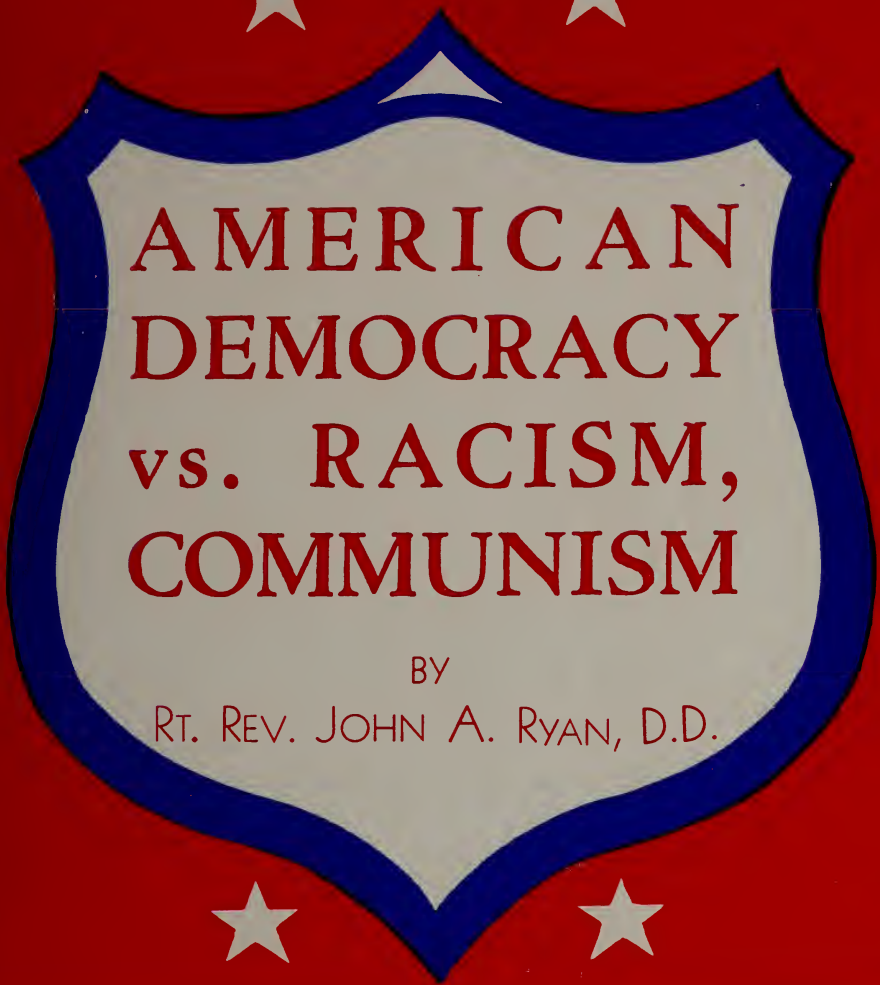


Ryan, John Augustine
- American democracy
e2 AAK 9890



AMERICAN
DEMOCRACY
vs. RACISM,
COMMUNISM

BY
RT. REV. JOHN A. RYAN, D.D.

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY SERIES No. 2

“Christian teaching alone, in its majestic integrity, can give full meaning and compelling motive to the demand for human rights and liberties because it alone gives worth and dignity to human personality.”—POPE PIUS XI, *Apostolic Letter on the Catholic University of America, at the opening of its Jubilee Year, October, 1938.*

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY vs. RACISM, COMMUNISM

By

RIGHT REV. JOHN A. RYAN, D.D.

New York
THE PAULIST PRESS
401 West 59th Street

E. A. NOLL
Phone Belmont 3203
3123 PALMER SQUARE
CHICAGO, ILL

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY VS. RACISM, COMMUNISM

I. AMERICAN DEMOCRACY AND FASCISM

FOR the purposes of this pamphlet, the essence of Americanism is contained in the *Declaration of Independence* and in the Federal Constitution. The pertinent statements in the former document are found in the opening sentences of the second paragraph, *viz.*:

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

In this passage, we have two distinct doctrines: one asserting the natural rights of the individual; the other laying down the right of the people to govern themselves. The former is valid against a popularly elected government as well as an absolute monarchy; against the Congress and the President

of the United States as well as against Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini. The second doctrine implies representative government, the right of the people to choose their own rulers.

While many Americans admit that we have not solved the problem of unemployment as well as it has been superficially solved in the totalitarian States, very few of them desire the superior "efficiency" that might be obtained through a dictatorship. The overwhelming majority of our people still believe that our most perplexing problems, economic and other, can be solved through democratic processes, through popular elections, and through policies developed and enacted by our freely chosen representatives. They have no disposition to exchange representative government for a dictatorship, to exchange liberty for pseudo-efficiency. They still believe that the State exists for the individual, not the individual for the State.

