

Just what is
Communism



by
RAYMOND T. FEELY, S.J.

The Case Against Communism

L

Just What Is Communism?

By

REV. RAYMOND T. FEELY, S.J., M.A., LL.D.
University of San Francisco

Forty-fourth Thousand

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

Imprimi Potest:

ZACHEUS J. MAHER, S.J.,
Prae. Prov. Californiae.

Nihil Obstat:

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

Imprimatur:

✠PATRICK CARDINAL HAYES,
Archbishop of New York

New York, March 25, 1935.

The Case Against Communism

I

JUST WHAT IS COMMUNISM?

"What's wrong with Communism anyway?"—

"If one would leave out the atheism and some of the Soviet ideas on women, Communism wouldn't be a bad thing, would it?"

These questions are being asked by thousands today and every intelligent man and woman demands a reply that is at once clear, authentic and convincing.

This pamphlet and its successors in this series will attempt to set forth the answer to these and other problems in a brief and popular form. There will be no "red-baiting," no hysterical flag-waving—just a calm arrayal of facts and official documents.

In this, the first of the series, "The Case Against Communism," only two points will be discussed.

(1) JUST WHAT IS COMMUNISM?

(2) IS COMMUNISM ESSENTIALLY ATHEISTIC?

Succeeding pamphlets will treat of "Communism and Marriage," "Communism and Liberty," etc., etc. Since this pamphlet limits itself to the atheistic element of Communism, its purport must be clearly set forth.

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

This pamphlet is written for the average American who believes in God, in an immortal soul, in a code of

morality, and who still clings to the old, but not old-fashioned, virtues of religion, of honesty, of decency, and of loyalty and respect for authority.

It is written particularly for men and women of the above type who are disheartened by the present financial crisis, who disgusted with our present economic structure grasp avidly at any new system which promises relief from unemployment and freedom from poverty. It is written, therefore, chiefly for those who are deluded by the propagandists of Moscow and would see in Communism "a way out," who think, if they do not openly say, that Communism might be "worth a trial." "Of course, they would insist on religious freedom, etc.; they are tired of being exploited; they believe in State control of production," and so on and so on.

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

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

But before we go into this fundamental issue let us have clear notions. Modern "isms" are miserably confusing and foggy. Let us first answer the question:

WHAT IS COMMUNISM?

Communism in its widest and generic significance means a sharing of interests, e.g., we may share a common joy or sorrow or home, etc. Usually the term is restricted to ownership of a material thing, e.g., the community property of husband and wife.

However, and rivet this to your mind, when we speak

of Communism in the world today, one thing and one thing only is meant, *viz.*, Marxian Communism. Communism means the doctrines of the Manifesto of Marx and Engels as interpreted by Lenin and Stalin, and as put into practice in Russia since November, 1917.

No matter how learnedly certain college "pygmies on pyramids" may prate, no matter how glibly high salaried propagandists may talk, no matter what mask the international "Dillinger" may wear, the term "Communism" has but one significance when used today, *viz.*, the theory of Marx as reduced to practice by Lenin in Russia, and which under Lenin and Stalin has sought to be internationalized.

DEFINITION

Communism is a materialistic philosophy of life which advocates the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat in all countries throughout the world by violent revolution or by any means which may be deemed necessary in order to ultimately arrive at and preserve a classless society, in which there shall be no private ownership, and in which all property shall be vested in the community as a whole, and all labor and human activities organized for the common benefit by a centralized group of workers' representatives.

The above definition sounds involved, academic, confusing. Yet it is an attempt to include in one sentence all the essentials of Russian Communism. When analyzed, it will be seen to explain everything one has read of assassinations, starvations, morality, atheism. It is the soul of Communism and a soul is difficult to photograph with printer's ink.

However, the above will clarify quickly if we first review briefly the philosophy underlying Communism.

PHILOSOPHY OF KARL MARX

Karl Marx (1818-1883) borrowed much of his doctrine from earlier writers. However, no Christian ever had more faith in or clung more zealously to a body of truths, than does a Communist to the teachings of Marx. Briefly, and as clearly as their nature permits, these doctrines are here outlined:

(1) Marx denied all dualism. That is to say, he held that only matter existed. Consequently, man is devoid of soul and there is no spiritual being such as God. Denying therefore the existence of God and denying a soul in man, necessarily eliminates religion, for religion is the relationship of the soul to God.

This point is fundamental in grasping the conclusion that Communism (Marx-Lenin-Stalin) is *essentially atheistic*.

(2) If man is essentially material (i.e., devoid of a spiritual soul), he is subject to the necessary laws of nature just as plants, animals, etc. In other words, all man's activities are necessitated and determined by laws as inexorable as the law of gravitation.

(3) Man is in a constant state of change or evolution. Therefore man's history is a history of materialistic evolution.

(4) Since man is evolving or changing there must be a cause for that change. This cause Marx finds in the environment of man. History, according to him, proves that these changes are the result of "class struggles," of struggles between the exploited and the exploiter.

(5) All human activities, political, religious, social, such as marriage, etc., are therefore determined by and moulded by economic forces, *viz.*, the "class struggles."

