religious training was prescribed for all teachers. <sup>29</sup> Soviet schools today serve the program of the Communist Party and lay the emphasis on fostering patriotism and militarism. <sup>30</sup>

Bernard Pares records two other effective blows which were only aimed indirectly at religion. Holidays for work-

26. Pares, Russia, p. 154.

27. Timasheff, Religion in Soviet Russia, p. 27.

28. "No school, no organization of children, without its 'cell of the Union of Militant Atheists!....No believing teacher in any Soviet school!....Every teacher in every Soviet school must be an active fighter for atheism of the children." Quoted by Spinka, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

Printed in Prosvyeshchenie, 1930, # 3, p. 3.

29. Pares, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

30. Milwaukee Journal, (11-25-45). Article by Dr. George S. Counts, originally appearing in Asia magazine.

ingmen were arranged in such a way that they did not fall on Sunday, and absence from work was severely punished. As a result, attendance in church was practically nil for regular services. Then collectivization permitted the community as a whole to decide what a church building should be converted to some other use. All that was required was a majority vote and the Church was closed to worshippers.<sup>31</sup>

Russian Communism represents the first systematic attempt to rule God and the supernatural out of the lives of a whole nation. Early in 1922 The Atheist publishing company was formed to distribute literature ridiculing the Church and blaspheming God.<sup>32</sup> By 1930, the circulation of Bezbojnik had reached 100,000 copies, and the monthly review Antireligionsniki had 31,000 subscribers.<sup>33</sup> Three years later the Militant Atheists' League was created with two distinct aims in view: "First, to disclose the class nature of religion as a tool by which the exploiters could oppress the workers; secondly, to propound the Communist philosophy of life."<sup>34</sup> By 1932 they had 80,000 local units and a membership of 7,000,000, not including 1,500,000 godless children.<sup>35</sup> Antireligious museums were set up in the most famous Russian churches and monasteries. "The

31. Loc. cit., pp. 154. 155.

32. Timasheff, op. cit., p. 34.

33. Bolshakoff, p. 48, pp. cit.

34. Bolshakoff, op. cit., p. 42.

35. Ibid., p. 45.

basic tenets of religion, its ministers and practitioners, were ridiculed in cartoons, caricatures, posters, and moving pictures<sup>36</sup> performances, and denounced in books and magazines."

One cartoon featured by The Atheist at His Bench shows a Red Army soldier, representing the Soviet Government, who has kicked God, Capitalism and the Pope off the earth, starting over the globe with one foot in Europe, one in Asia, and carrying a Red banner on which are the words "Long Live the World Atheist Movement."<sup>37</sup>

Another frontispiece for the same magazine depicts the triumphant proletariat hurling opponents of Communism into a garbage pile with a giant steam shovel. The priest, the Gospel, the Church, and God are among the victims.<sup>38</sup>

A most nauseating cartoon published in The Antireligionnik with the caption "Take Eat, This Is my Body---The Holy Sacrament", shows a group of Christians feasting on the Savior's body in cannibal fashion, sucking His blood and chewing on His flesh.<sup>39</sup>

Christmas trees or Christmas cards could not be sold in Moscow. Instead of Christmas stories Soviet children were offered books such as these: Against the Christmas Tree; Antireligious Work of the School with the Parents; the Attack on God.<sup>40</sup> In teaching the ABC's every letter

36. Chamberlin, William Henry, Russia's Iron Age, p. 312.

37. Bezbojnik, (11-7-30).

38. Ibid., # 11, (6-1-30).

39. Goff, They Would Destroy Our Way of Life, p. 23.

40. Chamberlin, op. cit., p. 316.

was illustrated with an atheistic slogan so that the children would imbibe hatred of religion from an early age.<sup>41</sup>

In connection with the second five years' plan E. Yaroslavsky, one of the directors of the godless movement, suggested wiping out religion in Russia in five stages: "First year---All religious schools to be closed and the first steps taken for the closing of churches in the capital. Second year---All persons professing any religion to be driven from the workshops and Government offices; all religious literature to be prohibited and 150 anti-religious films to be produced, and shown throughout the Soviet Union, especially in the schools. Third year---This should be devoted to increasing the activity of the godless cells and to the expulsion from the Soviet Union of all ecclesiastics, of whatever religion, who refuse to renounce their calling. Fourth year---All churches, chapels, and synagogues to be handed over to the local Soviet, to be turned into cinemas, clubs, or other places of intelligent passtime. Fifth year---To be devoted to the consolidation of ground gained on the anti-religious front. By May 1, 1937, all expressions of religion should be swept from Soviet territory and the very notion of God erased from the popular mind."<sup>42</sup>

41. Ibid., p. 318.

42. Bolshakoff, op.cit., p. 46.

43. Banner, *A Short History of Russia*, p. 143.

Since the Revolution there have been three violent periods of persecution against the Russian Church which surpass in brutality anything experienced by the early Christian Church under Roman rule. What was numerically one of the largest churches in the world was almost literally wiped out in a frenzied orgy of bloodshed. Figures, furnished not by Russian critics, but by the Soviet government indicate "that there were in 1941 ten times fewer Orthodox churches than in 1900 and at the very least six times fewer secular clergy, while monks and nuns have disappeared."<sup>44</sup> Not even the "highbrow" palaver of all the Russian sympathizers in America and England can whitewash these cold, stark facts. "The Church of the Saviour in New York City, a Russian orthodox cathedral, shelters a stone on which is engraved '31 bishops, 1,560 priests, known victims of the Red terror.'.....The system of torture was horrible. Many priests had crowns of barbed wire forced on their heads, others had their bones sawed, and still others were impaled.....The Archbishop of Perm was buried alive after they had put out his eyes. The Bishop of Belgorod was plunged into quicklime. The Bishop of Youriew was put in a cellar, struck repeatedly with a bayonet, nose and ears cut off, and finally was cut to pieces. The Archbishop of Voroneg was hanged before the altar of his church and in his archdiocese 160 priests were

43. 1922-23; 1929-30; and 1937-38.

44. Sumner, A Short History of Russia, p. 163.

shot. In the district of Cherson three priests were crucified. It is said that the Soviets stripped one priest out-of-doors in winter and continued to pour cold water over him until its freezing caused him to become a statue of solid ice. Archbishop Teofan was thrown through a hole in the ice into the water while in a dying condition.<sup>45</sup> Similar descriptions could be multiplied almost without number. Countless other priests and lay leaders were sentenced to labor battalions, languished in prison, or were exiled to the barren wastelands of Siberia. Paul B. Anderson writes in his book People, Church, and State in Modern Russia, (1944): "The Soviet press and court records will provide any sceptical person with an ample supply of cases where ministers of religion and religious institutions suffered eradication or destruction at the hands of state authorities....."<sup>46</sup>

"The Soviet government is firm in its desire and intention to substitute atheism for religion."<sup>47</sup> The student well-versed in the teachings of Marx and Lenin will be extremely cautious in heralding Stalin's concessions to the Church as inaugurating a new era of religious liberty in Russia. Communists cannot fraternize with Christians and still be true Communists.

45. "Communist War on Church," by Dr. Dorsey in National Republic, June 1937.

46. Ibid., p. 111.

47. Anderson, Paul B., People, Church, and State in Modern Russia, p. 140.



Nevertheless, in 1943 the Russian dictator suddenly announced a change of policy over toward the Church. Among the changes in policy were found: "The restoration of civil rights to ministers of religion. Suppression of blasphemous plays and films. Abolition of the test for Army and Civil Service which penalized Church members. Removal of offensive attacks on religion from school textbooks. Relaxation of labor laws to enable people in country districts to observe Church festivals," etc. During the war the Church was said to be functioning harmoniously with the State. The patriarchate was restored. The churches in Berlin were reopened in the Russian occupation zone. Before Easter, 1946, the Soviet government announced that Russia's wealthiest convent, a Moscow museum since 1922, would be restored to the Church. Several priests were chosen in a recent election to sit in the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet. Many stalwart opponents of the Soviet ideology were bewildered. Almost overnight, Russia was proclaimed a democracy, and the ruthless "butcher of the Kremlin" became a kindhearted saint. Uninformed

reports trickling into the United States from occupied

48. The Lutheran Youth, April, 1943.

49. Cf. "Up from the Russian Catacombs", Reader's Digest, March, 1944. Metropolitan Sergius was re-instated. Patriarchate had been abolished by Peter the Great.

50. "Izvestia now prints the hierarchy's pastoral literature, which is obligingly directed not against sin but against non-Communist politics." Time, (4-22-46).

51. Delia, David, J., The Red Soviet Russia, pp. 50.

52. Cf. Chicago Sunday Tribune, (8-5-46). In one district "Red soldiers during the first weeks of their occupation raped every girl between the ages of 18 and 60."

people raised their eyebrows a trifle but swallowed the  
 51  
 dope, assuming that earlier reports on Russia had been  
 exaggerated or could now be overlooked as part of the re-  
 mote past. David J. Dallin writes in The Real Soviet Rus-  
 sia; "Moscow.....does all it possibly can to strengthen  
 the impression that there is a genuine restoration of re-  
 ligious freedom. In conceding an inch to the Church Mos-  
 cow seeks to make the world believe that it is granting  
 a mile.....It wants to spread the belief among all inside  
 and outside the country who prefer the old Russia to the  
 New that 'a page of ancient Russia' has turned up again  
 amid the Soviet metamorphoses, that Russia has turned her  
 back on her Communist ways, substituted bishops for Marx-  
 ists, conservatives for revolutionists, and transformed  
 her government from an instrument of world revolution to  
 a bulwark of world stability.....The history of the re-  
 ligious policy of the Soviet Government exposes the error  
 of this conception, so widely current because human beings  
 52  
 are so prone to forget the recent past."

The delusion has already been partially dispelled by  
 reports trickling into the United States from occupied  
 53  
 countries---a gruesome account of rape and ravage.

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51. Cf. Assignment in Utopia by the disillusioned  
 Communist sympathizer, Eugene Lyons. Condensed by the  
Reader's Digest, January, 1938. (January, 1938).

52. Dallin, David, J., The Real Soviet Russia, pp.  
 55. 56.

53. Cf. Chicago Sunday Tribune, (8-5-45). In one  
 district "Red soldiers during the first weeks of their oc-  
 cupation raped every girl between the ages of 12 and 60."

Russian refugees in the American zone had to be "forced over the border into the Soviet at the point of guns." A dossier of affidavits describe how torture chambers, slave labor, and blood purges continue in 1945 and 1946.<sup>54</sup>

The apparent compromise between the Soviet government and the Russian Church is best explained as one of temporary expediency and uncertain duration. It is well to remember, first of all, that Communists have no scruples about using the Church as a tool when they see that they can adapt it to their purposes. Soon after the Revolution they sponsored the schismatic "Living Church" to drive a wedge into the Orthodox Church and weaken it even more. The leaders of the movement were of doubtful moral character, and "were connected with the secret police, which tried to use them as instruments for the further destruction of the Church."<sup>55</sup> William L. White in his Report on the Russians points out that when Hitler invaded Russia he proclaimed himself the Protector of the Russian Church, and wherever German armies conquered Russian territory they began encouraging priests to resume their services. As an answer to this German propaganda the Bolsheviks<sup>56</sup> were compelled to recognize the Church. Dallin comments

54. Cf. Los Angeles Examiner, (11-4-45).

55. Zernov, op. cit., footnote on p. 90.

56. Condensed in The Reader's Digest, (Dec., 1944).

on the period from 1941 to 1944:

"The government made one concession after another to the Church. But for every concession received the Church was obliged to pay immediately with political moves favorable to the government.....For a number of years Hitler's government had encouraged the activities of Orthodox prelates and priests resident in Germany and consisting almost exclusively of emigres from Russia. Hitler appropriated money for the construction of an Orthodox cathedral in Berlin; nineteen Orthodox churches received government appropriations for repairs. All this was by way of preparation for the great political campaign which developed immediately after the invasion of Russia by German troops.....In the occupied regions a number of Orthodox priests declared their support of Germany and prayed for the success of the German arms. Some high dignitaries of the Church went over to the German side.....The pro-Hitlerite policy of the Orthodox clergy in the occupied regions of Russia was an important factor in determining the policy on religion pursued by the Soviet Government during the war. It was wise to come to the 'defense of religion' in the struggle with heathen Hitlerism. German propaganda sought to create a great European bloc against 'Godless Bolshevism,' and Moscow replied with a counterblow: defense of religion against the heathen, revival of the patriarchate, and restoration of churches destroyed by the Germans.....One of the motives for a change in Soviet religious policy was the effect which the antireligious policy as pursued over a long period had created in neighboring allied and enemy countries. The religious beliefs of the populations constituted an obstacle to the policies recommended by Moscow for the various national movements (in which Communists were to play the directing part). In Yugoslavia members of the Orthodox Church constituted half the population (more than half among the Serbs); in Bulgaria they were two-thirds; in Rumania, two-thirds; in Greece, 99 percent. The "All-Slav Meetings" in Moscow were appealing to the national sentiments of the Slav peoples; Orthodox religious leaders were in a position to appeal also to non-Slav peoples; such as, the Rumanians and Greeks. It was natural, therefore, to combine the All-Slav propaganda with Orthodox propaganda." 57

Besides, Stalin and his henchmen were in no position to quarrel with the remnant of the Church which survived the persecutions. For the successful defense of "Mother Russia," it was essential to muster every available agency

for promoting patriotism. The Church proved to be an important device in bolstering the Russian will to resist the invader. The dependency of the Soviets on their Western allies for Lend-Lease supplies and mechanized equipment may have been another factor influencing them to "go easy" on religion. They could scarcely afford to offend their "pious-minded" donors needlessly.