The *Declaration of Independence* asserts that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, but before that it proclaims that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. Self-government is the means; individual rights are the end. Self-government is necessary to safeguard life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The propositions concerning the worth and the dignity of the individual are at once the most fundamental and the most precious of all the doctrines laid down in the Declaration of Independence. According to these propositions, all human beings are equal as persons, all men have certain rights which come

from God and which are, therefore, natural and indestructible. Men are born with these rights and possess them throughout life, regardless of race, country, creed, sex, or economic condition. Therefore, these rights cannot be taken away by kings, parliaments, majorities or dictators.

Nevertheless, one or more of these rights are explicitly denied today in half a dozen countries. Italian Fascism, German Nazism and Russian Communism agree in holding that all individual rights, personal, political, religious and economic, are created by the State and can be modified or taken away by the State. This denial of natural rights is an essential element in the theory and philosophy of all these political systems. Neither Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, nor Soviet Russia admits that individuals have natural rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. In varying degrees, they all reject, both in theory and in practice, that freedom of speech, of printing and of assemblage which are guaranteed in our State and Federal Constitutions.

Racism vs. Rights

These outrages have been most frequent and most flagrant in Soviet Russia and in Hitlerized Germany. Passing over the former country for the moment, let us consider the violations of natural, civil and economic rights that have been inflicted upon the Jews under the rule of Adolph Hitler. Jews have been deprived of their property, excluded from normal economic opportunities and hunted like wild beasts. Even more injurious has

been the propagation of a ridiculous pretension of racial superiority and racial purity. According to this theory, the Aryan race is intrinsically higher and better than the Semitic race. Being Semites, the modern Jews are inferior and despicable. They have no rights which the Aryans are bound to respect. Their blood is tainted in all its corpuscles. The slightest mixture of it is sufficient to corrupt the blood of an Aryan. As the Aryan is the highest and greatest of all races, so the Germans are the purest and noblest of the Aryans.

Of course, this theory of racial superiority and racial purity is utterly without scientific basis. It is not accepted by any competent student of anthropology or of the related sciences. Every genuine scholar in these fields knows that there is no sufficient evidence to support the assumption that any race is intrinsically superior to any other race. Every genuine scholar knows that there is no such thing as a pure race; that all the so-called races existing today are blends, combinations of two or more blood strains. Not even my own branch of the so-called Aryan race, the Irish or the Celtic, is racially pure. And we are probably better off for the infiltrations.

The Church and Racism

The Bible tells us that God created human beings male and female; it nowhere declares that He made them Aryans, Semites, Mongolians, Caucasians or Germans. God did, indeed, set apart the Jews as His chosen people, but only for a particular purpose. St. Paul called himself "a Hebrew

of Hebrews," yet he declared that "there is neither Jew nor Greek . . . but all are one in Christ Jesus." The essential equality of man, proclaimed in these words by the Apostle to the Gentiles, is likewise affirmed by the natural moral law. It would not be denied by an honest and enlightened pagan. An adequate examination of human nature shows that all human beings are essentially equal, inasmuch as all are made in the image and likeness of God, that all have immortal souls, that all have intrinsic worth and dignity and that all are endowed by their Creator with indestructible rights to life, liberty and the means of developing personality. According to the teaching of Christ, the first and greatest Commandment is to love God above all things, and the second is like to the first: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." According to the teaching of Christ, all human beings are neighbors, one to another; according to the gospel of Hitler, the Jews are not neighbors to the Aryans.

It may be objected that the followers of Christ do not always observe this doctrine of the universality of human brotherhood; that even Catholics sometimes treat the Jews as though they were not neighbors. Undoubtedly, this is a fact. Human nature is weak and frequently illogical. Individual Catholics can be cruel and can fail to apply the law of love universally. The authorized teachers and expounders of Catholic doctrine have always condemned anti-Semitism.

About two years ago a group of Catholic scholars in Europe published a memorial on the Church and the Jews, which has been translated into English

and published by the Catholic Association for International Peace. It discusses the subject historically, theologically and with specific reference to present-day anti-Semitism. I quote two of its declarations on the latter topic:

While it is necessary to introduce measures for the purpose of economic recovery, for the reconstruction of the social order, for the Christianization of our intellectual and cultural life, experience has shown that "legislating against the Jews" does not in the least contribute toward the attainment of those ends. On the contrary, by ostracizing the Jews, incalculable damage, temporally and spiritually, is done to the nation. Such laws are enacted only for the sake of providing a scapegoat and to unite the people against an allegedly common foe instead of striving for positive aims. This applies to all nations which legislate against Jews and against so-called "non-Aryans." As Christians we must exert ourselves to the utmost in order to dispel the prevalent poisonous atmosphere of falsehood and hate.