(6) Human society which was once highly stratified, *viz.*, made up of various strata or divisions, has through the advent of the machine age, reduced itself to two classes, *viz.*, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, or to use our parlance, employer and employee, capitalist and laborer.

(7) By the inexorable law of materialistic evolution, successive crises occur, the rich become richer, the poor, poorer. Industrialization welds the proletariat together. Capitalism creates "its own grave diggers."

(8) By violence, the workers overthrow the capitalistic order. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is achieved. The bourgeoisie cease to exploit or to be.

By the laws of inexorable materialistic evolution, a "class-less" society comes into being.

(9) Allied to the above and permeating its entire structure are the Marxian doctrines of the "equality of man" and the "theory of surplus value."

Both of these subjects must be treated of in future pamphlets. Here it may, perhaps, clarify the picture if just a skeleton outline is presented on this theory of value.

Value (*i.e.*, exchange value) according to Marx is entirely determined by labor. Now a laborer by his work would normally obtain sustenance for himself and his family. In modern industry a worker exchanges his labor for a wage.

But what happens? Suppose his working day is ten hours. In five hours the laborer has created an exchange value sufficient for his own and his family's support. During the remaining five hours of the day, he creates exchange value for the capitalist. This "surplus-value" is what Marx has constantly in mind when he denounces the exploitation of the laborer.

A MATERIALISTIC PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

That Communism is "materialistic" is evident from the above presentation of the doctrines of Karl Marx. He definitely rejects the spiritual and therefore denies the existence of God and of a spiritual and immortal soul. Since religion is the relationship of a soul to God, all followers of Marx and therefore all Communists must deny all religion. Theoretically this is true; practically, it is tragically true.

Communism is likewise a "philosophy of life." Most writers treat of Communism as an economic theory, and at first glance they would seem to be correct, for Marx and his followers sought to equalize wealth. Yet we are not dealing here with theories.

Communism, as repeatedly pointed out, is used in this pamphlet, as it is used by propagandists, to signify a concrete reality, the—Marx,—Lenin,—Stalin theory as operating in the U.S.S.R. In Russia, as in every country it may spread to, it touches every phase of life. It seeks to regulate and dictate every human activity whether it affects personal liberty, political liberty, the relation between the sexes, marriage, education, religion. In short. Communism not only seeks to build a new economic order, it seeks to "remake man."

At this point let the reader realize this well—Communism is the most interesting and challenging subject in

the world today but it likewise is one of the most comprehensive. It involves not only economics, but political science, philosophy, history, sociology and religion. It is as complex as life itself. It ambitions not only the remaking of an economic order but the attempted remaking of mankind. Maurice Hindus, that interesting but sympathetic commentator on Russia, has well titled his first book, when he termed it, "Humanity Uprooted."

CLASSLESS SOCIETY—COMMON OWNERSHIP

The second element of the definition is integrally linked up with the third and therefore they are touched on jointly. The outline of the Marxian theory given above has clarified these points except for economic phases to be treated of elsewhere.

The highly stratified society of ancient days (*cf.* "Manifesto") has now through the inexorable law of evolution developed into a society of two classes—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat ("the exploiter and the exploited"); the latter through the industrialization of modern life has been concentrated in great factories and cities, has become educated, has become conscious of its power.

Merciless class warfare must ensue; "violent revolution" breaks out; the workingman casts off his chains, "despoils the despoilers," property is communized; social institutions are uprooted; "the dictatorship of the proletariat" is established; Communism is born.

OTHER ELEMENTS

For fear of going too far afield the discussion of "violent revolution," of "the centralized group of workers' representatives" (the Soviet political structure replacing other forms of the State), of "International," must be transmitted here to later development and amplification reserved for matters affecting our present pamphlet.

THE DAMNING AND THE DAMNABLE

Finally we come to that part of the definition which calls for the establishment and presentation of Communism "by any means necessary." The accusation of holding that "the end justifies the means" has been hurled in almost every controversy. It has remained, however, for Communism to blatantly preach and to brutally practice this doctrine. The quotations from Lenin and Stalin, the historical facts to prove this damning and damnable doctrine will form a separate pamphlet.

Suffice it to assert here, that to achieve the freedom of the proletariat, Communism demands and practices the destruction of every personal right treasured by man—personal liberty, political liberty, the dignity of marriage, religious liberty.

There is but one law, one norm, we cannot say of morality, but of action—"Does life or liberty or human institution help or hinder the advance of Communism?"

Once catch this law of Communism and you have the key to the ruthlessness of the Red Terror. Once catch the implications of that law and everything that will be written on atheism, marriage, the scrapping of personal liberty, the "uprooting of humanity" becomes clear and understandable.

These are molten words but they are real facts, for Communism is as real, as molten, as destructive as the lava which flowed from the red maw of *AEtna*.

II

IS COMMUNISM ESSENTIALLY ATHEISTIC?

There are many ways of treating this vital question. The most convincing and convicting will probably be the following:

- (1) The essential doctrine of Communism.
- (2) The written admissions of the accused.
- (3) Historical facts.

The third point would lengthen the pamphlet beyond all bounds, so reliable references and a few observations only will be set forth.