Meanwhile, the attack on religion has been continued wherever feasible. Materialism, Darwinism, and atheism are still taught in Russia's schools. The Communist press opens its columns to renewed attacks on religion. <sup>58</sup> Underhanded attempts are still made to thwart the progress of the Church. Where a state-owned store pays only 1.16 kopecks per kilowatt for its current, a church must pay <sup>59</sup> 41. Freedom of religion in the Soviet Union is far <sup>60</sup> from being realized.

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58. National Record, (Oct. 1945).

59. White, William L., Report on the Russians, in note 52, p. 121.

60. Dallin, David J., op. cit., p. 70 says: "The freedom of religion granted during this war may not last long. It is but another move in the tortuous history of Soviet religious policy.".....

"It has also become clear that separation of Church and State has no basis in fact under a political regime such as exists in Russia. Under Soviet conditions, the Church cannot develop its activities if the state does not assist it: under such circumstances the restoration of churches without the help of the State's economic organs is impossible. It is impossible to obtain the ornaments and habiliments necessary for services without the cooperation of government agencies. The printing of books and magazines in Russia requires not only money but also the active collaboration of various government agencies. The

When Russia occupied Poland the Militant Atheist Society vigorously denied that religion was being curbed. 61  
 The truth of the matter was that barbaric massacres were discarded in favor of more subtle methods like impoverishing the clergy and confiscating Church property. 62

The fate of the Lutheran churches in the Baltic countries was no better. Authentic information reveals that during six months of Russian rule in Estonia in 1940-41, prior to the Anglo-American alliance, the Church was attacked with unrelenting fury. At one stroke all churches and religious communities lost their property without compensation. The League of Anti-Religious Fighters employed every available means to extirpate religious feelings from the minds of the people. Those who cherished the illusion that the Soviet government had changed its policy over toward religion soon discovered their error. The Kommunist for September 4, 1940, wrote: "Confirmation classes are to be stopped as well as Sunday Schools and

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Synod, the Patriarch, the Theological Institute, and the rest can be housed only with the assistance and at the will of the government.....

"For this reason the Church is not actually separated from the State in Soviet Russia. Living by the grace of the government, the Church faces the risk of losing its new privileges at any moment; hence it is compelled to cooperate fully with the government politically.....The Church leaders, who also are 'realists,' accept many compromises in order that the churches may be permitted to function."

61. The Presbyterian Guardian, (3-25-40), or New York Times, (2-12-40).

62. New York Times, (3-17-40).

the Church choirs of children and all other devices of God's servants for obscuring the minds of children at houses of prayer and at Bible-lessons in homes." <sup>63</sup> Even the christening of children became a punishable crime. "Authorities even tried to abolish the celebration of Christmas, prescribing that the 25th and 26th of December should be working days." <sup>64</sup> Clergymen were called "enemies of the people," and "the scum of society." Ministers and churches were charged such exorbitant rents and salaried so low that they were economically ruined. Where these measures proved inadequate Communists did not shrink from actual murder. Twenty-nine martyrs of the Lutheran faith were known to have lost their lives. "Many times greater..... is the number of clergymen and other faithful members of the Church who were brutally dragged out of the bosom of their families to be deported to unknown places far away in gloomy Russia." <sup>65</sup> to a revival of real Christianity.

The Roman Catholic Church suffered in the same way in the Baltic countries, and today while Hewlett Johnson quotes Generalissimo Stalin as an advocate of freedom of religion, <sup>66</sup> the Pope addresses an encyclical to "Ruthenian Bishops in prison," <sup>67</sup> and Uniat Church in the Western

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63. The Fate of Religion and Church under Soviet Rule in Estonia, by H. Perlitz. pp. 34 ff.

64. Ibid., p. 38.

65. Ibid., p. 49.

66. Times Herald, (7-17-45).

67. St. Louis Globe-Democrat, (1-20-46).

Ukraine, acting under compulsion severs its ties with  
 68 Rome.

The Stalin-backed Tito terrorism has struck at the Church, stamping out religion in all its forms. Among the priests killed without trial, two were "certainly tortured before execution, while the bodies of three others were thrown into the sea after execution."<sup>69</sup> Cardinal Stritch of Chicago accuses the Yugoslav regime of attempting "to destroy the Church, the only remaining voice which can oppose their reign of terror." He charges that they have "murdered hundreds of priests, nuns, and helpless citizens."<sup>70</sup> This is the realistic account of what has happened to Christianity in the world's largest country when Communist theory has been put into practice. In pathetic tones the Russian Bible Society pleads for our prayers in behalf of atheistic Russia, as the doors remain closed to a revival of real Christianity.<sup>71</sup>

The authentic and cumulative evidence in support of the view presented here is overwhelming. When we consider that "the effects of the anti-religious campaign in the U. S. S. R. reach.....across the borders of that country into almost every land;"<sup>72</sup> when we remember that Moscow

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68. St. Louis Post-Dispatch, (3-19-46).

69. New York Times quoted in Omaha World-Herald, (7-24-46).

70. St. Louis Globe-Democrat, (9-30-46).

71. Cf. Russia Calling, January-February, 1946.

72. Lamont, Corliss, Soviet Russia and Religion, p. 21.



is the capital of the Communist Party which is active in our own cities we will be less apt to minimize the threat of Communism to our nation and Church. Christianity is not accidental, but basic. Almost every cherished teaching of Christ is flatly contradicted by the Marxian way of life. The Christian's faith is predicated upon the Bible as the revelation of God's will to man. The Communist refuses to submit to any supernatural authority. Christ as the Son of God and Savior of the world to him is a nonentity. The doctrines of sin, grace, and redemption are dismissed as "bourgeois inventions," designed to dupe the credulous masses. Belief in personal immortality is discarded as a pious delusion. While the Christian stresses love as the source of all desirable virtues, the Communist preaches and incites hatred.

There is no intermediate position. You cannot reconcile radical Marxism, the only type of Communism in existence today, with genuine, historical Christianity as portrayed in the Scriptures. Christ-deceiving modernists in the Church find limited cooperation possible, but Lutheran doctrine admits of no working agreement with Communism. When and if it does, Lutherans must cease to be Lutherans or Communists must cease to be Communists.

We have already analysed at some length the materialistic philosophy of Marx and his successors. In this

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1. Cf. Chapter III.

## V. Can Communism and Christianity Be Reconciled?

The hostility of Communists to Christianity is not accidental, but basic. Almost every cherished teaching of Christ is flatly contradicted by the Marxian way of life. The Christian's faith is predicated upon the Bible as the revelation of God's will to man. The Communist refuses to submit to any supernatural authority. Christ as the Son of God and Savior of the world to him is a nonentity. The doctrines of sin, grace, and redemption are dismissed as "bourgeois inventions," designed to dupe the credulous masses. Belief in personal immortality is discarded as a pious delusion. While the Christian stresses love as the source of all desirable virtues, the Communist preaches and incites hatred.

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section we intend to expose in more detail the anti-Biblical character of Communism both in theory and in practice, demonstrating from their own writers and from their own activities that it is atheistic and blasphemous, that Communists advocate violent revolution and class hatred, that they renounce the Christian conception of morality, and that they are proponents of a totalitarian form of coercion that would nullify the God-given freedom of the individual.

The one-time editor of Pravda, official Communist paper in Russia, wrote: "All religions are one and the same poison, intoxicating and deadening the mind, the will, the conscience.....A fight to the death must be declared upon religion.....Our task is not to reform, but to destroy all kinds of religion, all kinds of morality. ....There are some soft-headed Communists who say that their religion does not prevent them from being Communists. They say that they believe both in God and in Communism. Such a view is fundamentally wrong. Religion and Communism do not go together either in theory or in practice. Between the precepts of Communism and those of the Christian religion there is an impassable barrier." <sup>2</sup>

An American Communist publication states: "The

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2. "The ABC of Communism" quoted in The Communist Cancer, p. 7.

priests of every cult have their own way of deluding the masses: The Jewish Rabbi, the Roman Catholic Priest, the Russian Orthodox Priest, the Mohammedan Mullah, the Evangelist, Baptist, and other ministers of religion, each has his own way of fooling the people. We must, therefore, convince the masses that Communism and religion cannot go together, that it is not possible to be a Communist and at the same time believe in devils, or gods, in heavenly creatures, in the saints. It is impossible to be a Communist and at the same time to go to Church and listen to the lies of the priests and take part in the performance of religious rites, that is, give support to this religious hokus-pokus.<sup>3</sup>

#### A. Communism is atheistic

Karl Marx was an apostate Jew who taught that only materialistic circumstance guides the destiny of history. Whatever religious ideas he may have professed in his youth were utterly rooted out by the university atmosphere of scepticism and unbelief in which he carried on his studies. In the preface to his doctor's thesis he summed up his philosophy thus: "In a single word, I hate all the Gods."<sup>4</sup> As early as 1844, he coined the

3. Ibid., pp. 7. 8.

4. Quoted by LeRossignol, From Marx to Stalin, p. 74.

phrase: "The criticism of religion is the beginning of all criticism."<sup>5</sup> "Religion is the opium of the people" became Marx's favorite expression when referring to the faith of the workers. In the Communist Manifesto of 1848, he and Engels called upon the proletariat to strip themselves of all bourgeois prejudices, including religion.<sup>6</sup> They viewed religion primarily as dust thrown into the eyes of the workers, distracting their attention from emancipation and material goals. Religion, they said, teaches the toiling masses to submit to capitalist oppression, assuaging their grievances with the promise of a better future life in heaven. Therefore, Engels advised that the atheist literature of the eighteenth century be spread among the masses.<sup>7</sup> He criticized Dühring severely because his materialism and atheism did not go far enough and still left loopholes by which religion might regain a footing.<sup>8</sup> In 1859, Darwin published his Origin of Species. The evolutionary theory and Marx's Communism developed simultaneously with an equally disastrous effect on religion.

Lenin reiterates almost the identical phrases used by Marx and Engels, summoning men to the "assault of heaven." Complete separation of Church and State is only

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5. Lenin, Religion, p. 3.

6. Cf. edition of the International Publishers, p. 20.

7. Cf. Lenin, Religion, p. 10.

8. Cf. "Anti-Dühring, his most famous work.

the first step. "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."<sup>9</sup>

Again, Lenin writes: "Marxism is materialism..... We must combat religion---this is the ABC of all materialism," but "the fight against religion must not be limited nor reduced to abstract, ideological preaching. This struggle must be linked up with the concrete practical class movement; its aim must be to eliminate the social roots of religion."<sup>10</sup> For Lenin the conflict with religion is part of the class struggle. "God," he defines as "a complex of ideas engendered by the ignorance of mankind."<sup>11</sup> He discourages the use of the term "God" in any connection, and proposes that a journal be written for the systematic propagation of atheism.