We protest, further, against the ostracism of the Jews and the special measures against them which are also directed against all of us, because they are neither protective nor justifiable defensive measures; they are aimed only at defamation and destruction.

On April 13, 1938, the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities, at the command of the Pope, sent to all Catholic seminaries and universities a letter which denounced as false the doctrines of racism recently invented in Nazi Germany. Among these false and proscribed propositions are the following:

The vigor and blood purity of the race are to be preserved and cherished by every means possible; whatever, therefore, leads to this end is in itself honest and licit.

From the blood in which the character of the race is

identified flow all the qualities of man—intellectual and moral—as from their most powerful source.

The principal end of education is to cultivate the character of the race and to inflame the soul with a burning love of its own race as its highest good.

All these propositions are brutal denials of human equality and human brotherhood. As I have noted above, they were all condemned by Pope Pius XI. At least twice last year the late Holy Father denounced racism, nationalism and anti-Semitism:

To a group of Seminarians, July 28, 1938:

We regard racism and exaggerated nationalism as barriers raised between man and man, between people and people, between nation and nation. . . . All men are, above all, members of the same great kind. They all belong to the single great family of the living. Humankind is therefore a single, universal, catholic race.

To a group of Belgian Pilgrims, September 6, 1938:

Through Christ and in Christ we are the spiritual descendants of Abraham. No, it is not possible for Christians to participate in anti-Semitism. We acknowledge the right of everyone to defend himself, to take legitimate measures to protect himself against all that menaces his legitimate interests. But anti-Semitism is inadmissible. Spiritually we are Semites.

The primary doctrine of Americanism, as set forth in the Declaration of Independence, namely, the essential equality and intrinsic dignity and sacredness of all persons, is approved by the teaching of Christ, the principles of the moral law and the head of the Catholic Church. It is rejected by Fascism, Nazism, and Communism.

The second doctrine of Americanism which has special application today is freedom of speech, printing and assemblage. It is guaranteed in the First Amendment to our Federal Constitution. Like the doctrine of human equality and individual rights, it is denied by Fascism, Nazism, and Communism. It has been disregarded and violated by the adherents of all three of these systems in the United States.

The most recent instance of such disregard occurred February 19, 1939, in connection with the pro-Nazi meeting in Madison Square Garden, New York City. The following extracts from an editorial in the *New York World-Telegram*, February 20, 1939, give a dramatic description of the proceedings within the Garden:

For more than three hours Monday night an audience of about 20,000 persons at Madison Square Garden had drummed into its ears the steady tom-tom of hatred.

They were gripped by the rhythmic appeal of competent speaking, practicing upon them the settled formula of the Nazi system—whatever is wrong, curse the Jew for it.

It was a revolting exhibition to eyes and ears bred in the tolerance of American tradition. It was a complete desecration, chanting this hate with American flags for a background and a ceiling-high picture of George Washington looking down on the stage.

And never, it is fair to say, has any person or any classification in all the pugilistic history of the Garden taken such a pushing around as the Jews received from Bund speakers last night.

No language of denunciation within the limits of decency could be too strong to characterize this vulgar and brutal exhibition. Nevertheless, the

authorities of the City of New York adopted an attitude toward the meeting and its speakers which was in the best American tradition. They effectively protected the constitutional right of these peddlers of hate to assemble and to make speeches. In the words of the *World-Telegram* editorial from which I have already quoted: "Democracy worked Monday night with health and self-respect, to the refutation of the Bund and the contradiction of short-sighted Americans who felt that the demonstration should be prevented."

Sincere believers in Americanism regret and deplore the fact that the number of those who would have prevented or broken up this un-American assemblage by force and violence, ran into tens of thousands. Seventeen hundred policemen were stationed in the vicinity of the meeting place to preserve order and vindicate the right of free speech. It is difficult to determine which of the mutually opposing groups, those within or those without the Garden, committed the greater outrage against genuine Americanism. The former denied and derided the doctrines of human equality and of equal rights for all; those outside the Garden trampled under foot the Constitutional doctrine of free speech.

Not the least of the evils arising from a campaign of racial discrimination is the danger that the doctrine of freedom of speech will become dim and feeble in the minds of various large groups of our people. This prospect should be very disturbing to all genuine Americans. Freedom of expression is the Constitutional right of every political,

social and racial group. Some of the groups that most vociferously demand this right for themselves would, indeed, withhold it from others. Communists sometimes shout down speakers who criticize Soviet Russia at public meetings; followers of Hitler sometimes inflict the same treatment upon those who denounce the present regime in Germany. Neither of these attitudes is sufficient reason for denying freedom of speech to either of the offending groups. The true American, the man who genuinely accepts the American doctrine, will not refuse our established civil liberties to any group or organization. The late Justice Holmes expressed the correct American view when he said that we ought to concede freedom not only for opinions that we love but for opinions that we hate.