MATERIALISM AND ATHEISM

If the essence of Communism is to be found in the doctrines of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin; if, secondly, these men admittedly believe in, teach, and propagandize a materialistic philosophy of life, then Communism is essentially atheistic. Marx's denial of the spiritual, and therefore of a God and an immortal soul, etc., we have seen above. Atheism is, therefore, not a transitory or personal phase of Communism, it is a part of the essence of the entire movement.

GUILTY AS CHARGED

Enough of the philosophy of Communism. Let the confession of the accused be now "read into the record."

Bear in mind that the following excerpts are not borrowed from any propagandist either for or against the U.S.S.R.; they are not the violent or vicious personal views of this or that Communist. The Soviet State is Marxian theory in practice. Lenin was and is the official interpreter of Marx, and his writings possess an infallibility unrivaled even by the Pope of Rome. If God and the soul have been scrapped in Russia, the mummy of Lenin has become both the soul and the God of Communism.

The following statements, clear and damning, are taken not from the large volumes inaccessible to most readers but from official pamphlets which anyone may obtain from the bookstalls in any city or town at a trivial price.

Is Communism essentially atheistic? Instead of a conviction based on the testimony of others, let the U.S.S.R. convict itself in its open and public confession of guilt.



"It is not an accident, therefore, that the works of our great masters, Marx, Engels and Lenin, contain no complete and systematic statement of their proletarian atheism. It is not unusual to talk of obvious facts."—"Introduction," p. 3.)¹

From the writings of Lenin the following four principles stand out as the most important:

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

(2) "The demand for the complete separation of the Church and the State, and the Church and the school, must be made.

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

(4) "The final emancipation of the toiling masses from religion will occur only after the proletarian revolution, only in a Communist society. This however, is not a reason for postponing the propaganda for atheism. Rather does it emphasize its urgency in subordination to the general needs of the working class struggle."—"Introduction," pp. 3, 5.)

1. Unless otherwise noted, all citations are from *Religion*—Lenin.

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is guided by the conviction that only the conscious and deliberate planning of all the social and economic activities of the masses will cause religious prejudices to die out. The party strives for the complete dissolution of the ties between the exploiting classes and the organization of religious propaganda, facilitates the real emancipation of the working class from religious prejudices and organizes the widest possible scientific, educational and anti-religious propaganda."—(*Communist Program*, 1919, p. 6.)

"One of the most important tasks of the cultural revolution affecting the wide masses is the task of systematically and unswervingly combating religion—the opium of the people. . . . At the same time, the proletarian state, while granting liberty of worship and abolishing the privileged position of the formerly dominant religion, carries on anti-religious propaganda with all the means at its command and reconstructs the whole of its educational work on the basis of scientific materialism."—(*Program Communist International*, 1928, p. 6.)

THE DEIFIED MUMMY SPEAKS

"Religion is one of the forms of spiritual oppression which everywhere weigh upon the masses who are crushed by continuous toil for others, by poverty and loneliness. The helplessness of the exploited classes in their struggle against the exploiters inevitably generates a belief in a better life after death, even as the helplessness of the savage in his struggle with nature gives rise to a belief in gods, devils, miracles, etc.

"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 in earthly life, thus providing a cheap justi-

fication for their whole exploiting existence and selling them at a reasonable price tickets to heavenly bliss. Religion is the opium of the people. Religion is a kind of spiritual intoxicant, in which the slaves of capital drown their humanity and their desires for some sort of decent human existence."—(P. 7.)

"Our program is based entirely on scientific—to be more precise—upon a materialistic world conception. In explaining our program, therefore, we must necessarily explain the actual historical and economic roots of the religious fog. Our program necessarily includes the propaganda of atheism."—(Pp. 9, 10.)

"No books, no preaching, can possibly enlighten the proletariat, unless it is enlightened by its own struggle against the dark forces of capitalism. The unity of that genuinely revolutionary struggle of the oppressed class to set up a heaven on earth is more important to us than a unity in proletarian opinion about the imaginary paradise in the sky."—(P. 7.)

"Marxism is materialism. As such it is relentlessly opposed to religion as was the materialism of the Encyclopedists of the eighteenth century, or as was the materialism of Feuerbach. This is beyond doubt. But the dialectic materialism of Marx and Engels goes beyond the Encyclopedists and Feuerbach; it applies the materialist philosophy to the field of history, to the field of social science. We must combat religion—this is the A B C of all materialism, and consequently of Marxism."—(P. 14.)

"Marx said: 'Religion is the opium of the people'—and this postulate is the cornerstone of the whole philosophy of Marxism with regard to religion. Marxism always regarded all modern religions and churches, and every kind of religious organization as instruments of that bourgeois reaction whose aim is to defend exploitation by stupefying the working-class."—(P. 12.)

OPIUM—RUSSIA—IRELAND

"Religion is the opium of the people," the famous aphorism of Karl Marx (from *Philosophy of Law*—a criticism of Hegel) has been quoted in the above and is the very theme song of Communistic atheism.