These statements by Lenin, to say nothing of his predecessors Marx and Engels, have never been repudiated by Communists at any time, and are still sold openly in their bookstores in this country. The very first sentence in the introduction of the International Publishers' edition of Lenin's Religion asserts that "atheism is a natural and inseparable part of Marxism, of the theory and practice of

9. Lenin, op. cit., p. 8.

10. Ibid., p. 14.

11. Ibid., p. 43.

13. Ibid., p. 43.

14. Early Communism Today or Red Vassals, written

scientific Socialism."<sup>12</sup> The editors apologize for not being able to provide a more complete statement of the atheism of Marx, Engels, and Lenin by adding: "It is not usual to talk of obvious facts."<sup>13</sup>

The war against the Church in Russia was carried on with the full approval of the present ruler, Stalin. In 1927, Lenin's successor declared: "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."<sup>14</sup>

Communists today and the Communist Party in America are no less antagonistic to Christianity. In an official publication issued in 1936, Soviet Russia and Religion, Corliss Lamont, a Communist, writes: "It is the general viewpoint known as Dialectical Materialism, based on the principles and discoveries of modern science, which leads the Communists in Soviet Russia and elsewhere to reject all the supernatural vagaries paraded by religion. Science can find no sign of an almighty God in the universe. Since all things operate according to natural law, there would be nothing for God to do even if there were one!... ..There is no reason to believe that Nature cares more

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12. Ibid., p. 3.

13. Ibid., p. 3.

14. Feely, Communism Today or Red Fascism, quoted on p. 20.

about our puny earth than about any other spot in the cosmos. As regards survival after death, the sciences of biology and physiology, medicine and psychology, definitely rule it out....."<sup>15</sup> Harry Best, professor of sociology at the University of Kentucky writes: "Their worship (in Russia) is that of the State. It is not less than State idolatry, 'before it there shall be no other gods.' '.....Science as the all in all of life may be regarded as quite satisfactorily taking the place of what was once known as morals or as religion. Through it salvation is to be attained."<sup>16</sup>

Earl Browder, repeatedly the Communist candidate for the presidency, echoes almost the exact words of Marx and Lenin: "The Communist Party takes the position that the social function of religion and religious institutions is to act as an opiate to keep the lower classes passive, to make them accept the bad conditions under which have to live in the hope of a reward after death. From this estimate of the social role of religion it is quite clear<sup>17</sup> that the Communist Party is the enemy of religion." He explains why we cannot expect Communists to shout from the housetops that they are devil-inspired atheists eager to massacre the clergy and close our churches. Communists

15. Lamont, Corliss, op. cit., p. 15.

16. Best, Harry, The Soviet Experiment, pp. 90. 91.

17. Quoted by George E. Sokolsky in his debate with Earl Browder, and published by "New Masses", under the title: Is Communism a Menace?

New York  
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do not want to prejudice workers unnecessarily by striking at their religious convictions. In his book What Is Communism? Earl Browder writes, "As far as religious workers go, the Party does not insist that they abandon their beliefs before they join the Party... We subject their religious beliefs to careful and systematic criticism, and we expect that they will not be able to withstand this educational process." <sup>18</sup> The French Communist, Jacques Duclos, does not bar nominal Catholics from membership in the Party: "Because we are convinced of the necessity for unity, we who are confirmed atheists extend a fraternal hand to the Catholics, whose struggle for the defense of their faith cannot be separated at the present moment from resistance to those who despise human progress." <sup>19</sup>

What about the churchmen who openly espouse Communism? Browder is proud of this accomplishment. He says: "It is significant that the Communist Party.....has been able to achieve successful united fronts with Church groups on the most important issues of the day. This is not due to any compromise with religion as such, on our part. In fact, by going among the religious masses, we are for the first time able to bring our anti-religious ideas to them." <sup>20</sup>

18. Browder, Earl, What Is Communism, p. 147.

19. Communism, Science, & Culture, (International Publishers), p. 17.

20. Browder, Earl, op. cit., p. 147.

He does not leave us in doubt as to the real purpose of the Communist Party when he declares: "We stand without any reservations for education that will root out beliefs in the supernatural, that will remove the religious prejudices which stand in the way of organizing the masses for Socialism, that will withdraw the special privileges of religious institutions." <sup>21</sup> Is Browder condemning only the Russian or the Roman Catholic Church? His own words answer: ".....We Communists do not distinguish between good and bad religions, because we think they are all bad for the masses." <sup>22</sup> Lutherans are not to be exempted from the onslaught against religion.

The change in leadership in the Communist Party has not altered in any way their antagonism toward the Church. In testifying before the Fish Committee William Z. Foster, the present leader of the Communists in America, spoke along the same lines as Browder: "A worker who will join the Communist Party who understands the elementary principles of the Communist Party, must necessarily be in the process of liquidating his religious beliefs and, if he still has any lingerings when he joins the Party, he will soon get rid of them.....Workers who would be so imbued with religious superstitions that they would be married in a church would be of no value to the Communist

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21. Ibid., p. 147.

22. Ibid., p. 149.

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Party."

Communists in America have not been satisfied to assail religion with the reserve of refined intellectualism. Their unconcealed godlessness has often led them to revolting outbursts of blasphemy. The defrocked Episcopal bishop, William Montgomery Brown, published a book Communism and Christianity and featured the symbol of the hammer and the sickle together with the motto: "Banish Gods from the Skies and Capitalists from the Earth."<sup>24</sup>

"The Preacher and the Slave," a song commonly sung in meetings of the Communist Party, tries to ridicule Christian teaching with words like these:

"Long-haired preachers come out every night,  
Try to tell you what's wrong and what's right;  
But when asked about something to eat  
They will answer with voices so sweet:  
You will eat by and by, in that glorious land  
above the sky.  
Work, and pray, live on hay, you'll get pie in  
the sky when you die."<sup>25</sup>

The central Committee of the Communist Party voted in 1944 to retain the "Internationale" as the "anthem of the all-union Communist Party of Bolsheviks." The second verse reads as follows:

"We want no condescending savior  
To rule us from a judgment hall;  
We workers ask not for their favors,  
Let us consult for all.  
To make the thief disgorge his booty,  
To free the spirit from the cell

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23. The Communist Cancer, pp. 9. 10.

24. Goff, They Would Destroy Our Way of Life, p. 17.

25. Ibid., p. 18.

We must decide and do it well.  
 'Tis the final conflict,  
 Let each stand in his place;  
 The International Soviet  
 Shall be the human race." 26

In a pamphlet called A Worker Looks at Jesus by David Grant the Bible is ridiculed in a most sacriligious way. Here are a few quotations selected at random: "The God of the Old Testament, as represented by the text, ~~aided~~ <sup>aided</sup>, abetted, advised and often commanded murder, arson, pillage, robbery, rape, etc. It has often been said, 'If there existed such a monster as the God pictured in the Old Testament, it would be man's first and foremost duty to destroy Him'.....Jesus was the Good Shepherd that protected the sheep and put them at the mercy of the wolves. ....Another Jew, Karl Marx, who will in time rank with Jesus, as a Saviour of the World worked out this method of critical interpretation."<sup>27</sup>

Back in 1925 the Communists held a mock baptism for the infant son of a New York waiter and his wife. The baby was christened Nikolai Lenin Manus with these words: "I now dedicate this baby to the Communist movement and hope he will live to work for freedom in the United States and the dictatorship of the proletariat all over the world." The Lord's Prayer was paraphrased in this way: "Our father who art in Russia, hallowed be thy name. Thy dictatorship come. Thy will be done in Russia and all over

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26. Ibid., p. 19.

27. Ibid., pp. 40-42.

the world. Give us our daily common sense and forgive our past follies as we forgive our stupefied fellow patriots. Lead us not into the patriotic snares, but deliver us from the Parasites. Amen." The Nicere Creed was also perverted: "I believe in one good matter and its inherent forces, the father and creator of everything, and the revolutionary spirit of Communism that was proclaimed by its great fighters, Marx and Lenin, hallowed by the blood of countless proletarian martyrs. I believe in one Communist commonwealth and profess one baptism, that of Communism, and the redemption from the sins of capitalism. I await the rising of the human machines which will lead them to a happy life and future. Amen." 28

Langston Hughes, Communist poet who has been invited to speak in many of our universities and colleges, wrote one of the most scurrilous poems ever seen in print entitled, Goodbye, Christ:

"Listen, Christ, You did all right in your day, I reckon---But that day's gone now.  
 They ghosted you up a swell story, too. Called it the Bible---But it's dead now.  
 The popes and the preachers've made too much money from it.  
 They've sold you to too many Kings, gnerals, robbers, and killers---  
 Even to the Czar and the Cossacks, Even to Rockefeller's Church,  
 Even to the Saturday Evening Post. You ain't no good no more.  
 They've pawned you Till you've done wore out.  
 Goodbye, Christ Jesus Lord Cod Jehovah, Beat it away

from here now.

Make way for a new guy with no religion at all---

A real guy named Marx Communist Lenin Peasant Stalin Worker Me---I said, ME!

Go ahead on now, You're getting in the way of things, Lord, and please take

Saint Ghandi with you when you go, and Saint Pope Pius, And Saint Aimee McPherson, And bib black Sain Becton of the Consecrated Dime.

And step on the gas, Christ! Move! Don't be so slow about movin'!

The world is mine from now on---

And nobody's gonna sell ME to a king, or a general, or a millionaire." 29

The Communist, the real integral Communist, cannot be a religious man, a believing man; he cannot be a Christian. A definite world outlook is binding upon a member of the Communist Party; he must be a materialist and an atheist, and what is more, a militant atheist.<sup>30</sup>

#### B. Communism is Immoral

Communists bristle with haughty indignation when accused of immorality. They protest their innocence and deplore "capitalist prejudices." Like holy prophets they herald the coming Millenium of social equality, brotherly love, and undisturbed tranquility. The Messianic era of pure Communism will constitute the ultimate heaven on earth.

The measuring-stick for human relationships in this Utopia will not be the New Testament Law of love. The rule of conduct will assuredly not be our Ten Commandments.

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29. Reprinted in The Cross and the Flag, Jan. 1943.

30. Berdyaev, Origin of Russian Communism, p. 200.

There will be no absolute standard of right and wrong. The highest good for man will be attained by abolishing all traditional mores and proclaiming unrestrained moral freedom. Ethical codes will no longer have to be enforced because everyone will voluntarily act as he ought to act. For the first time, marriage vows will be able to be contracted on the basis of real <sup>love</sup> since all class distinctions will be removed. Men and women will be free to marry a partner of their own choice rather than to be bound by considerations of social prestige. Women will be fully emancipated and take their place along side men with the guarantee of complete equality. Prostitution will automatically disappear because it is presumed that the need for it has been removed. According to Communist enthusiasts Soviet Russia represents this Promised Land in embryo.

How are these beautiful dreams to emerge as a reality? Without batting an eyelash, the Communist proposes that we usher in this new order on the heels of an undisguised program of foul play, class hatred, bloody revolution, and tyrannical dictatorship. The family unit may be dissolved, women may be communized, and the state can assume ownership of our children.

Reinhold Niebuhr and the "Christian" Socialists can

21. Cf. Niebuhr's, Moral Man and Immoral Society.  
 22. Cf. Ex. 22, 1-4; Lev. 5, 1-7; Ex. 8-25.  
 23. Cf. Luke 16, 11.

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 applaud the Marxian position, but Jesus Christ teaches that human life is sacred, because God has created it, that Christians should exercise love and charity toward their neighbors, that His Kingdom is not of this world, that His commandments are mandatory upon all people of all ages, that the family tie is indissoluble, that the essential wickedness of man forestalls a perfect society, that self-denial rather than self-gain is the key to a better world.

#### 1) Elimination of private property

Particularly for the dispossessed and downtrodden the Communist's promise to share the wealth, to demand from each person a contribution to the common effort according to his ability to work and produce, and to supply each person in keeping with his needs, sounds like the most equitable system that could be devised.

But not only is it a fanciful illusion, soon abandoned as unfeasible in Russia, but we find it directly at variance with Scripture and our Lutheran Confessions. The prohibition against stealing presupposes the right to hold private property. All the Levitical regulations governing the Old Testament sacrifices assume individual ownership.<sup>32</sup> The discourses of Jesus in no way indicate disapproval of riches as such,<sup>33</sup> but only enjoin their

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31. Cf. Niebuhr's, Moral Man and Immoral Society.

32. Cf. Ex. 22, 1-4; Lev. 6, 1-7; 25, 8-55.

33. Cf. Luke 16, 11.



judicious use. The early Christians voluntarily and temporarily disposed of their goods, but never practiced Communism in the full literal sense of the word. After Peter's escape from prison "he came to the house <sup>34</sup> of Mary, the mother of John." The Apology of the Augsburg Confession in condemning Roman Catholic perfectionism explicitly states: "It is also a most vain delusion that it is Christian perfection not to hold property..... For Scripture does not command that property be common, but the Law of the Decalog, when it says, Exodus 20, 15: 'Thou shalt not steal,' distinguishes rights of ownership, <sup>35</sup> and commands each one to hold what is his own." We are compelled to conclude that the divinely appointed privilege to possess private property dare not be abrogated.