This does not mean that men have a natural right to unlimited freedom of speech. That is a very shallow doctrine. Wide as is the liberty of expression authorized by our Constitution and statutes, it is not unlimited. As illustrations of this fact, I cite the convictions under the Espionage Act during the Great War, our laws forbidding libelous publications and our ordinances against obscene speech and printing. When, however, one group thinks that the law should prohibit speeches and writing in favor of Fascism and Hitlerism, while another declares that the public dissemination of Communist doctrines should be legally proscribed, my reply is that I agree with both these contentions as a matter of theory. All three of these systems deny one or more of men's natural rights. Therefore, they are all contrary to right reason and harm-

ful to the common good. Therefore, the public advocacy of all of them might logically and reasonably be prohibited.

This, however, is only theory and hypothesis. As a practical matter, the legal suppression of any of these irrational doctrines would do more harm than good. Any statute containing such a prohibition would inevitably be so abused as to penalize the advocacy of doctrines which are not harmful, which are not immoral, but which are so regarded by Bourbons and reactionaries. For example, I happen to believe in public ownership of public utilities, a proposal which is not infrequently denounced as Socialistic or Communistic. Under a local administration subservient to plutocracy, the advocacy of this and similar fundamental economic reforms would be liable to prosecution, although the statute might have been honestly aimed only at Fascism or Communism.

Anti-Semitism

The third doctrine of Americanism to be considered here is expressed in the "due process" clause of the Constitution. Neither the Federal government nor a State government may deprive any person of "life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." This prohibition is ignored by, if it is not unknown to, many who are today engaged in a furtive movement for the promotion of anti-Semitism. Those persons speak of "putting the Jew in his place"—possibly by depriving him of the right to enter certain occupations, or the right to make

his home in certain residential quarters. Of course, nothing of this sort can be legally accomplished or perpetrated under our Constitution.

Some of those who are engaged in arousing anti-Semitic feeling are aware of this Constitutional bar to economic proscription of Jewish Americans. They seem to think, however, that anti-Semitism might be promoted by three other methods. The first is the boycott. This is an ugly device and probably would not have any great measure of success in the United States. Indeed, it is practically certain that the Jew baiters will not be able to improve their own economic welfare by any amount of anti-Semitic denunciation or propaganda.

The second method can be made effective within its own sphere. Its sphere is the human mind and the human heart. Those who hate the Jews can continue to hate and they can induce others to hate. This is a form of anti-Semitism that is beyond the reach both of the Constitution and of economic custom. However ignoble and detestable, it is entirely feasible. The third method is closely connected with the second. It is to cause the Jews great mental anguish by denunciation and misrepresentation. Like the practice of hate, this method is also beyond the reach of the Constitution.

To anyone who is tempted to identify himself with anti-Semitism, one might address these words: "Just how far do you intend to go along this road? You cannot restrict the freedom or opportunities of the Jew by law, nor can you get very far with a boycott. There is nothing left to you but the practice of hate and calumny. Do you really want to

follow this course? If you are unwilling to face this ugly choice, your anti-Semitism is illogical and futile.”

To Christians who favor or condone the ugly thing called anti-Semitism, one might put these questions: “Can you imagine the divine Founder of the Christian religion indulging in hatred toward the race from which He sprang? or any other race? Can you imagine Him discriminating against the Jews, ostracizing them, treating them as Pariahs? You profess to be followers of Christ—Christ, who loved all men; Christ, who made the blind see, the lame walk and the deaf hear; Christ, who cleansed the lepers and preached the Gospel to the poor; Christ, who forgave the repentant outcast many sins, because she had loved much; Christ, who as man wept by the silent tomb of Lazarus, and then as God, called the dead man back to life; Christ, whose heart throbbed with infinite pity for the lowly, the poor, and the afflicted; Christ, who first taught men the meaning of brotherhood, whose Gospel was love, always love, love for every man, woman, and child; Christ, who amid the awful agony of the Cross asked pardon for His murderers: ‘Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!’ ”

No wonder, then, that Pope Pius XI declared: “It is not possible for Christians to participate in anti-Semitism.” It is in order to add that participation in anti-Semitism is impossible for a genuine believer in Americanism.

II. DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNISM

Can a believer in democracy be a Communist? Has a Communist a right to call himself a democrat? The correct answer to both questions is an unqualified and emphatic "no!" Nevertheless, the Communist leaders in the United States, their friends and their dupes, insist that Soviet Russia is a democracy. They classify it with Great Britain, France, and the United States.