No more brilliant refutation has ever been written on this point than the following lines penned by Gilbert Keith Chesterton:²

"Lenin said that religion is the opium of the people. This profound remark will readily explain the sleepy submission, the supine placidity, the dull and drowsy obedience of the Irish people, as compared with the wild revolutionary fury, the incessant insurrection and revolt, the bloody riots and endless street battles of the English people. Nobody who has been in Dublin for a week as I have been during the Eucharistic Congress, can doubt that Ireland is passionately religious; and especially that the Irish populace is passionately religious. It therefore follows, by the strict logic of Lenin, that the Irish populace has always been particularly patient and subservient and contented. Nobody who has lived in England all his life, as I have, can doubt that modern England with its many manly and generous virtues, has become largely indifferent to religion. It follows, therefore, by the strict logic of Lenin, that the English are the best Bolsheviks in the world. To suppose anything else would be to indulge in the audacity, nay the blasphemy, of supposing that there is something wrong in the logic of Lenin. We must therefore believe, as best we can, that the Irishman has always been a tame and timid person; and that it is the Englishman who has always been 'agin the government.' The inference is that it is only by believing in God that we can ever criticise the government. Once abolish the God, and the Government becomes God. The fact is written across

2. *Christendom in Dublin*, p.50 et seq., which through the kindness of the publishers, Sheed & Ward, are here reproduced.

all human history; but it is written most plainly across that recent history of Russia; which was created by Lenin. There the Government is the God, and all the more the God, because it proclaims aloud in accents of thunder, like every other God worth worshipping, the one essential commandment: 'Thou shalt have no other gods but Me.'

"Lenin only fell into a slight error; he only got it the wrong way around. The truth is that Irreligion is the opium of the people. Wherever the people do not believe in something beyond the world, they will worship the world. But, above all, they will worship the strongest thing in the world. And, by the very nature of the Bolshevik and many other modern systems, as well as by the practical working of almost any system, the State will be the strongest thing in the world. The whole tendency of men is to treat the solitary State as the solitary standard. That men may protest against law, it is necessary that they should believe in justice; that they may believe in a justice beyond law, it is necessary that they should believe in a justice beyond the land of living men. You can impose the rule of the Bolshevik as you can impose the rule of the Bourbons; but it is equally an imposition. You can even make its subjects contented, as opium would make them contented. But if you are to have anything like divine discontent, then it must be really divine. Anything that really comes from below must really come from above."

RELIGION—"A PRIVATE MATTER"

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

crees in Lenin's and Yaroslavsky's pamphlets. They are likewise set forth in the correspondence which passed between President Roosevelt and Litvinov prior to the recognition by this country of the Soviet government. The most available reprint of these letters is *The World Almanac*, 1934.

No more damnable hypocrisy was ever perpetrated by any nation than this alleged "freedom of religion" in the U.S.S.R. One can study the subject from two aspects. First the admissions of Soviet leaders; secondly, the history of this alleged "religious freedom." Since we are now reading into the record the writings of Lenin, let us confine ourselves to the first method for the present. Bear in mind reading the following that "the Party" means the Communist Party, the only recognized party in Russia, and that "the Party" dominates every activity in Russia with a tyranny unknown even under the Tsars. This latter statement will be proven in another pamphlet.

LENIN SPEAKS

" 'Religion must be a private affair'; in these words the attitude of socialists to religion is usually expressed. But we must define the meaning of these words precisely so as to avoid misunderstanding. We demand that religion be regarded as a private matter as far as the state is concerned, but under no circumstances can we consider it a private matter with regard to our own Party." (P. 8.)

"To the Party of the Socialist proletariat, however, religion is not a private matter. Our Party is a league of class-conscious, progressive fighters for the liberation of the working-class. Such a league cannot and must not be indifferent to lack of class-consciousness, to ignorance or insanity in the shape of religious beliefs." (P. 9.)

"The party of the proletariat demands that the state shall declare religion a private matter, but it does not for

a moment regard the question of the fight against the opium of the people—the fight against religious superstition, etc.,—as a private matter." (P. 18.)

SHREWD ADVICE

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

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

"That is why we do not declare in our program, and must not declare, that we are atheists; that is why we do not forbid and must not forbid proletarians who still cling to the remnants of old prejudices to come into closer contact with our Party. We shall always preach a scientific world conception; we must fight against the inconsistencies of the 'Christians'; but this does not mean that the religious question must be pushed into the foreground where it does not belong. We must not allow the forces waging a genuinely revolutionary economic and political struggle to be broken up for the sake of opinions and dreams that are of third-rate importance, which are rapidly losing all political significance, and which are being steadily relegated to the rubbish heap by the normal course of economic development." (P. 10.)

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

"In such circumstances the preaching of atheism is superfluous and harmful—not from the narrow-minded con-

sideration of not frightening the backward elements, or of losing votes at elections, etc., but from the point of view of the actual progress of the class-struggle, which, in the conditions of modern capitalist society, will convert Christian workers to Social-Democracy, and to atheism a hundred times more effectively than any bald atheist sermons. To preach atheism at such a time, and in such circumstances, would only be playing into the hands of the church and the priests, who would desire nothing more than to have the workers participating in the strike movement divided in accordance with their religious beliefs." (P. 16.)