The Communist "Bible" overrules the Christian Bible when it exclaims: "The theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property.....you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so: that is just what we intend." <sup>36</sup> The appropriation of all individual holdings and the eradication of property rights as conceived by Marx and Engels would be an immoral act on the part of any government.

34. Acts 11, 12.

35. Article XVI, p. 333, in Concordia Triglotta.

36. Communist Manifesto, op. cit., pp. 23, 25.

It is highly improbable, if not impossible, to attain such "absolute" Communism. The refutation from the Christian viewpoint is more in the realm of the theoretical and abstract rather than of any actually known situation. Still, state Socialism in Russia today, and nearly all socialist experiments, hinge at least on the borderline of violating the Scriptural Laws governing rights of private property.

2) Communists are unpatriotic and disloyal

The Christian is taught submission to duly constituted authority. In keeping with the teachings of Paul and Peter he is a loyal citizen of that country in which he lives. He respects her laws and works for her best interests.

Communism, on the other hand, refuses allegiance to any capitalist country. For the sake of expediency the Communist Party in the United States is willing to pay lip service to our constitution, but their hearts are in Russia with their "apostles" Lenin and Stalin. For them, the highest form of patriotism is a semi-religious adoration of the Soviet Union. What Jerusalem is to the Jew, Moscow is to the Communist. "The rallying center in the world fight for peace is the policy of the Soviet Union... it is the revolutionary duty of every class-conscious

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worker to defend the Soviet Union." Soviet tendencies are

The disciples of Karl Marx in 1946 never tire of singing the praises of "Mother Russia." Communist workers revere her name, and boast of her industrial achievements. Communist publishers feature every favorable appraisal of Russia. Harry F. Ward's The Soviet Spirit would lead the unwary reader to imagine that he is unfolding for him the "Paradise" of the common man, a nation without "spot or blemish."

Quotations could be multiplied almost without number from Communist publications in the United States to prove that they are not only pro-Soviet, but their Party policies are controlled by Moscow leaders. N. Baltisky writes on "Patriotism" in Political Affairs, (October, 1945): "In no country do the intelligent workers, or progressive peasants or intellectuals, deny their solidarity with the Soviet Union.....This is solidarity and friendship with a Socialist state, a state which by its very nature is free from imperialist appetites [?] which respects and champions the principle of equality and self-determination of nations, and which is a reliable defender and staunch bulwark of general peace [?]. Only the most reactionary, pro-fascist circles continue

37. Browder, Earl, op. cit., pp. 132. 133.

38. pp. 152. 153.  
39. 1942., p. 173.  
40. I. Schifano. p. 200.

to vilify the Soviet Union.....anti-Soviet tendencies are incompatible with patriotic convictions." <sup>38</sup> In the November, 1945, issue of the same magazine featured articles are: "The Soviet Union---Force for World Peace"; and "Joseph Stalin's War Leadership". Earl Browder forecast that "the principles upon which a Soviet America would be organized would be the same, in every respect, <sup>39</sup> as those which guided the Soviet Union."

Benjamin Gitlow, once candidate for vice-president on the Communist ticket, testified that his Party was intimately connected with Moscow headquarters: "In addition to being a branch or 'section' of the Communist International, the Communist Party also acted as an agent of the Soviet government. The typical American Communist regards himself by virtue of his membership in the Party as an important cog in the world-wide Communist machine that serves the Soviet government. He is compensated for his opposition to the United States government by being impressed with his importance to the government of the Soviet Union.....Of course, the Soviet government has repeatedly argued that it and the Communist are two separate entities. But their separation is as real as, say, the separation of the President of the United States <sup>40</sup> from the United States State Department."

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38. pp. 953. 954.

39. Ibid., p. 173.

40. I Confess, p. 300.

He confesses that the whole Communist machine in our country moves in accord with Russian trends: "The International Publishers was organized for the purpose of publishing Communist books and pamphlets for sale in the United States. The idea originated in Moscow. Such publishing houses were started in all important countries... The Party advised and approved original books published on American subjects, but otherwise International Publishers was subject to direct orders and control from Moscow." <sup>41</sup>

The servitude of American Communists to the Soviet Union, and their disloyalty to the best interests of our country are well illustrated by their reaction to world events in recent years. Their attitude toward the War has been embarrassingly inconsistent. Hitler had openly announced his claims on Russian territory in "Mein Kampf, and deliberately set out to eradicate the Communist Party in Germany. The Communist and The New Masses drilled anti-Fascism and anti-Nazism into their readers. Then came the Berlin-Moscow non-aggression pact in August of 1939, and our Communists became our most vociferous isolationists. Screaming headlines urged workers to strike in war industries, and vigorously protested "Lend-Lease." Roosevelt was accused of setting up a war dictatorship in

41. Ibid., p. 305.

the United States, and Senator Wheeler and the America Firsters were quoted with approval.<sup>42</sup> Then came the summer of 1940, German armies plunged across the Russian frontier, and overnight the Communist Party reversed its previous stand. What they had formerly labeled "a war for imperialistic plunder," suddenly became a holy crusade against Fascist tyranny.<sup>43</sup> Our labor front was no longer disturbed by strikes, Earl Browder who had been imprisoned for falsifying his passport was released "in the interest of national unity," Roosevelt became a Communist hero, and the Party announced that they would cooperate with capital's free enterprise system.<sup>44</sup> Communists boasted of their patriotism and supported the war effort until the axis powers were forced into unconditional surrender. Since peace has been restored the worst wave of strikes in our history has swept over the nation and blocked reconversion to civilian production, and the Communist Party has apologized to the world for her "good behavior."<sup>45</sup> Earl Browder "took the rap," was formally banished from the Party, and publicly denounced for his "revisionism" of true Marxism.<sup>46</sup> William Z. Foster, a

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42. Cf. Daily Worker, (1-17-41) & Sunday Worker, (1-19-41).

43. Newsweek, (4-28-41); cf. New York Sun, (6-23-41).

44. Cf. Browder, Earl, The Road Ahead to Victory and Lasting Peace.

45. High, Stanley, "Our Communists Are so Sorry they Were Good Boys", in The Saturday Evening Post, (12-1-45).

46. Newsweek, (2-18-46).

dyed-in-the-wool revolutionist was selected as the new puppet leader. Today, as a possible war with Russia looms on the horizon, our foremost isolationists are once again the Communists. Wm. Z. Foster fears, what he entitles, The Menace of the New World War. He attacks Churchill as a war-monger and rants against American monopoly's aim for world domination, while insisting that Soviet foreign policy safeguards the peace: "As a Socialist country, the U. S. S. R. is inherently peaceful and non-imperial-

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ist." <sup>47</sup> Morrison, of the British Labor government, has in-  
volve The Socialist Labor Party, which disavows any as-  
sociation with the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, or the American Labor Party, is therefore correct in claiming that "the Communist is nothing more, and nothing less, than the Jesuitic and pliant tool of the Soviet Union's Foreign Office. It has its feet in America but its head is in Russia. It alters its course as the Soviet Union alters its foreign policies, and as Moscow allies itself now <sup>with</sup> this group of capitalist powers, now with that. It has shown itself capable of coldly and brazenly sacrificing the interests of the workers and even of collaborating with and defending the capitalist exploiters, when

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47. Published by New Century Publishers, New York, March, 1946.

The curious thing is that the Kremlin appears to be on excellent terms with both Browder and Foster. It has been suggested that the split has been deliberately arranged to add to the confusion.

its Moscow masters so order.....The aims which they loudly declaim today may be reversed tomorrow, should Stalin change his mind." <sup>48</sup> The Communist Party in other countries is no less devoted to the interests of Russia. Luis Carlos Prestes, leader of the Brazilian Communist Party, promised to start a partisan movement in case of war between Brazil and Russia. Canadian Communists in the Gouzenko spy case stated under oath that they had a loyalty which took precedence over their own country. Herbert Morrison, of the British Labor government, has involved the Communists in more than once case of espionage <sup>49</sup> there.

### 3) Advocates of violent revolution

The Communist Manifesto explains: "The Communists St. Paul wrote: "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God, the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever resisteth the power, therefore resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation." <sup>50</sup> The apostle's mandate would not prevent Christians from revising their democratic procedures provided for in the constitution of the United States or even seeking to change

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48. Publish Weekly People in New York. Based on the theories of Marx and De Leon. From the circular "Social Labor Party Marxism against 'Leftist' Reformism."

49. Life, (7-29-46).

50. Rom. 13, 1. 2.



the form of our government by peaceful means.

But the Communists are more than a political party, hoping to gain the ascendancy through free election. From Marx on down to Stalin and Foster they have advocated taking advantage of a violent upheaval in a nation's economic or political life to seize the reins of power.

Sanguinary revolution and the merciless liquidation of all "reactionary" groups are the means which the toiling masses are directed to use in overthrowing their capitalist oppressors. Numbered among "reactionaries" will also be the "conservative" Lutheran clergy which dares to expound the teachings of a sixteenth century reformer.

The Communist Manifesto exclaims: "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."<sup>51</sup> The Bolsheviks took Marx and Engels at their word and terrorized all opposition into submission in Russia in 1917.

When Lenin wrote A Letter to American Workers he lauded the American Revolution as a step in the right direction, and asserted the inevitability of the world

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51. Manifesto, p. 44.

52

proletarian revolution. Joseph Stalin said in delivering and address to a group of American Communist leaders: "The revolutionary crisis has not yet reached the United States, but we already have knowledge of numerous facts which suggest that it is approaching. It is necessary that the American Communist Party should be capable of meeting the moment of crisis, fully equipped to take direction of future class wars in the United States. You must prepare for that, comrades, with all your strength and by every means. You must forge real revolutionary cadres and leaders of the proletariat who will be capable of leading the millions of American workers toward the revolutionary class wars."

53

In his Problems of Leninism the Russian dictator asks: "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.....

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52. Written August 20, 1918.

53. Published by the Communist Party of the United States under the title: "Stalin's Speeches on the American Party," p. 9 in Comments on Communists and Communism.

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.....'<sup>54</sup>

Whoever would like to temper down this ruthless doctrine is tolerated only until he can be conveniently disposed of. In Russia, a "chistka"(purge) in 1933 ousted between 600,000 and 750,000 members of the Party. Untold numbers were "liquidated."<sup>55</sup>

Revolutionary fervor is raised to a high pitch by singing the Communist "Marseillaise," which has been translated as follows:

"Up, up, ye people, avengers of the world's suffering.  
Wake up. Arise. Strike dead; strike dead  
All those who have stolen our bread.  
Ye workers, no<sup>w</sup>smash to pulp  
With your fists that phantom, God.  
You are master of the fate of the world.  
The end is come, you rulers, the end is come.  
Onward---And---Shot on shot." 56

Another song used in Russia is called Blow the Bloody

Bugles:

"Blow the bloody bugles,  
Beat the bloody drums boys.  
Blow the bloody Bourgeois  
To bloody kingdom come.  
Build the big bonfire

54. Pp. 10-20. Quoted by Feely, op. cit., p. 14.

55. Cf. Eugene Lyons in The Literary Digest (3-17-34), p. 14 ff.

56. Lutheran Herald, September, 1934.

As high as the big church spire;  
 And blow the bloody bastards  
 Higher one by one." 57

Browder said: "The revolution does not simply hap-  
 58  
 pen. It must be made." Young workers in the United  
 States are urged to go on strike and demonstrate against  
 the government on May First, the Russian "Independence"  
 Day. In 1940 eleven States took action and barred the  
 Communist Party from the ballot on the ground that they  
 59  
 favored overthrowing the American form of government.

The Dies Committee compiled a bulky, documented handbook  
 proving that the Reds in this country plotted sabotage  
 on a wide scale during the time that they were opposed  
 60  
 to our entrance into the war.