According to Webster's *International Dictionary*, democracy is "a form of government in which the supreme power is retained by the people and exercised either *directly*, or indirectly through a system of representation." Assuredly this definition does not fit the government of Soviet Russia. In that country, the supreme power is not retained by the people, nor is it exercised through representatives chosen by the people. The rulers of the Russian State are selected and determined by the Communist Party. A few years ago, the membership of the Party was said to be three million. It is now only 1,600,000. This is a figure given by Stalin himself in his three-hour speech, March 11, 1939. The Soviet Government represents only a little over a million and a half out of 175,000,000 people. Although the peasants vastly outnumber the industrial workers, they have little or no effective voice in the elections, because their ballots count for only one-fifth as much as an equal number of urban votes.

Nor is this the whole story. The actual control of the central government is in the hands of a small section, or faction, or clique of Party members.

Hence, the government is not even a dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a dictatorship by the Communist aristocracy, by Stalin, his associates and his henchmen. They keep themselves in office through force, fear, cruelty, the army, the secret police and legalized assassination.

To do them justice, we must note that the Russian dictators do not themselves call their regime a democracy. They leave that bit of cynical pleasantry to their naive disciples and their dishonest disciples in foreign lands, particularly in the United States.

In Soviet Russia, then, there exists no genuine representative system, no adequate political liberty nor anything that deserves to be called government by consent of the governed. When American Communists assert that the Soviet regime is a democracy, like the United States, they manifest that curious lack of a sense of humor which is the authentic badge of the Communist everywhere.

Civil Rights in a Democracy

In addition to representative government, there is another quality, or implication, of democracy which is fundamental. That is a bill of rights, an enumeration of the civil rights guaranteed to the individual in a country's organic law. Although these individual rights, or some of them, could logically be maintained in a non-democratic State, even in an absolute monarchy or under a dictatorship, they have generally found their most congenial habitation in lands that are dedicated to democracy. On the other hand, not all the democracies

protect individual or civil rights to the same extent as do the constitutions of Ireland, Great Britain and the United States. Nevertheless, a democratic State which lacks an adequate bill of rights is vitally defective. Indeed, civil rights may sometimes be more precious to the citizen than political rights; for example, the right of free speech could in some situations be more beneficial to the masses of men than the right to vote. In the American Declaration of Independence the security of natural, or civil, or individual rights is set forth as the principal end of government.

We Americans regard our group of civil rights and liberties as an essential element of our political system. In the amendments to our Federal Constitution, all individuals are guaranteed freedom of religion, of speech, of the press, and of assemblage and security against unreasonable searches and seizures; both the Congress and the States are forbidden to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, and it is declared that private property may not be taken for public use without just compensation.

Civil Rights in Russia

So far as I know, not one of these rights is protected in the political system of Soviet Russia. There is no guarantee of freedom of speech, press or assemblage. Only as much of these liberties is permitted as seems good to the dictators. Apologists for Soviet Russia assert that the people of that country enjoy freedom of religious worship. What they mean—if they know what they are talking

about—is that a very few churches are open. That is all. There is no adequate freedom of religious instruction. Moreover, societies for the spread of atheism receive direct encouragement from the Soviet Government. Indeed, the Soviet authorities do not conceal their desire and intention to root out religion utterly from the minds and hearts of the Russian people. Of course, this attitude is a logical and practical conclusion from the fundamental principles of Communism. The Communist philosophy is essentially antagonistic to the doctrines of religion—of any religion and of all religions.

So much for freedom of religion. What about freedom of speech, press, and assemblage in Soviet Russia? At the close of ten years' service in Moscow, as special correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*, William H. Chamberlain published an article in *The Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1934, from which I take the following extract:

One among many points of faith common to apologists of Communism and Fascism is an overweening contempt for civil liberties, which are represented as unnecessary and inconvenient barnacles on the ship of progress. The longer I have lived in the Soviet Union, where civil liberties—freedom of speech, press, assembly, and election—are most conspicuously lacking, the more I have become convinced that they are of vital and tremendous importance, and that their existence or absence is as good a test as any of the quality of a nation's civilization.

The Fourth Amendment to our Federal Constitution guarantees security against unreasonable searches and seizures. No such protection exists in

the political system of Soviet Russia. By way of proof of this statement, I refer you to the accounts found in the books on that country by William H. Chamberlain, Calvin Hoover, and Eugene Lyons. These and many other writers show that in Russia today the citizen's "person, house, papers, and effects" may be seized and searched whenever and however it suits the arbitrary will of the governing authorities, or any of their minions or instruments.

What about the protection of Russian citizens against deprivation of "life, liberty and property without due process of law?" This guarantee is contained in the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments to our Federal Constitution. In Russia, a citizen may, whenever it seems good to the political authorities, be deprived of any or all of these goods by processes which sometimes make a pretense of regularity and legality, but are in fact entirely arbitrary. By way of example, I would cite the horrible methods employed in the infamous trials for treason which have taken place during the last three years.