ATHEISTIC PROPAGANDA

Lest one should believe or claim that atheistic propaganda is private and not governmental, the following excerpts from Lenin are most enlightening:

"Secondly, such a magazine must be an organ of militant atheism. We have departments or at *least government institutions which carry on this work*. But this work is being carried on very sluggishly, very unsatisfactorily; apparently it is restricted by our real Russian (also Soviet Russian) bureaucracy. It is very essential, therefore, that, in supplementing the work of the competent government institutions, in correcting and stimulating this work, the magazine which has set itself the aim of becoming an organ of militant atheism should carry on untiring atheist propaganda and struggle. We must very carefully study all the literature on this subject in all languages, and translate, or at least review all that which has the slightest value in this field."

LEAGUE OF MILITANT ATHEISTS

Originally the writer intended to incorporate a number of quotations from the pamphlet purchasable at any Communist headquarters, entitled, "Religion in the U. S. S. R.," by E. Yaroslavsky, President of the League of Militant Atheists of the Soviet Union.

No study of this subject is complete without reference to this booklet with its brazen atheism, its slanders, its program of promoting atheism.

If the citations of Lenin do not convince, if one does not believe that the policy of Lenin is being followed by Stalin, then all one needs do is consult this easily obtainable and semiofficial document of the present governmental agency for spreading atheism.

MODERN NEROS

Thus far we have seen the nature of Communism and the avowed intention of Lenin to crush religion out of the lives of the Russians and to substitute therefor militant atheism.

The next logical step is to investigate whether Lenin and his successor, Stalin, have reduced their program into actuality.

To the student who can reject the propagandist and garner his facts from the real historian the answer is as clear as it is tragic. Not only has Christ been crucified again but every form of religious worship has been attacked with a ruthlessness unparalleled in history.

In a pamphlet such as this, designed only as an introduction to the subject of Communism, it is impossible to recount the greatest tragedy of modern times.

For this reason, and because one feels that no religious person can remain apathetic and not fortify himself with the facts in the case, only a few references will be given and a few observations made.

Everyone should read *The Last Stand*, by Rev. Edmund A. Walsh, S.J., probably the best equipped scholar on Communism in this country. There one will find, especially in the sixth chapter "The Five Year Plan on the Religious Front," the tragic story with which every American should be familiar. It is written in the crisp,

convincing style of the author so familiar to American readers. The following excerpt is illustrative:

"Arrested in March, 1923, together with fourteen of his clergy, the Catholic Archbishop of Petrograd was put on trial for his life and condemned to death, as was Monsignor Budkiewicz, Vicar of St. Catherine's on the Nevsky Prospekt. The indignation of an outraged Christendom saved the life of Archbishop Cieplak, but was unable to effect the slightest modification of the Soviet purpose to execute Monsignor Budkiewicz. That distinguished and respected prelate paid for his constancy by having his brains blown out on the night between Good Friday and Holy Saturday, March 30-31. The author of this volume was present in the courtroom during the five days of that historic trial and can testify that the only crime proved against the victims was their inability to accept the alternative proposed by Krylenko, the Public Prosecutor. The question was put in my own hearing:

"Will you stop teaching the Christian religion?"

"We cannot," came the uniform answer, "It is the law of God."

"That law does not exist on Soviet territory," replied Krylenko. "You must choose. . . . As for your religion, I spit on it, as I spit on all religions." (Pp. 183, 184.)

NON-CATHOLIC EVIDENCE

Books on the U.S.S.R. are appearing as fast as the "Intourist" can discharge its propagandized tourists. How much one can trust such information has never been expressed more cruelly or crudely than in the widely read book of Carveth Wells, *Kapoot*. This is not intended for a recommendation of the stark realism of Wells but adults would do well to peruse its living pages before selecting books on Russia.

For authority, for clarity and sheer convincing power

Russia's Iron Age, by W. H. Chamberlin (for twelve years the *Christian Science Monitor's* representative in the U.S.S.R.) deserves first place. Being most modern and most available it is here recommended for anyone desiring facts and not propaganda.

Many Americans have read at least one of the four books of Maurice Hindus. Just this word of warning. If Hindus had told all the truth about the U.S.S.R. he would never have been allowed to re-enter Russia. Hence he must be read with caution.

One chapter ("Religion" from the *Great Offensive*) deserves reading. It is the best refutation of the propagandists roaming throughout America telling a gullible people that Protestantism flourished in the new Soviet State. The history of the temporary growth of Protestant sects and then their practical annihilation is well told by Hindus in this chapter. He closes it with a keen observation:

"Russian revolutionaries are now no longer disturbed about religion, not because they have had a change of heart, but because they regard the issue as settled. Never before in any public demonstration in the streets were there so few anti-religious banners and posters as in the celebration of the fifteenth anniversary of the Revolution. Anti-religious societies, which even two years ago were flamingly and boisterously in evidence all over the country, are hardly heard from nowadays. The Russian revolutionaries regard their battle against religion finished, with all religions, Christian, Jewish, Mohammedan, Buddhist, stripped of power and appeal and in a state of utter collapse." (P. 181.)

Innumerable other writers have discussed the story of the attempted uprooting of God from the hearts of one-tenth of the world's peoples. The above references will suffice for one beginning this study. A more complete bibliography will be published later.

Just this one general observation. The bloody, gruesome horrors of the earlier days on "the religious front" have now been to a great extent replaced by the more gruesome horror of universal scientific atheism being inculcated in the soul of every Russian child. Communism is concentrating on youth. The old are rapidly dying and with them the old religions. Not only is the child instructed in atheism but its young and emotional nature is filled with hate for all religions for they are held out as allies of the capitalists and imperialists. Neither in writing nor in lecture nor in the theater nor on the radio is the name of God or Christ allowed save in mockery and blasphemy.