M. J. Olgin, editor of the Morning Freiheit and  
 Communist Party leader, described the plan for an Ameri-  
 can revolution in his pamphlet entitled Why Communism?  
 He wrote: "Workers stop work, many of them seize arms  
 by attacking arsenals. Many had armed themselves before  
 as the struggles sharpened. Street fights became fre-  
 quent. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the  
 workers organize Revolutionary Committees to be in com-  
 mand of the uprising. There are battles in the principal  
 cities. Barricades are built and defended. The work-

57. Goff, op. cit., p. 20.

58. Browder, Earl, op. cit., p. 125.

59. New York Sun, (10-12-40).

60. Ibid., (11-28-40).

ers' fighting has a decisive influence with the soldiers, the workers, and the marines. The movement among the soldiers and marines spreads. Capitalism is losing its strongest weapon, the army. The police as a rule continue fighting, but they are soon silenced and made to flee by the united revolutionary forces of workers and soldiers. The revolution is victorious. Armed workers and soldiers and marines seize the principal government offices, invade the residence of the president and his cabinet members, arrest them, declare the old regime abolished, establish their own power, the power of the workers and farmers.<sup>61</sup>

In accord with Communist doctrine and in keeping with the published statements of their own leaders, and in view of their revolutionary agitation the world over, it is only right to conclude that Communism is also anti-Christian, endeavoring to destroy existing institutions and supplanting them with the Communist way of life.

#### 4) Communists promote hatred

I have mentioned and illustrated with examples how Communists are fanatical in their hatred of whoever opposes them. In their books and pamphlets religion is a frequent target for attack, and in Russia and other parts of Europe Christians have experienced the full fury of that

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61. Comments on Communists and Communism, p. 39.

hatred in Siberian concentration camps and government-sponsored pogroms. Communists are schooled in hatred. Lounatcharski, once commissioner for education in Russia, expressed Communism's hatred of the Christian: "We hate Christians. Even the best of them must be regarded as our worst enemies. They preach love and pity for one's neighbor which is contrary to our principles. Christian love is a hindrance to the development of the revolution. Down with love of one's neighbor! What we want is hatred! We must know how to hate, for only at this price can we conquer the universe. We have done with the kings of the earth, let us now deal with the kings of the skies. All religions are poison. They intoxicate and deaden the mind, the will, the conscience. A fight to the death must be declared upon all religions. Our task is to destroy all kinds of religion, all kinds of morality."

A favorite device used by Communists in this country is the familiar "divide and conquer" strategy. Their hatred of "capitalists," their endeavor to pit class against class is common knowledge from their writings. They have attracted the "dregs" of society. Hate mongers have stirred up every frustrated and persecuted group. They have been particularly successful in arousing hysterical

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62. Quoted in The Lutheran Standard, (12-29-34).

63

Jews against anti-Communist crusaders. The Protestant deliberately aggravates the breach in Christendom between Catholics and non-Catholics. In our own circles we are usually blinded to the threat of Communism by a Catholic-phobia, viewing with suspicion the opposition of the Pope and the Roman Church to Marxism.

64

Communists have been quick to exploit the racial tension between black and white in our country. The New Masses for September, 1930, reports that fifteen negro workers

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63. The majority of anti-Communist periodicals are likewise anti-Jewish. Is this necessarily "Jew-baiting?" Marx happened to be an apostate Jew, but it would be a mistake to infer that all Jews are Communists. In 1935, Rabbi Herbert S. Goldstein declared: "Communism is the world's Public Enemy No. 1. It is contrary to the philosophy of the Jew, and it is our greatest enemy because it preaches the destruction of religion." The Modern View for February 15, 1940, contains a statement signed by all the prominent Jewish organizations in the United States insisting that "Communism is just as contradictory to Judaism as it is to Christianity." None the less, we find that Jews occupy a prominent position in the Communist movement, if not the dominant one. Elizabeth Dilling charges a Jewish persecution of Christians. The Sentinel, Chicago's Anglo-Jewish weekly, accuses Gerald L. K. Smith of plotting Chicago riots.

Jewish persecution complex is especially sensitive when the charge of Hitlerite or Fascist is levelled against an anti-Communist. The Anti-Defamation League is one Jewish organization which has spent thousands of dollars to curb any opponent of Communism who dares to use the word "Jew." This helps explain the Jewish antipathy to the America First Party.

64. Cf. Pope Leo XIII's encyclical letter on "The Condition of Labor" in 1891, and Pope Pius XI on "Atheistic Communism" in 1937. Ryan, Rt. Rev. John A., American Democracy against Racism, and Feely, Raymond, S. J., Communism Today or Red Fascism. (All published by the Paulist Press). The Knights of Columbus have recently been placing full-page advertisements in city newspapers: "Shall We Help the Communists to Crucify Christ in Spain", and "The Soviet War on Religion."

were lynched that year, and displays the portrait of a colored man crying out in anguish as he is being burned alive.<sup>65</sup> In 1940 Philip Randolph, president of the National Negro Congress, refused re-election because of his opposition to receiving money from the Communist Party and unions affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Negroes who resent discrimination against their race are apt to join the Communist Party which promises them full equality.<sup>66</sup> It is relatively easy to arouse class hatred and urge open revolt among a people already persecuted and disgruntled.

5) Communist Tactics---  
Duplicity and Deception

On the one hand, Communists have openly proclaimed their hostility to religion and their aim to overthrow every "bourgeois" government. On the other hand, they are willing to stoop to any and every means to achieve this end---no matter how vile and contemptible it may be. The unscrupulous contrivances of Communists have deflected many public officials, educators, and prominent churchmen from their real intent and purpose.

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65. Headlines are reprinted such as: "Masked Mob Drags Negro from Jail and Shoots Him to Death"; "Kill Negro and Burn His Body"; "Texas Lynchers Burn 3 Blocks of Negro Homes"; "Roast Man to Death, Drag Body by Auto and Hang it."

The Daily Worker (4-7-30) reports that "U. S. Dick Kills an Anti-Fascist Worker at Peaceful Meeting", "Lynch Negro Worker in Georgia". Cf. "Negro Red Stirs Lynch Bill Hearing", New York Times, (3-6-40).



One way in which they have deflected the imprudent and the unwary is by parading under false colors. Before our alliance with "Red" Russia, Communism became exceedingly unpopular in our country, and her leaders saw that it would be to her advantage to change the names of Communist organizations. The Young Communist League dissolved and became part of "American Youth for Democracy."<sup>67</sup> With its true character camouflaged it remains a perfect booby trap for innocent youth.

It suddenly became popular to speak of Communism as American democracy. We are supposed to believe that George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln<sup>68</sup> were the forerunners of the Communist Party which, after all, is only the blossoming forth of "20th Century Americanism."<sup>69</sup> Thomas Paine is selected as a Father of

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James W. Ford, a negro, ran for vice-president of the United States on the Communist ticket with Earl Browder.

66. Even inter-marriage is not discouraged by Communists. Cf. National Republic, p. 3-25.

67. Dust Off Your Dreams is a Dec. 1945, publication of the American Youth For Democracy. Masterfully written and filled with half-truths, it is easy to see how it can be a snare to unsuspecting young people. Cf. The Detroit Times, (9-24-43): "Under its new makeup, the outfit that now calls itself the Young Communist League will strive to create a 'new, broad, anti-Fascist Youth organization' by cooperating with non-Communist youth groups in religious, educational, athletic, social, and other fields. (Based on statements from Communist publications at the time). Cf. also New York Journal-American, editorial page, (9-23-43).

68. Cf. 4 volumes on "Builders of the American Nation", and "Voices of America", and "Walt Whitman: Poet of the American Democracy" with introductory essays by Communist authors. All found in the 1945 book list of the International Publishers.

69. Cf. "20th Century Americanism" printed by the Tribune, (11-28-35).

the American Republic, especially to be admired.

"The Friends of Democracy, Inc." ask us to suspect many a good American of being a "Fascist," but are significantly silent when it comes to the question of Communism. These are the character assassins who publish Propaganda Battlefront, and attempted to smear the reputation of Dr. Walter A. Maier, calling him a pro-Fascist and an anti-Semitic. The frontispiece of The Walther League Messenger is reprinted as "a devout-looking cover" hiding Maier's defeatism and America First Party sympathies. Under Cover by Roy Carlson <sup>70</sup> questions the patriotism of every pre-war "isolationist", many anti-New Dealers, and anti-Communists. Among the Americans whom he wants to smirch and befoul are Henry Ford, Charles Lindbergh, Father Coughlin, and Senators Nye, La Follette, Taft, Wheeler, Dies, Fish, and Reynolds. <sup>71</sup> When Father Arthur W. Terminiello was suspended by his bishop in Alabama for declining to cease his political activities he charged that he was a victim of the same concerted smear campaign. <sup>72</sup>

Lenin admits that his pamphlet on Imperialism was written in 1916 "with an eye to the czarist censorship."

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Communist Party in 1936. On one page it pleads for "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," while on another it instigates violence and hatred in demanding that capitalists be compelled to share their wealth.

<sup>70</sup>. His real name is Avedis Arthur Derounian. Born in Armenia.

<sup>71</sup>. This book was at one time sold by Concordia Publishing House.

<sup>72</sup>. Cf. The Crusader which he edits, and The Chicago Tribune, (11-28-45).

and so he suggests in his preface to the French and German editions that they make temporary concessions to legality to avoid the wholesale arrest of Party members which would only inhibit their own cause: "To a certain extent it will be useful for many Communists in advanced capitalist countries to convince themselves by the example of this pamphlet, legal from the standpoint of the czarist censor, of the possibility---and necessity---of making use of even the slight remnants of legality which still remain at the disposal of the Communists, say, in contemporary America or France." <sup>73</sup>

In Lenin's Left-Wing Communism these methods are more fully described: "It is necessary to be able to agree to any and every sacrifice, and even---if need be---to resort to all sorts of devices, manoeuvres, and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuge, in order to penetrate into the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work in them at all costs." <sup>74</sup>

Yaroslavsky had said: "What ever helps the proletarian revolution is ethical," and Stalin tells explicitly what is meant: "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 con-

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73. P. 9.

74. Quoted in Comments on Communists and Communism, p. 33.

cealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron."<sup>75</sup>

Whispering Reds, spreading false rumors about impending bank failures, hastened their collapse in the years just prior to 1931.<sup>76</sup> Late in 1940 Swiss Communists were issued these confidential instructions by Moscow: "Party members are to continue to work for control of trade unions. Systematic whispering campaigns are to be substituted for the distribution of leaflets in the army. In civilian gatherings, discussions of the troubled international situation, the growing menace of Fascism, and the success of Russia's 'peaceful' foreign policy are to be started and encouraged. Agitation for the distribution of military food reserves among civilians is to be stirred up."<sup>77</sup>

Lewis Mumford, Left Wing editor and author, writes in his book The Condition of Man: "Wherever official Communism penetrated, its tactics had only one aim: to seize power and hold it; and no lies, brutalities, frauds, defamations or self-contradictions stood in the way of this aim. Espionage, punishment without open trial, secret imprisonment in remote concentration camps or equally secret death, forced labor, the suppression of free

75. Quoted from Communism Today or Red Fascism, p. 9.

76. The Literary Digest, (1-10-31).

77. It is safe to assume that similar orders were dispatched to other countries.

speech and rational political alternatives, the creation of an official ruling class almost as remote from the masses as the capitalists and bureaucrats they supplanted, the complete centralization of economic power---all these new attributes of Communism (in Russia) helped betray its original aims." <sup>78</sup>

Here we find flagrant and patent violations particularly of the fifth, seventh, and eighth commandments of the Decalogue---Still another reason why Communism is immoral---and that, in both theory and practice.

6) Communism deprecates the sacred family tie

In his new book Socialism and Ethics the Communist philosopher, Howard Selsam, outlines the Marxist approach to morals: "First, ethics is a human creation, a reflection in consciousness of the needs and desires, hopes, and aspirations, of actual men. Second, this reflection arises always out of the concrete material conditions of human life.....Third, moral conceptions change as the material conditions of life, the forces of production and the productive relations, change, and can at no time be higher than the economic structure.....Fourth, in a society divided into conflicting economic classes, moral conceptions reflect class divisions and become either justifi-

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78. Comments on Communists and Communism, p. 11.

cations for existing economic relations or demands for change in these relations. Fifth, a demand for a change in economic relations is the demand for the transfer of economic and political power from one class to another, and the moral justification of such a demand lies in the claim of this second class better to control and administer the productive forces in the interests of society in general. Sixth, such concepts as good, right, justice, and the like must derive their meaning, on the basis of the above propositions, from the actual life conditions of men in society at any given time.....Finally,..... ethics is a social phenomenon, having no meaning for an isolated individual."