Inasmuch as Communism rejects the right of private property, the Soviet system could not include any such provision as that found in the Fifth Amendment to our Constitution, which forbids the government to take private property for a public purpose without just compensation. The Soviet Government seizes and confiscates private property whenever that seems advantageous. In passing, I would observe that a system of widely distributed private ownership is necessary for the stability of a democracy. The maintenance of private prop-

erty as an institution is not sufficient. The institution must be so ordered and administered that the majority of families will have in it a substantial share. No American who wants our democracy to survive can look with complacency upon our steadily and rapidly increasing concentration of industrial ownership and control, or upon the alarming decrease in farm ownership and increase in farm tenancy, or upon the trend toward a system in which the masses of the wage-earners have nothing to sell but their labor, have no property in the tools with which they work. A Communist system necessarily excludes individual ownership; a democracy can have no assurance of stability without a wide distribution of private property.

The Basis of Communism

The Communist disregard of individual rights is a natural and necessary outcome of its materialistic philosophy. If men are composed merely of matter they have no intrinsic worth and sacredness. They possess no moral rights. They may be used as mere instruments of the State. They and their lives and their goods may be "liquidated" with as little compunction as if they were stocks and stones. On the other hand, the democratic principle that all men are essentially equal and possess intrinsic worth and sacredness, is the only rational basis for a bill of individual rights against autocrats, despots, dictators and all varieties of the totalitarian State.

While these fundamental rights can be vindicated by natural reason, they have always derived

their best support from revelation, from supernatural religion; and they have invariably received the largest measure of recognition and protection from States which carried on the Christian tradition. In his Apostolic Letter to the Bishops of the United States at the opening of the Golden Jubilee of the Catholic University of America, Pope Pius XI declared:

Christian teaching alone, in its majestic integrity, can give full meaning and compelling motive to the demand for human rights and liberties, because it alone gives worth and dignity to human personality.

In his message to Congress, January 4, 1939, President Roosevelt said:

Storms from abroad directly challenge three institutions indispensable to Americans, now as always. The first is religion. It is the source of the other two—democracy and international good faith.

Religion, by teaching man his relationship to God, gives the individual a sense of his own dignity and teaches him to respect himself by respecting his neighbors.

The contempt for individual rights displayed by the rulers of Soviet Russia has been reported and illustrated by the great majority of competent observers who have written about that regime. Only two will be cited here. In 1931, Professor Calvin Hoover published a book entitled *The Economic Life of Soviet Russia*. Observing that the term "comrade" has "no real significance," denotes no brotherly feeling among the Russian Communists who use it as the ordinary form of address to one another, he continues:

In Soviet Russia there is not less bitterness but more. Communism has not brought peace to Russia, but a sword. The struggle for power has replaced the struggle for wealth. Within the State Trusts and Commissariats, within the Party, the struggle for power is sharper than within the institutions of Capitalism. The orthodox Party member of today finds tomorrow that his orthodoxy has been successfully attacked by a fellow Party member who hates or fears him and he is ruthlessly expelled from the Party. The institution of the *chistka* or "cleaning" has been evolved and is used in every institution in Russia to give full rein to suspicion, envy and sadism.

Six years later the same author produced a little book entitled *Dictators and Democracies*. Referring to the executions for treason which had begun a considerable time before the appearance of this volume, he says:

The victims of the latest phase of the Terror are almost entirely Communists. They are not alone former Trotskyists, but members of the Right Opposition who were theoretically most opposed to Trotsky, as well as Party members who were never involved in any of the controversies between the Stalinists and other factions in the Party. They have included practically all of the internationally-known old Bolsheviki as well as some of the most famous proletarian leaders of the Red Army in the Civil War.

The transition was easy from hatred of the capitalist class to hatred of those comrades who got in the way of more powerful comrades. In passing, I should like to note a degree of resemblance between the Communist hatred of the capitalists and the anti-Semitism of the Jew-baiter. In the one case, it is class hatred; in the other case, it is race hatred.

The other witness to be cited is a man who was

the Moscow correspondent for the United Press from 1929 to 1934. His name is Eugene Lyons and his book is called *Assignment in Utopia*. He had gone to Russia as a firm believer in the Soviet system, but gradually and reluctantly became disillusioned. He says:

I left Russia and Europe convinced that the immediate task—for those who have the urge to participate consciously in the historical processes of their lifetime—is to defend the basic concepts of freedom, human necessities, intellectual integrity, respect for life. . . . I am convinced that any philosophy of human progress which does not rest uncompromisingly on respect for life, no matter how honest its original intent is, becomes brutalized and defeats its own professed purpose.

Some persons may object to the assumption that Russian Communism is typical of all Communism. They may assert that a Communist regime in America would not be opposed to democracy. The reply is that American Communism is loyal to Soviet Russia. It looks to the Soviet regime as that Paradise on earth which has already been achieved over "one-sixth of the earth's inhabited surface." In the words of a very able work, published this year, under the title *World Communism*, by F. Borkenau, "present-day Communism is essentially the belief in a saviour abroad; . . ." That savior is Lenin. And the model State to which American Communists look is the Soviet dictatorship. This remains true, despite the assertion of Earl Browder that "the Communists do not take orders from Moscow."