The above brief treatment of the historical element may prove disappointing to many. However, it is not the past, gory and ghastly as persecution has been in Russia, which disturbs the writer. The story of religion has always been a history of persecution.

Now for the first time in the annals of the human race do we find every child being taught scientific atheism. Universal compulsory education began in 1930. Within a decade or so every young person will have been taught that religion is "bourgeois" (the worst damnation a doctrine can receive, for it signifies "an enemy of the Revolution"); will have been taught that God is nonexistent, that they have no souls but only bodies, that therefore there is no morality (for morality is predicated on free will), that they are but animals.

A GRAVEYARD FOR ANIMALS

This thought brings to the writer's mind an interesting story told by a young American athlete just returned from Russia. One evening, the specially trained girl-guide furnished tourists, asked him if he would like to see the graveyard of the Revolutionary heroes. He replied in the affirmative. Wandering about the tombstones, he suddenly asked:

"Didn't you tell me that you didn't believe in a soul?"

"Surely, we young Communists have gotten over that," came the stereotyped response.

"Didn't we see paintings this afternoon of some of the cavalry of the Red Army?" the American continued.

The girl, puzzled, replied, "yes, of course."

"But why aren't the horses of the cavalry buried here?" persisted the American.

"Because these graves are for our dead heroes," indignantly shot back the young woman.

With biting logic the American shot back, "Well, you said Communists haven't any souls and so these heroes were just animals. Horses and heroes both fought and died for your revolution. Both, according to you, were animals. Why not erect tombstones over both?"

The young girl shrugged her shoulders—the argument was over.

This powerful incident is in the writer's mind as he omits the brutal and bloody history of religious persecution in the U.S.S.R., the assassinations, the prison camps, the desecrations of the churches and shrines, the abolition of Sunday and Church holidays, the forbidding of religious instruction or propaganda, the vile and blasphemous anti-religious posters, copies of which are in the room where this is penned.

That is all history which anyone may read. The future? Communists—Godless—soulless—animals tugging at the wheels of industry! Over a hundred million of them soon to be! Seeking to internationalize this creed of human animalism!

In one sense it is too tragic, too depressing to dwell upon. In another sense, it is a challenge to every religious man and woman, first to pray that this terrible blight may soon be lifted from the peoples of Russia. Secondly, and above all, to vigilantly prevent the spread of Communism in our own country.

The past we can lament. The future, to a great extent, we can control. The challenge is clean cut!

A GODLESS RELIGION

The above title is a contradiction in terms and yet Communism today presents at least that apparent contradiction.

Repellent as communistic atheism be to us, yet we must never forget that there are in the world today one hundred and sixty-five million people who are being steeped in atheism. These men and women had a common origin with us. Their bodies came "from the love of their parents, their souls from the love of God." They, as we, were created "to know, love, and serve God in this world and be happy with Him forever in the next."

Is it possible to render sterile belief in and love of God in one-tenth of the world's peoples? Is it not Pesch who says, "You may hold the burning brand to the earth but its flames still seek the heavens." Earthly as is the life of Russia today, is the Russian heart still seeking "the heavens"? In a nation vitalized by hatred has the human heart so atrophied that there is no room for love?

One cannot answer these questions, one can only pray. However, writer after writer, notably Chamberlin and Durant, have pointed out that in Russia, as always in the history of the human race, the destruction of one religion means simply the erection of a new religion.

The following paragraphs are quoted from Will Durant's *Tragedy of Russia*.³ They constitute the most powerful lines yet penned on this subject, and whilst many will object to some of the parallels drawn, yet the general thought is too forcible not to incorporate in this pamphlet.

3. Reprinted through the courtesy of Simon & Schuster, publishers, New York, N. Y.

THE NEW RELIGION

"In the Red Square three thousand people stand in line before the tomb of Lenin. They have gathered from a hundred villages and five continents to see in the flesh the man, long dead, who made the revolution. Behind them rise the benches where the bureaucracy sits at great festivals, as once the high-priests sat in the theater of Dionysus. Behind those tiers is the red-brick wall of the Kremlin, protector of autocracies past, present and to come. Behind the wall are the offices of the new State and the new church. Behind the main government building is a simple two-room apartment in which the new Tsar and Patriarch, more modest and more powerful than the old, lives his guarded and mysterious life.

"When an old religion begins to die, look for a new one. Once these pious visitors, mostly peasants and provincials gaping at the capital, made pilgrimages to Sergeievitch or Kiev, to see the uncorrupted bodies of the saints; now they come to witness the new miracle, of the Holy Founder who, by some strange and novel magic, has been preserved from decay. One by one they pass, awed and silent, through a guard of soldiers, into a marble mausoleum, down the stone steps into the earth, where the great Ogre lies, safe within a spacious railing, no breath of these mortals touching him in his glass case. He is dressed in the uniform of a soldier, this man who hated war and promised peace; and he who despised all middle-class virtues is now astonishingly clean. His head, emptied of the brain that shook the world, is shrunk, and the cheeks are hollow, and the hands, lying on his breast, are almost fleshless, and as delicate as a doll's. One breach of revolt would break these bones, and tumble this yellow skin into dust. It is not chemistry that preserves him, it is the new faith.