79

Christians can well imagine what has happened wherever these theories were accepted. Already in the days of Marx and Engels Communists were charged with degrading the moral standard of the workers whom they recruited in their movement. The Manifesto vigorously denies that this is their objective, but their words betray the fallacy of the theory they propound: "Abolition of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Communists. On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family based? On capital, on private gain.....The bourgeois family will

vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing capital."<sup>80</sup>

Engels lived in a free union with an Irish working-class girl, and was sardonically rebuked by Marx for displaying any emotion over her death.<sup>81</sup> Marx's own daughter, Eleanor, had an unhappy free love affair, and ended her life a suicide.<sup>82</sup>

Lenin told the Young Communist League in what sense he denied moral concepts: "In the sense in which they are preached by the bourgeoisie which deduces these morals from god's commandments. Of course, we say that we do not believe in god.....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 of the proletariat."<sup>83</sup> Lenin was not personally an advocate of unrestrained sexual freedom, but he was obliged to deplore the fact that his adherents were putting the satisfaction of their biological desires on the same level as drinking a glass of water. The only argument which he can muster in defense of chastity is that in love two lives are involved, and a third, a new life, arises to give marriage a social interest with a community responsibility.

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80. Pp. 26. 27.

81. Ruehle, op. cit., p. 225.

82. Ibid., p. 361.

83. C. F. Lenin, Religion

The Marxian conception of the family is predicated upon the evolutionary hypothesis. The line of reasoning is that the present-day family, like all other human institutions, evolved in the course of man's development. Basic is the discovery that some form of family relation exists among all known peoples. Engels distinguishes three principal forms of marriage corresponding to the three stages of human development: "For the period of savagery, group marriage; for barbarism, pairing marriage; for civilization, monogamy, supplemented by adultery and prostitution." <sup>84</sup> He held that the final victory of the monogamous family is one of the signs of the beginning of civilization, and that it is founded on male supremacy for the purpose of breeding children of undisputed paternal lineage for the inheritance of the father's property. Monogamy is not a fruit of individual sex-love, but is the subjugation of one sex by another, coinciding with class divisions. Engels hails <sup>85</sup> Morgan's statement: "Should the monogian family in the distant future fail to answer the requirements of society .....it is impossible to predict the nature of its successor," and is frank to admit that he does not regard marriage as indissoluble. "The intense emotion of individual sex-love," he says, "varies very much in duration

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84. Engels, Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State, p. 66. Written in 1891.

85. Anthropologist, author of Ancient Society, 1877.



from one individual to another, especially among men, and if affection definitely comes to an end or is supplanted by a new passionate love, separation is a benefit for both partners as well as for society---only people will then be spared having to wade through the useless mire of a divorce case." The ruling proletariat "will care precious little what anybody today thinks they ought to do; they will make their own practice and their corresponding public opinion about the practice of each individual---and that will be the end of it."<sup>86</sup>

To learn how Communist theory works itself out in practice we are directed to "ideal" Russia by Earl Browder and Socialist-minded churchman.....Howard Selsam, director of the Jefferson School of Social Science, to whom I have already referred, does not even attempt to disguise the low standard of morality in the Soviet Union. He writes (1945): "Marriage ceases to be a sacrament and becomes a relation of two human beings based on love and equality (?). It may be formalized by registration or not, but in either case the partners are equally responsible before society for their offspring. Divorce is similarly a social function, discouraged by mild economic sanctions, and socially disapproved if hasty, careless, or too often repeated. Relations of the sexes outside of

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86. Engels, op. cit., p. 73.

marriage or the establishment of a common habitation are matters of individual choice, except for widespread and deep-seated social disapproval, infidelity, promiscuity, too youthful infatuation, and the like."<sup>87</sup> Radically-minded modernists may call these ideas "the ethics of Christianity," but surely every Lutheran Christian will readily perceive in them an almost subtle, but nevertheless deadly menace to Scripture teaching.

A minister of the Christian Church claims that "the godless tyrants of Russia have ushered in the most gigantic orgy of licensed sensuality and dissipation in the annals of men. All of the old standards of home, marriage and morality have gone down before the onslaughts of these apostles of hell. Home in Russia is no longer the nursery of morals.....Love is more than free and the State provides abortion at almost the same rates."<sup>88</sup> For a while sex ran such a riot among the Communist youth that the Commissar of Health admitted that venereal disease "had reached the proportions of a terrible plague."<sup>89</sup> An American observer tells of how "couples may simply live together or register quickly as married or divorced by payment of a ruble."<sup>90</sup> In the wake of victory on the Eastern front last year and right up to the present day

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87. Selsam, op. cit., p. 159.

88. L. Peres Buroker in National Republic, p. 18. n.d.

89. Saturday Evening Post, (1-21-33).

90. Elizabeth Dilling in The Red Network, p. 10.

scores of newspaper and magazine articles bring the stories of rape, pillage, and wholesale slaughter of defenseless civilians.<sup>91</sup>

The moral record of the Communist Party in the United States is also one of dissipation and free love among the youth. Ex-Communist Gitlow relates that

"the matter of drunkenness among the staff of the Daily Worker and among Communist leaders generally, who made asses of themselves in public, was the subject of several plenums in the Central Executive Committee.....Something had to be done. But what to do concretely to remedy this situation was never proposed, because some of us felt that it would raise in the Party the issue of personal morals, something the Party could not afford to have aired. At important Party affairs Party leaders, Party members and members of the Young Communist League became so drunk, so abusive and so vulgar in speech that drunken brawls took place.....The young people often joined the Party in opposition to their parents.....A member of the Young Workers League soon became so engrossed in the life of the League and the Party that he cut loose from all family ties.....They broke with their families because the family was a bourgeois institution which stood in the way of their Communist activities. Many completely divorced themselves from their parents.....Loose morals were general. Party leaders changed their wives sometimes as often as one does an overcoat..... If a young girl who joined the Communist youth organization insisted upon maintaining her chastity she was frowned upon as bourgeois by the self-styled revolutionists who had just emerged from their knee-breeches. Many of the young Communists considered the giving up of one's chastity as a mark of distinction.....The orgies and debaucheries among the youth were spoken about in whispers in the Party, never seriously discussed and considered.....Though dedicated to the task of bettering the world through Communism, the Communist Party is as amoral and immoral in its practicality as any organization of racketeers." 92

Another ex-Communist reconverted to Christianity

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91. Especially in Manchuria, Poland, the Baltic States, and in the initial assault on Eastern Germany.

92. Gitlow, op. cit., pp. 313, 315-318.

describes the meetings of the Young Communist League:

"Members are allowed to indulge in free love. Both negro and white youth unite in these sexual orgies, and if a white girl refuses the advances of a negro comrade, she is disciplined by the Party for white chauvinism. Many times adult members of the Party take advantage of these younger girls in the League.....Many girls soon learn that their bodies can be used in recruiting members for the Party. A girl will strike up an acquaintance with a young man and after she has him under the influence of liquor, offers to barter her body in return for his membership in the Party." 93

The account published in the Kansas City Star November 1, 1940, reported on the trial of Commonwealth College located near Mena, Arkansas. Radical Communists were successful in ousting Dr. Zeuch, the Quaker minister who originally directed the school. Free love was advocated by the instructors and practiced by the students, and during the summer Commonwealth was a nudist colony. They were found guilty on three scores: 1) Seeking to overthrow the United States Government by force of arms; 2) Displaying Russian emblems; and 3) Unwillingness to display the United States flag. Appeals to the Circuit Court and Supreme Court upheld the decision of the Mena courts to confiscate their personal property and to impose fines of up to \$5,000.

The cold intellectual disdain for Christian morality which characterized Marx has been the poisonous seed which is yielding a bitter harvest of gross sensuality

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93. Goff, op. cit.,

among Communists today. Distressingly enough, this odious cancer has eaten its way into nearly every phase of our life, not excluding the Church.

### C. Communism Destroys the Freedom of the Individual

The Marxian Socialist claims to have discovered the true meaning of liberty. For that reason, he insists that he is a real American, only to a more advanced degree. He considers Lincoln, the Great Emancipator, to be one of the progenitors of his mode ~~and~~<sup>of</sup> thought. As might be expected, he will explain the contradictory definitions of freedom as the reflection of class distinctions. According to Engels "each step forward in civilization was a step towards freedom."<sup>94</sup> The political freedom expounded in our "Declaration of Independence" was only an intermediate step in the attainment of a fuller freedom. Complete freedom can only be realized when the productive forces have reached the point where the basic needs of all men are satisfied. "The development of human powers as an end in itself!"--- this is the Socialist ideal! Liberty for the individual can only be understood in terms of pure materialism. Marx made the shortening of the working day its basic premise. "The Marxian conception of freedom.....includes every great ethical ideal of the past, in so far as it was this-worldly and not other-worldly. And still it differs from every

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94. Selsam, op. cit., p. 197. Quoted from Anti-Duehring.

preceding statement of man's goal by basing itself solidly on man's mastery of nature, of the material conditions of his life."

This conception of freedom has presumably been applied in the Soviet Union. How the most barbaric dictatorship of modern times can be said to be the exemplification of genuine freedom is an enigma. The gory Russian record of murder and torture forms a sordid page in the history of well over a quarter of a century. The mass starvation of five million peasants in the Ukraine in the winter of 1932 is only one instance of how Stalin out-

<sup>96</sup>Hitlered Hitler. Max Eastman reported in 1937 that there was in Russia "a concentration of political power and privilege in the hands of a bureaucratic cast, supporting an autocrat more ruthless than the czars had <sup>97</sup>been."

This is not the sort of "freedom" which American Christians cherish---a propagandist education designed to make the youth Communist-minded, a government controlled press which inculcates atheism, and compulsory military training, where "intellectual freedom is most <sup>98</sup>emphatically not one of the objectives of the system."

When Communists assert that the life of each man should be devoted to the service of a supra-personal pur-

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95. Ibid., p. 203.  
96. Cf. the writings of Eugene Lyons.  
97. Horsch, Communism, p. 19.  
98. Spinka, op. cit., p. 95.

pose, not the service of the individual, but the service of the great whole, they would seem to be in full agreement with Christianity, but the fallacy is easily detected. At the same time, they propose to set up the dictatorship of the proletariat which will coerce the unwilling into conformity. So they are guilty of another half-truth. They deny the independent worth and value of each human person and of his spiritual freedom. In Russian Communism man has been reduced to a mere tool in the hands of the State. Life is cheap. The tyranny of the czars has been superseded by the tyranny of Stalin and his henchmen. "The really important thing is that now the Russian Communists represent the Government. The State is in their hands, and this State belongs to the period of dictatorship, a dictatorship of world view, a dictatorship which is not only political and economic, but also intellectual, a dictatorship over spirit, conscience and thought.....This state of affairs is an ideocracy." <sup>99</sup> "A Communist society and state profess to be totalitarian; but only the kingdom of God can be totalitarian; the kingdom of Caesar is always partial. For Communism, Caesar's kingdom becomes God's---exactly as in German national socialism, only more consistently and radically." <sup>100</sup>

<sup>99</sup>. Berdyaev, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

<sup>100</sup>. *Ibid.*, pp. 185. 186.

"The Soviet constitution, which separated the Church from the State and proclaimed freedom of conscience, has no meaning whatever. Coercion is not only a matter of practice, it enters into the theoretical world outlook of Communism; it is part of its teaching.....According to its own ideas Communism desires the existence not only of righteousness but also of brotherhood in human relations---a Communism among men, but it is absurd and ridiculous to suppose that the brotherhood of man can be realized by the external coercion of social regimentation."<sup>101</sup>

Communism makes of man only a brick in the structure of society. "Man is deprived of the measurement of depth; he is turned into a flat two-dimensional being.....If man wholly relegated to the time process, if nothing of eternity and for eternity exists for him.....then the image of man cannot be preserved.....man loses his interior existence; human life is dehuman-

ized."<sup>102</sup> Communism holds that human personality is merely a myth that must be eradicated, but "it is only a philosophy which recognizes the spirituality of man's soul that can preserve the freedom of personality. For only such a philosophy sees in man something which transcends the material something which no authority dare enslave in the interests of any material good."<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Berdyaev, op. cit., pp. 203. 207.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., p. 222.

<sup>103</sup> McFadden, C. J., The Philosophy of Communism, pl 328.