The Threat of Communist Tactics

In fact, neither the denials nor the assertions of American Communists have any necessary relation to facts and realities. The well-instructed Communist will not hesitate to utter that which he knows to be untrue if this serves the purposes of the Party. It is simply a question of effective tactics. In the eyes of the orthodox Communist, telling the truth and keeping faith are merely superstitions of "bourgeois morality." This doctrine was expressed by Nicolai Lenin: "We must be ready, if necessary, to practice trickery, to employ cunning, and to resort to illegal methods, to sometimes even overlook the truth."

The implications of the official Communist doctrine that the truth may be disregarded whenever a falsehood is more advantageous, have come to be very serious for many groups of Americans, especially some labor union leaders. Clever Communists are constantly striving to get a foothold in the American labor movement. Deception, pretense, and prevarication are among their every-day methods. This process they designate by the euphemistic phrase, "boring from within." They are not interested in the aims of the American labor unions or in the welfare of the American laborer. Their object is to spread the doctrines of Communism and to hasten the coming of the Communist Revolution. In pursuit of these ends, they strive always to produce the maximum amount of dissension and disorder, to prevent rather than to promote industrial peace. Unfortunately, it has taken the mem-

bership and the leadership of some of our labor unions a considerable time to find all this out.

The confusing and dishonest methods and propaganda of the Communists have extended beyond the labor movement. They have bedeviled and undermined many other good causes, for example youth movements and peace organizations. Well-meaning persons join a society whose professed aims are admirable, only to learn that it is either controlled outright by Communists or too closely linked with Communist designs. This is the strategy of the "united front," "fellow travelers," etc. The net effect of these dishonest methods is that good causes are injured and Communist aims promoted.

In this connection the following description of Communist deceit is well worth quoting. It is taken from the encyclical on *Atheistic Communism*, by Pope Pius XI:

And as every error contains its element of truth, the partial truths to which we have referred are astutely presented according to the needs of time and place, to conceal, when convenient, the repulsive crudity and inhumanity of Communistic principles and tactics. Thus the Communist ideal wins over many of the better-minded members of the community. These in turn become the apostles of the movement among the younger intelligentsia who are still too immature to recognize the intrinsic errors of the system. The preachers of Communism are also proficient in exploiting racial antagonism and political divisions and oppositions. They take advantage of the lack of orientation characteristic of modern agnostic science in order to burrow into the universities, where they bolster up the principles of their doctrine with pseudo-scientific arguments.

The universal and unchanging fact is that the Communists are a grave liability to any organization in which they exercise any degree of influence. Should they ever obtain political control in the United States, they would prove as deceitful, as dictatorial and as cruel as their "comrades" in Russia. For they have the same philosophy, the same selfishness, the same training, the same tactics, and the same purposes. They are an unlovely and impossible sect. In fact, they are a total loss.

REFERENCES

Brochures and Pamphlets

- "German Reich and Americans of German Origin," Oxford University Press, New York, 1938.
- "The Church and the Jews," Catholic Association for International Peace, 10c.
- "Why Are the Jews Persecuted?" Joseph N. Moody, *Queen's Work*, 5c.
- "The Catholic and the Jew," address by Rev. Edwin V. Ryan, D.D., St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md., 1938.
- Bibliography on Communism, N. C. W. C., 5c.
- "Atheistic Communism," Encyclical of Pope Pius XI, N. C. W. C., 10c.
- "Survey of Communism in the United States," N. C. W. C., 10c.
- "Communism, Fascism, The U. S. A.," R. T. Feely, S.J., The Paulist Press, 5c.
- "The Tactics of Communism," Fulton Sheen, The Paulist Press, 5c.

Magazine Articles

- "Catholics and Anti-Semitism," J. Elliot Ross, *American Ecclesiastical Review*, May, 1939.
- "Can There Be An 'American Fascism'?" A. R. Bandini, *American Ecclesiastical Review*, April, 1939.
- "Jews, Reds and Imbeciles," by Gerald Vann, O.P., *The Catholic World*, April, 1939.
- "Getting Wise to Fascism," Editorial by Rev. James M. Gillis, C.S.P., *The Catholic World*, April, 1939.
- "Racial Truth and Racist Effort," by John LaFarge, S.J., *Thought*, March, 1939.
- "The Jews As a Race," M. J. Gruenthaner, *Thought*, March, 1939.
- "Nationalism, Racism, and the Church," by W. Parsons, S.J., *Thought*, March, 1939.