"Day by day the forms, the creed and the ritual of the new religion take shape, as the power of the dream presses

into new moulds the ancient hopefulness of men. In place of the old ikons, or beside them, the pictures of Lenin and Stalin adorn every respectable, gun-fearing home in Russia; and where the people are really pious they hang up the pictures of all the great martyrs of the faith—those rough saints whose persecution and crucifixion are commemorated in the Museums of the Revolution. The old festivals are changed; and as once the Christian Church, newly come to power, took over pagan holidays and poured new names and meaning into them, so now the feast of St. John is called 'The Festival of the War on Superstition,' and the feast of St. Ilya has become 'The Festival of Natural Science and Electrification.' The old sacrament of baptism has been replaced with ceremonious acceptance of the babe into a long and pious novitiate of preparation for membership in the Communist Party. To that communion of the saints many are called but few are chosen. For the proletarian dictatorship does not mean, as the uninitiate suppose, government by the proletariat; it means that the new Church will rule for the proletariat, that even in its bitterest curses and auto-da-fe's it will be actuated, like the old religions, solely by the good of the people. Nothing is changed.

"The new clergy—the Party—is composed of 'cells'; its schools are seminaries in which the catechism, as of yore, is half the curriculum; the creators of the new Bible—Marx and Engels—and of the new theology—Lenin and Stalin—are the Founders of the Church, whose powerful and acrid sermons, discourses, parables and denunciations are already gathered, as by evangelists and Mignes, into vast tomes of sacred narrative and patristic lore. For these fathers, holy and inviolate though they be, are not the God; the God is something holier than man, something omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent, creator of heaven and earth and Eden—the Machine. There are many persons in this new God; he is worshipped as

Power, as Mechanism, and as Electricity. His cathedral is a factory, a mine, a great farm or a dam; His ritual is Industrialization; His Ten Commandments are—Produce!

"He is a jealous god, who will not have other gods before him; to deny or question him is a mortal sin, a capital crime for which the sinner will be formally excommunicated, and sentenced to Hell—Siberia—or death. For the holiest of religious virtues is obedience; the good Communist, like some monk of the strictest observance, must efface himself, starve and destroy his personal will. Freedom of individual judgment, for which the Reformation fought, is a disruptive delusion; freedom in general is a petty middle-class prejudice, a sham democratic myth; and toleration, now that the truth is definitely known, is an error and a crime. 'I became a Marxist,' says Stalin of his youth, 'because of Jesuitic repression, and the martinet intolerance of the Orthodox Church.' One by one the great heretics are cut off and cast into utter darkness: Plekhanov, Trotsky, Rykov, Tomskey, Rakovsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev; not a half-century of devotion can win mercy from the high-priests, or dull the edge of this impatient guillotine. And as they disappear into the secret courts of the Inquisition, or depart—without warrant and without trial—for the dungeons to which they have been condemned, no pity rising up from the people follows them; the gentle Slav has become hard under the bludgeoning of circumstance; and even the Slav never pitied men who questioned God.

"Which will win—the new religion, or the old?—or are the gods of tomorrow still unborn? *Que sais-je?* What can we tell of the real sentiments of these silent, sullen, hounded, fearful millions? What will happen if the mirage of Utopia comes to bitter disillusionment, and the dreamer of the steppes awakes to find that poverty is always with us, that men are created unfree and unequal, and that the strong and clever, under whatever form of in-

dustry or government, will forever rule and use the dull and the weak? What will happen when revolutionary ardor subsides, and Russia finds that it has reached not Paradise, but only industrialization?" (P. 112, *et seq.*)

SUMMARY

Let us therefore in conclusion briefly review what we have seen thus far.

First, Communism is essentially atheistic because it is simply the "scientific socialism" of Karl Marx reduced to practice in the U.S.S.R. Marx concluded as we have seen that man is not composed of soul and body, but is purely a material thing subject to blind laws as inexorable as the laws of gravitation. This soulless being,—man, has in his history been the victim of constant class struggles, and all human institutions,—marriage,—religion, etc., are but part of the shackles which have enslaved the worker. Gradually an evolution is taking place. By inexorable law the despoiler will be despoiled, the proletariat will rule and a classless, Godless society will be born. That birth took place in Russia on November 7, 1917.

Secondly, "Religion is the opium of the people," wrote Marx three quarters of a century ago. Karl Marx is dead but the Marxian philosophy of life is being lived by one-tenth of the peoples of the world. "It can't last," mankind said. Yet the U.S.S.R. has survived nearly two decades, decades wherein the rest of the world has been sick unto death. It lives, it thrives, it threatens.

Thirdly, we traced the arrogant statements not of this or that fanatical Russian, but of the founder and god of the U.S.S.R., Lenin. His word and that of his disciple Stalin and their doctrine of militant atheism has been carried out with a ruthlessness and completeness which must nauseate any honorable man or woman.

Litvinov may prate all he desires about religious liberty in Russia, when he requested recognition from this coun-

try, but the story of the crushing of religion in Russia is writ in crimson, and "the damned spot will not out."