As we look back in retrospect upon all experiments in communal living from primitive times up to, and including, modern Russia, we are convinced that private ownership of property and personal freedom are mutually supplementary. If the community controls the means of subsistence, the individual is at the mercy of those who control the community. To treat private property as a theft is anti-Scriptural and lowers the level of moral stature by abridging freedom and the exercise of stewardship. Pope Leo XIII was correct when he said that "The state must not absorb the individual or the family; both should be allowed free and untrammelled action as far as it is consistent with the common good and the interests of others."<sup>104</sup> Pope Pius XI reiterated the proclamation of his predecessor, and added that the new gospel of Bolshevistic and Atheistic Communism "subverts the social order, because it means the destruction of its foundations; because it ignores the true origin and purpose of the state; because it denies the rights, dignity and liberty of human personality."<sup>105</sup> The winner of the 1945 Pulitzer Prize, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., remarks that the Communist Party in our country exercises "an intensive personal supervision which can only be duplicated in a religious order or in a police state.....

<sup>106.</sup> Life, (7-29-46).

104. Five Great Encyclicals, p. 17.

105. Ibid., p. 182.

Most members accept this all-encompassing control. In the end, they become so involved socially and psychologically that the threat of expulsion strikes them as excommunication would a devout Catholic."

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The world. Peter said...  
"Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people."  
position demands a corresponding obligation...  
the earth, and...  
shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.

This was the...  
They have fallen...  
cause for the... of their...  
It is true that...

It is true that...  
with the factor of...  
fallibility of the...  
Sin has no place...  
ians. The only...  
by another.

However, "Christians...  
their godlessness...  
lay the whole...  
they must assign...

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106. Life, (9-29-46).

- 1. Matt. 5:14
- 2. 1 Pet. 2:9
- 3. Matt. 5:16

## VI The Indictment Against the Church

In His Sermon on the Mount Jesus told His audience: "Ye are the salt of the earth," and "ye are the light of the world."<sup>1</sup> Peter told the Christians in Asia Minor: "Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people."<sup>2</sup> Such a unique and privileged position demands a corresponding obligation---to "salt" the earth, and scatter the "light." "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven."<sup>3</sup>

This was the standard set for Christians by the Savior. They have fallen woefully short of the mark, and often given cause for the criticism of their enemies.

It is true that Marx and his cohorts do not reckon with the factor of human imperfection, and the unavoidable fallibility of the Church as an historical institution. Sin has no place in explaining the shortcomings of Christians. The only sin for Marx is the oppression of one class by another.

However, "Christians, who condemn the Communists for their godlessness and anti-religious persecutions, cannot lay the whole blame solely upon these godless Communists; they must assign part of the blame to themselves, and that

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1. Matt. 5, 13.  
2. I Pet. 2, 9.  
3. Matt. 5, 16.

a considerable part. They must be not only accusers and judges; they must also be penitents. Have Christians done very much for the realization of Christian justice in social life? Have they striven to realize the brotherhood of man without that hatred and violence of which they accuse the Communists? The sins of Christians, the sins of the historical Churches have been very great, and these sins bring with them their just punishment. Betrayal of the covenant of Christ, the use of the Christian Church for the support of the ruling classes, human weakness being what it is, cannot but bring about the lapse from Christianity of those who are compelled to suffer from that betrayal and from such a distortion of Christianity.....The falsity of the Communist spirit and of its spiritual servitude can be condemned only by those Christians who cannot be suspected of defending the interests of the bourgeois capitalist world." <sup>4</sup> Such is true at least while ignoring the misery of the oppressed masses.

The Russian Church is a typical case in point. The symbolical character of the services tended to lay the emphasis upon getting away from this world. Almost from the beginning the Church became identified with Russian nationalism in opposition to the surrounding peoples. Then the great schism in the seventeenth century deprived the

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4. Berdyaev, op. cit., pp. 207. 225.

5. Quoted in *...*

Church of some of her strongest elements, and she became a docile tool in the hands of the czars. Julius Frederick Hecker says in his Religion and Communism: "The unholy alliance of Church and State in Russia had much to do with the progressive paralysis of the Church and its present impotence.....The Christianizing of the Russian people..... went on under the direct initiative of the ruling princes, and from the very beginning the Church leaned upon the strong arm of the State. At times in Russian history the throne has been empty or has been occupied by a weakling, and on these occasions the Church took over the rudder of State-----Throughout these vicissitudes of the Russian Church and State there was never any separation between the two; but, generally speaking, the state grew stronger and in the early eighteenth century, brought the Church completely under its domination, making it practically a department of State, something of a police force over the consciences of the people." <sup>5</sup> among their members.

When the Romanovs came to the throne in 1613, the Church participated in the election, and the czar was said to have been chosen by God. A "balance of power" between Church and State prevailed until broken by Peter the Great who abolished the patriarchate and appointed a lay procurator over the newly organized Holy Synod. From that time on, the czars often used the Church as a rubber stamp in

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5. Quoted in Liberty, p. 15. First Quarter, 1945.

6. Rehwinkel, The World Today, p. 42.

sanctioning governmental policies. Little was done to alleviate the grievances of the peasantry. The Church condoned the sins of the nobility and salved the wounds of the suffering masses by pointing them heavenward to the future life. Many times, the peasant's understanding of the doctrines of sin and grace was obscured by the veneration of icons and other superstitious practices.

By accepting government favors and subsidies the Russian Church lost its independence and freedom of action in spiritual functions. By the seventeenth century the Church owned one-third of all the land in Russia and thousands of peasant serfs. The Orthodox Church became inflexible and almost petrified, so that her influence upon the people lessened, and the Russian Marxists could accuse her with considerable justification. After the Bolsheviki seized control of the government they could point to the record of the Church, and succeed in stimulating a militant atheism among their members.

This same indictment can be applied to the Church in France prior to the Revolution. Before 1789 "approximately 30,000 families plus the clergy, including the monks and nuns, enjoyed all the privileges, social and economic and had all the power, while the peasants and the working people lived in misery and poverty and bore the burden of the taxes to make possible the ruthless extravagance of the classes that oppressed them."<sup>6</sup>

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6. Rehwinkel, The World Today, p. 42.

When the industrial revolution forced the masses into factory servitude the Church turned a deaf ear to the wailings of the working class. Pastors were economically secure because their salaries were paid by the State and they failed to take cognizance of prevalent social sins. Churchmen had no sympathy for the labor movement, and it fell into anti-Christian hands. Small wonder that the Church was accused of being only a bourgeois instrument of exploitation. This explains why Marx was so embittered against religion that he wrote this scathing indictment of the Church: "The social principles of Christianity have now had eighteen hundred years for their development, and.....find justifications for the slavery of classical days, extol mediaeval serfdom, and are ready in case of need to defend the oppression of the proletariat.....The social principles of Christianity preach the need for a dominant and an oppressed class, expressing the pious hope that the former will deal kindly with the latter. The social principles of Christianity declare that all infamies will be spiritually compensated in heaven, the assertion being made a justification for the continuance of these infamies on earth. According to the social principles of Christianity, all the misdeeds wrought by the oppressors on the oppressed, are either a just punishment for original sin and other sins, or else are trials which the Lord in His wisdom sends to afflict the redeemed. The

social principles of Christianity preach cowardice, self-contempt, abasement, subjection, humility....."<sup>7</sup>

Engels carried this same misconception of Christianity over into his moral theorise: "We maintain that all former moral theories are the product, in the last analysis, of the economic stage which society had reached at the particular epoch. And as society has hitherto moved in class antagonism, morality was also a class morality; it has either justified the domination and interest of the ruling class, or, as soon as the oppressed class has become powerful enough, it has represented the revolt against this domination and the future interests of the oppressed."<sup>8</sup>

Lenin followed Marx in condemning Christianity because it lulled the exploited worker into a passive acceptance of his unjust lot: "Religion teaches those who toil in poverty all their lives to be resigned and patient in this world, and consoles them with the hope of reward in heaven. As for those who live upon the labor of others, religion teaches them to be 'charitable'--- thus providing a justification for exploitation and, as it were, also a cheap ticket to heaven.....What a profitable faith it is for the governing classes! In a society so organized that an insignificant minority en-

7. Ruehle, op. cit., pp. 121. 122.

8. Quoted from Anti-Duehring by LeRossignol, op. cit., p. 131.



joys wealth and power, while the masses constantly suffer 'deprivation' and bear 'severe obligation,' it is quite natural for the exploiters to sympathize with a religion that teaches us to bear 'uncomplainingly' the woes of hell on earth, in the hope of an alleged paradise in the skies."

The Lutheran Church in America cannot plead innocence. As long as it was feasible we kept aloof from the labor problem, maintaining that it was outside the province of the Church. In 1913 Rauschenbusch could write in his book, Christianizing the Social Order, that among the denominations who have not yet awakened are the Lutherans who

"have beautiful institutional charities, but it is hard to discern any trace that as a body they are sharing in the new social enthusiasm. Large portions of them are isolated by their use of the German and Scandinavian languages. They have kept aloof from some of the older moral enthusiasms of American Christendom. They rank third in point of numbers among the Protestant bodies and claim more than two million members, but they have never exercised the influence in public life to which their members, the splendid qualities of their Teutonic stock, and the ability of their leaders would have entitled them. Their ministry is faithful to the older doctrinal issues of the Reformation and declines on principle to let the Church concern itself with social questions. They hold that the Church should preach the Gospel, administer the sacraments, and leave it to the individual to do his duty in society and the State. The largest and most conservative of the Lutheran bodies, the Missouri Synod, even declines as a Church to organize institutions of charity, leaving it to associations of individuals outside of the Church. 'The real business of the Church is to preach the Gospel. It is not the mission of the Church to abolish physical misery or to help men to earthly happiness. Jesus says, If any man will follow me, let him deny himself and take up his cross daily.' In theory this position leaves individuals free

9. Quoted by Spinka, Christianity Confronts Communism  
pp. 159. 160.

for Christianizing activity in society; in practice it leaves them unstimulated, uninstructed and even sterilized against social enthusiasms. American Lutheranism might have rendered a great service to social Christianity in America by transmitting to us the mature results of social experience and thought of the German Church, just as the Episcopalians have transmitted the impulse of the Anglican Church. But thus far Lutheranism has buried its ten talents in a tablecloth of dogmatic theory and kept its people from that share in the social awakening which is their duty and right." 10

Communism presumes to outlaw war. Lenin wrote a critique of Imperialism in which he charged that capitalism had placed the wealth of the world into the hands of only a few powerful states who could use the weapons of modern warfare to enslave and exploit their colonial empires.

Again, the Church declined to protest. Today, while Communist publications continue to lash out against "capitalist" warmongers, and millions die in recurrent wars of aggression, the Church as a whole remains unmoved and indifferent. Jerome Davis, well-known economist, accuses the churches of unwittingly worshipping the false gods of nationalism and materialism, 11 He quotes Dr. Abrams' Preachers Present Arms: "Our society based upon book-keeping economy and the sacred right of private profits has been blessed and upheld by the churches as well as by the bankers and big business.....Being part and parcel of the whole acquisitive society, it was inevitable that,

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10. P. 24.

11. Capitalism and our Culture, (Farrar and Rinehart), New York, 1935.

during the war, the churches should have conformed in their judgment and should have been controlled by the will of the vested interests." <sup>12</sup> Dr. Abram concludes that in time of war hysteria religious people behave no differently from others. Although they claim to be the followers of Jesus, he says, they conform to the pressure of public opinion and adopt the pronouncements of congress and president as the divinely ordained decrees of God Almighty, regardless of how they may be in conflict with Christian principles.

The well-known British Marxist, Harold J. Laski, argues that we need a new source of values since the Christian ethic in operation "has accommodated itself to slavery at its ugliest, to capitalism in its most ruthless form, to every war that has been waged since Constantine made Christianity the official religion of the Empire." <sup>13</sup> When we think back upon the global conflict, only recently ended, we must admit that the Lutheran Church in the United States stands in the same condemnation.

Little or no effort was made to inquire into the justice of the policy which our administration in Washington pursued prior to, and during, the conflict. <sup>14</sup> As a Church we remained passive and hastened to conform with public opinion. We bent over backwards in our eagerness to guard

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12. Ibid., p. 392.  
 13. Faith, Reason, and Civilization, p. 123.  
 14. E. g., American imperialism in the Orient, violations of neutrality, Lend-Lease, etc.

against suspicions of disloyalty. We lauded the triumph of American arms. <sup>Too often</sup> We prayed selfishly for victory and not enough for international righteousness. There were <sup>too few</sup> protesting voices heard in our midst when the atomic bomb was dropped. While "liberal" Christianity shuddered with horror over the "saturation" bombings, mass starvation in Europe, and the use of war prisoners as slave labor, Lutherans remained silent. We seemed to see in Pearl Harbor <sup>15</sup> the termination of the fifth commandment. We were vociferous in condemning German Church leaders for not taking a stand against Nazism, but we were slow to recognize our own national sins.