N. C. W. C. STUDY CLUB OUTLINE

Democracy and Anti-Semitism

I

1. In our Declaration of Independence, what natural rights are recognized and how does this document describe the functions of government and the right of the people to choose their own rulers?
2. Are the natural rights denied in any countries?
3. Of what rights have the Jews been deprived in Germany? On what ground?
4. Has the theory of racial superiority any scientific basis?
5. What are the teachings of the Bible and of Christ with regard to anti-Semitism?
6. Do Christians always observe the doctrine of the universality of human brotherhood?
7. According to the memorial of European Catholics on "The Church and the Jews," what are the effects of anti-Semitic measures?
8. Discuss the following condemnations of racism:
 - (a) The Sacred Congregation of Seminarians and Universities.
 - (b) Pope Pius XI to Seminarians, to Belgian Pilgrims.

II

1. By what law is freedom of speech, printing, and assemblage guaranteed to Americans? Is this violated by adherents of Fascism, Nazism, and Communism in this country? How?
2. Have men a right to unlimited freedom of speech?
3. What arguments are there for suppression of Fascist or Communist doctrines?
4. Why as a practical matter would this course do more harm than good?
5. What reference has the "due process" clause of the Constitution to those who promote anti-Semitism?

6. How are the following methods employed in anti-Semitism?
 - (a) Boycott.
 - (b) Practice of hate.
 - (c) Denunciation and misrepresentation.
7. Compare the teachings and actions of Christ with the implications involved in the practice of anti-Semitism.

Democracy and Communism

III

1. What is democracy? Why does this definition not fit the government of Soviet Russia as to representative government and political liberty?
2. Why are civil rights of such importance?
3. What civil rights and liberties are protected under the amendments to our Constitution?
4. How are the following rights treated in the political system of Russia?
 - (a) Freedom of religion.
 - (b) Freedom of speech, press, and assemblage.
 - (c) Security against unreasonable searches and seizures.
 - (d) Security against deprivation of life, liberty, and property without due process of law.
5. Is "widely distributed" private ownership necessary for the stability of a democracy?

IV

1. Discuss Communist disregard of individual rights as natural and necessary outcome of materialistic philosophy and as opposed to democratic principles of human worth and sacredness.
2. Give examples of how the doctrine of human worth has found its best support in religion.
3. Does this disregard of human rights apply to all—capitalist and proletarian alike?
4. Is Russian Communism typical of all Communism?
5. Is American Communism loyal to Soviet Russia?
6. Discuss the Communist disregard for truth as affecting the labor movement, youth movements, and peace organization in the United States.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY CLUBS ON CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY

1. The study club is not a group to listen to lectures. It is for informal discussion. It is small—ten or twelve to twenty or so—so as to permit general discussion.
2. There is a discussion leader.
3. The group may consist of persons of various occupations and interests or of special groups. A number of small study groups established within each organization is desirable.
4. Meetings are once a week or once every two weeks or once a month.
5. Every member should have at least the text and the outline.
6. Reference Shelf or Table is helpful.
7. The discussion, as a rule, follows the outline point by point. The section of the text to be discussed should be read before the meeting by each member.
8. Use questions at the end of the meeting to recapitulate.
9. Reports or papers called for by the outline should be brief.
10. Short summary of previous meeting by different member each time ensures continuity.
11. Begin meeting and close it on time.
12. The purposes of the group are:
 - (a) So its members will know the teaching of the Church on social and political relations.
 - (b) So they can speak at Catholic meetings.
 - (c) So they can be leaders in the activity of Catholic organizations.
 - (d) So they can apply the teachings in their civic life.
 - (e) So they can guide the civic and political organizations to which they belong.
 - (f) So they will be better Catholics.
 - (g) So they will be better citizens.
13. If the group is an offshoot or a part of another organization they should report their conclusions to the parent organization, because one of the chief purposes of the club or committee is to pass on their information, point of view and enthusiasm to the Catholics of their community and to make the club's work definitely a part of the parent organization's work.

For further information and assistance, write:

**NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE
Social Action Department**

1312 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D. C.

Christian Democracy Series

Popular pamphlets on the problems and institutions of American democracy from the viewpoint of Christian teaching. All contain study outlines.

1. **THE CITIZEN, THE CHURCH AND THE STATE**

By RIGHT REV. JOHN A. RYAN, D.D.

2. **AMERICAN DEMOCRACY vs. RACISM, COMMUNISM**

By RIGHT REV. JOHN A. RYAN, D.D.

3. **MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK**

By JEROME G. KERWIN, PH.D.

Titles in Preparation

A PRIMER OF DEMOCRACY

THE CATHOLIC BACKGROUND
OF DEMOCRACY

MORALITY AND PUBLIC OFFICE

CIVIL RIGHTS

MR. PRIVATE CITIZEN

5 cents each, \$3.50 the 100, \$30.00 the 1,000
(*Carriage Extra*)

THE PAULIST PRESS

401 West 59th Street

New York, N. Y.