The future? Who knows? We do know, however, that every year between three and four million Russian children begin a compulsory education which is militantly atheistic. God, Jesus Christ, religion are taught to them as weapons of the hated capitalist. To believe in God is to be a traitor to the "Revolution." God is not ignored, He is hated as the imperialists and capitalists are hated, and hate is the most fanatical driving force of human combat.

Hate, like its contrasting virtue, love, must find external expression and that is why, even if we had not the written confirmation from Soviet leaders, we would know that atheistic communism must seek to internationalize itself.

The Third International is as real as the God it would dethrone. It is as fanatical, as crafty and as unscrupulous as the Scribes and Pharisees. It is as difficult to fight against and as deadly in its effects as cancer.

THE UNITED STATES

Communistic activities in this country will be reserved for future treatment. However, the following remarks may give food for thought.

Communism is avowedly atheistic. The vast majority of Americans make no pretense of adhering to any organized religion and many of this element live as practical atheists, making wealth or power or sensuality their gods. The vast majority of Americans are educated now in schools where God is ignored, and those trained in colleges and universities normally are exposed to definite atheism.

Communism rejects marriage as we traditionally know it. The record of America in the divorce court lifts our successive marriages but little above the Russian system of mating.

Communism has scrapped chastity; recognized adultery, abortion. America—? But the moral issue will be treated of in a later publication.

From the atheistic and moral aspects much of America is fertile soil for the Red Menace.

From the standpoint of economic justice? To the millions of unemployed Russia brags of the fact and a true fact that unemployment is unknown in Russia.

Truly, has not Communism an appeal to America?

CONCLUSION

Whether you believe or not that Communism is a menace to America. Whether or not you are interested in further study of this question, every man or woman who loves God, who cherishes virtue should daily pray that the blight of Atheism may be lifted from the one-tenth of our brothers. Prayer can accomplish more than "red-baiting," and the dead Christ is still more powerful than the corpse of Lenin.

For those who are Christians, these final paragraphs are added. If Christ wept over the city of Jerusalem, how sad and wistful must the Savior of the world be as He beholds souls shriveling by the millions. As Christ gazes at the children of Russia, He must recall that winsome scene when children nestled in His outstretched arms and His kindly voice spoke, "Suffer the little children to come unto Me, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven."

As He gazes at the womanhood of Russia, slaves of the fields and serfs of the machine, taught to live as if they were simply female animals, He recalls how once in a pagan world He lifted lust to love, and sanctified and made sacred the bonds of matrimony; nay more, gave us His own Mother as the model of all that is finest in womanhood. And now where once the Iberian Virgin ruled over the Square of Moscow, a blasphemer has scrawled the words of Marx, "Religion is the opium of the people."

As Christ gazes at men shackled to the wheels of industry, "stolid and stunned, a brother to the ox," at men cowed or craven as the deluge of Atheism sweeps their children into paganism, at men worshiping tractors and turbines and dynamos, again divine lips seem to repeat, "What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?"

Of old it was written, "If your sins be as scarlet they shall become white as snow." The scarlet scourge of Communism like the paganism of old can be repelled only by Him who died upon and those who love the crimsoned Cross of Calvary.

REFERENCES

The Last Stand,

Edmund A. Walsh, S.J. (Little, Brown & Co.)

Russia's Iron Age,

W. H. Chamberlin (Little, Brown & Co.)



Religion..... Lenin

Religion in the U. S. S. R......Yaroslavsky

(International Publishing Co., 381 Fourth Avenue,
New York, N. Y.)

NOTE: A complete bibliography will be published in the last pamphlet of this series.

Study these four excellent pamphlets and watch for new ones which we will publish shortly on Communism!

A CATECHISM OF COMMUNISM FOR CATHOLIC HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

A PASSIONIST FATHER

It is said that the average Catholic of high school age beats a hasty retreat from the verbal attacks of zealous Communist youths because he feels that he knows nothing about Communism. This attractive pamphlet will reassure him. In it twenty-nine questions are answered in an easy, simple way. It will serve to aid the Catholic young man and young woman to recognise and ward off Red propaganda.

JUST WHAT IS COMMUNISM?

REV. RAYMOND T. FEELY, S.J.

Father Feely makes out a case against this much-discussed economic and political theory of housing and ruling the human family. It is in orderly discussion, divided and subdivided to make pursuit of facts, and conclusions built up from facts, more easy. You have here in a nutshell the weaknesses and affronteries of Communism.

MORALS AND MOSCOW

REV. RAYMOND T. FEELY, S.J.

This is the second in a series of three pamphlets on Communism by Father Feely. It is a brief and at times blunt review of the essential facts of the so-called Communist ethics, which are no longer a question of just curious interest, but an issue of resistance.

THE TACTICS OF COMMUNISM

RIGHT REV. MSGR. FULTON J. SHEEN, D.D.

The American people dislike deceit even under the name of tactics. Monsignor Sheen in this pamphlet does much to put us on our guard against Communism which states officially: "We want to attack our class enemies in the rear."

5 centseach, \$3.50 the 100, \$30.00 the 1,000, carriage extra.

THE PAULIST PRESS

401 West 59th Street

New York, N. Y.