Berdyayev joins in the castigation of the Church on its failure to take a stand against war: "It is difficult to understand those Christians who consider that revolution is not permissible because of its violence and bloodshed, and at the same time regard war as wholly permissible and morally justifiable. War produces still more violence and sheds still more blood. Revolution, with its use of force and its bloodshed, is a sin, but war is <sup>16</sup> a sin also, often a greater sin than revolution."

15. Cf. Flynn, J. T., The Truth about Pearl Harbor. Cf. minority report of the Congressional Investigating Committee.

16. Berdyayev, op. cit., p. 156.

writing about what can be done to eliminate racial prejudices and racial barriers. Christians who profess to love all men as brothers in Christ have the remedy in their possession, but have been slow and reluctant in making the application to our national life. Atheistic Communist long ago began to "preach" against racial discrimination. The Daily Worker has supported every congressional attempt to further the negro cause.

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17. Flynn, Elizabeth Gurley, Meet the Communists, pp. 17. 18. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn makes this emotional appeal to the Negro: "We are especially inviting Negro Americans, men and women, who are deeply and justifiably stirred against segregation, discrimination, lynching and violence--North and South. They will find their efforts to wipe out Jim Crow and to attain full democracy shared by every Communist.....Any illusions that the winning of the war would automatically carry with it the complete equal rights of Negro Americans has proved to be a will-o'-the-wisp....."

"Capitalist America is now saying to our Negro citizens: 'Go back to the kitchen, back to the porters' jobs, back to the mops and pails; back to the unskilled, underpaid, overworked, dirty, menial jobs; back to the plantations, back to share-cropping.....'"

"The Communist Party fights all such disgraceful Jim Crow practices.....Unity of black and white workers and all other liberty-loving people is one of the main objectives of the Communist Party.....We plan to double the membership campaign."

Doxey Wilkerson, a Negro member of the National Committee of the Communist Party tells Why Negroes Are Joining the Communist Party (published by the Communist Party, March, 1946): "The Negro people want to be free---free from every form of discrimination because of race or color, free to enjoy fully the democratic rights of American citizens....." Then he points out that "Negro workers in all industries have learned by their own experiences that the Communists are their most conscious and militant allies in the organized labor movement." He ends with the ominous warning: "We will win our fight much sooner than many people think!"

In Communist assemblies white and colored intermingle freely as equals fighting for the same cause, destructive and malicious though it be: ~~but~~ while in Lutheran churches Negroes are frequently looked upon as unwelcome guests, if not barred from membership altogether.

This uhloving attitude of mind springs from a pseudo-Christianity. The St. Louis Lutheran Race Relations' Bulletin correctly maintains that "when an evangelical Christian follows the dictates of his faith he will see a most definite relation between the Kingdom of God and the race question. For this is involved in the race question: our treatment of our neighbor who has a different skin color than our own, but who is a member of the same human family. He will seek full justice and the full rights of human beings for all human beings regardless of a difference of skin color. He will be opposed to racial injustice and discrimination. He will seek opportunities to right the wrong and to maintain the right."<sup>18</sup>

Assuredly, the "salt" of Christ's teachings have not lost their "savour" as Communists and ultra-modernists would lead us to believe. The light of the Gospel still brightens up a world enmeshed in darkness. But the Church

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18. September, 1945, p. 7.

must lie prostrate in the proverbial sackcloth and ashes to confess her guilt.....while her members implore<sup>the</sup> head of the Church for new spiritual vitality to meet the social and economic challenge of the day.

Church remain silent on the most burning issues of our day. Most Christian people are asleep at the present time, and the Prince of the underworld is taking full advantage of it. Ignorance and indifference must first of all be removed---not by tirading in aimless Don Quixote fashion, but by plain, informative discussion. The Christian should not only be told that Communism is "bad," but he should learn to understand why it is "bad." Faulty thinking which assumes that the Soviet Union is a paradise on earth, or that Jesus taught Communism should be corrected by the pastor in his Waltham League, men's club, or women's guild. Communism should be labeled "Church Enemy Number One." These anti-Christian forces would not have been so successful if they had met a determined resistance on the part of those pledged to serve the Lord and fight Beelzebub. The indecision and timidity of the Church when confronted with Communism is cause for jubilation in the adversary's camp.

The Christian must learn to distinguish between a false way of life and the unfortunate people who follow that way of life. Ronaldson Fulton Sheen has said: "I hate Communism, but I love Communists." The righteous

## VII. The Cure for Communism

The essential prerequisite for combating Communism lies in being aware of the danger. Nothing is to be gained by minimizing the threat, or insisting that the Church remain silent on the most burning issue of our day. Most Christian people are asleep at the present time, and the Prince of the underworld is taking full advantage of it. Ignorance and indifference must first of all be removed---not by tirading in aimless Don Quixote fashion, but by plain, informative discussion. The Christian should not only be told that Communism is "bad," but he should learn to understand why it is "bad." Faulty thinking which assumes that the Soviet Union is a Paradise on earth, or that Jesus taught Communism should be corrected by the pastor in his Walther League, men's club, or woman's guild. Communism should be labeled "Church Enemy Number One." These anti-Christian forces would not have been so successful if they had met a determined resistance on the part of those pledged to serve the Lord and fight Beelzebub. The indecision and timidity of the Church when confronted with Communism is cause for jubilation in the adversary's camp.

The Christian must learn to distinguish between a false way of life and the unfortunate people who follow that way of life. Monsignor Fulton Sheen has said: "I hate Communism, but I love Communists." The righteous



indignation of the Christian must be levelled against the system, not the individual adherent. Our prayers directed against the menace of Communism will include a petition in behalf of Communists, pleading with the God of all grace to show them the folly of their ways---to inaugurate a change in the hearts of the rulers of Russia that would open the doors to evangelical Christianity.

Communism as well as Nazism and Fascism, cannot be abolished with carnal weapons. "Our fight is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places." <sup>1</sup> The answer to Communism certainly is not war and bloodshed. It is not force and the speech of bomb and cannon. It is not hatred and suspicion. The antidote lies elsewhere---"The answer lies in Christianity, in vital Christianity. It lies in the doctrines and the life of Jesus Christ. Let the so-called Christian nations of the world truly enthrone Him. Let them instead of talking Christianity live it." <sup>2</sup> The Christian Church must redouble its efforts to conquer the world for Christ. Our mission program must be expanded at home and abroad. The sin-saturated world cannot be set aright until the hearts of individuals are changed through the Gospel message. The Christian

in office. As loyal citizens of the United States they

1. Eph. 6, 12.

2. The Young Calvinist, August, 1945.

faith and hope must be presented in its true form to the workmen who are tempted by the glittering promises of Marxian materialism.

The means for fighting Communism on the Christian front is to be found in external cooperation with all Bible-loving groups in America; and to a limited extent even with the Roman Catholic Church. This does not imply that we close our eyes at any time to theological differences. No doctrine of Scripture is unimportant in the sense that we should overlook it, compromise it, or cease to uphold it. Nor is that necessary. However, it is a work of the devil when Christians contend vehemently among themselves over variant creeds and confessions of faith, and remain blinded to a common menace. Much of the progress made by Communists is due to their own unity of purpose and doctrine.

Our Lutheran Christians should be encouraged to perform their civic duties. It is not only the privilege, but the obligation of a Christian living under our democratic form of government to vote conscientiously and intelligently. As a general rule, Christians should be dissuaded from voting a one-party ticket---from placing Party affiliation above their Christianity. They should be cautioned against perpetuating Communist sympathizers in office. As loyal citizens of the United States they have the right to petition their congressmen and repre-

representatives to investigate Communism which endangers their lives and property. They will not indulge in careless "Red-baiting," but where known Communists advocate the forceful overthrow of our government, they will cooperate with the Federal Bureau of Investigation in uncovering their illegal activities. Our laymen should not steer clear of "contaminated" politics, but an increasing number of them should be induced to take an active interest in national life and become candidates for public office.

Christians dare never become the defendants for ruthless capitalism, but will struggle assiduously for social justice by means that are consistent with love toward God and love toward man. When we pray: "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done," we think primarily of Christ's spiritual kingdom, but we are also expressing the fervent wish that a more equalitarian society might be consummated among men. This is not the Social Gospel which is anathema in Lutheran circles. This is only the practical application of Christianity to social living. "Rejection of Communism as a method of building a better social order does not imply a covert defense of the injustice and other evil features of the present order. If the solution and technique offered by Communists be not acceptable the pressing problem which the latter attempted to solve still remains."<sup>3</sup>

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3. Spinka, op. cit., p. 197.

In 1940 Bishop Ryan of Bismarck, North Dakota, criticized our WPA for creating an industrial proletariat, and suggested that the best antidote to Communism in America would be the widespread distribution of family-sized, owner-operated farms.

When Murray Plavner exposed the American Student Union he asks us to remember that "These organizations rose because there was a real and pressing need for youth activities---a need of which the Communists were quick to take advantage in the failure of middle-course groups to act. It is not enough to stamp out a dangerous growth which threatens national health. A cure calls for constructive measures of a more wholesome sort. There is need for a constructive movement, devoted to the American system and dedicated to honesty and tolerance. It must be built around those who have no axe to grind, no 'leader' to follow. It must have no 'line' which will serve as an excuse to distort the truth. And it must come as these 'front' organizations fold and disappear, lest youth be left bewildered and rudderless in a changing world, to be snapped up again by some demagogue with noble promises on his lips and chaos in his wake."<sup>4</sup>

Dr. Gideonse, who deplored Communist activities at his own Brooklyn College, emphasized that surface "disin-

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4. New York Times, (12-8-40).

Carterbury, William Temple, has written a thought provoking book on Christianity and Social Order which deserves study and consideration.

fectants" were worthless as means of combating Communism unless they were accompanied by a disposition to grapple with the economic and social inequities that bred discontent with existing conditions. But the only solution he offers is inadequate---more and better education.

The trend "toward socialism is the result of a widening demand of the American worker and the American people for a larger share in the control of resources and a larger participation in the wealth created by utilization and exploitation of these resources. We have real reason to be assured that the American people do not like and do not desire Communism or any like form of extreme Socialism. But we have just as abundant reason to know that the average citizen will not long tolerate the selfish monopolistic capitalism that unfortunately characterizes some large areas of industry and finance. In between these extremes every Christian layman has an opportunity by thought, influence, and prayer to guide America into an intelligent Christian 'Middle Way'---retaining the best of capitalism and blending it with the new urge all men feel for a 'more abundant life.'<sup>5</sup>"

To translate these glowing generalities into a concrete program of social action is not so simple.<sup>6</sup> Christians must avoid two errors: the temptation to do nothing

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5. New York Times, (9-29-40).

6. The former archbishop of Canterbury, William Temple, has written a thought provoking book on Christianity and Social Order which deserves study and consideration.

at all and be contented with the status quo, and the identification of a particular system with the will of God. The Protestant Conference on Church, Community and State which met in Oxford, England, in 1937 have pointed out three assumptions in our industrial economic order which are not in keeping with Christianity: a) "It enhances acquisitiveness, and by making monetary gain a dominant factor in life, disintegrates the quality of society....; b) It allows extreme inequality of distribution, with a denial of development to a majority. Any social arrangement which outrages the dignity of men by treating some as ends and others as means, is ipso facto anti-Christian....; c) It enables a few to have power without corresponding responsibility to society---a few leaders in the world of finance....; d) It frustrates a sense of vocation. Men are directly conscious of working for an employer's profit and only indirectly for any public good....."

What can our Lutheran Churches do in a positive way to counteract Communism? Dr. Maier replies: "Our congregations should pay special attention to workers. By lack of contact with American toilers we have often permitted the harangues of destructive agitators to deceive and mislead.....Our churches/should avoid all semblance

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7. Stamp, Christianity and Economics, pp. 122. 123.

of catering to the rich and showing favoritism to the socially important.....Christian contacts must be maintained with American industries, so that in all possible ways the American working man.....understands the profound importance of Christ's principles."

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