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# A Freedom Forum Presentation: What Is Communism?

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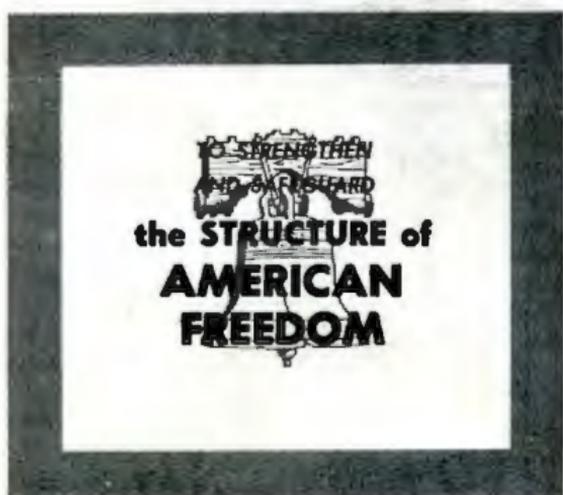
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A  
*Freedom Forum*  
PRESENTATION . . .



*What Is Communism?*

by

**Dr. J. D. Bales, Professor of Christian Doctrine  
Harding College, Searcy, Arkansas**

**Presented to Freedom Forum  
Searcy, Arkansas**

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# *What Is Communism?*

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What is communism? Communism is many things. It is a philosophy and way of life which embraces atheism; dialectical materialism; class morality; class warfare; the vision of world conquest; the strategy and the tactics deemed essential to turn this vision into a reality; and the vision of the creation of a new social order and a new man. It is a philosophy which is embodied in an international movement organized into various Communist parties which seeks to establish a dictatorship, then a socialistic and finally a communistic social order. As a way of life it emphasizes that doctrines must guide one's actions so as to produce the revolutionary change of society.

Their outstanding textbook on their philosophy states that Marxism-Leninism includes the materialistic conception of history, economic theory, "the theory and tactics of the international communist movement, including the Marxist-Leninist appraisal of the most important mass trends in the present-day democratic movement; (and) the theory of socialism and communism."<sup>1</sup>

## Defined

In the *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, Oscar Jaszi viewed communism as a variant under socialism. Socialism, he said, is characterized by, first, the repudiation of the existing society as unjust; second, the contention that the socialistic society will be consistent with moral values; third, this ideal society can be achieved; fourth, the existing society is immoral because of corrupt institutions; fifth, the fundamental remaking of institutions and human nature; and, sixth, the revolutionary determination to replace the old society with the new one. In other words, "no true socialist is satisfied with merely economic reforms but advocates also a distinct educational, ethical and aesthetic policy."<sup>2</sup>

Hugh Seton-Watson defined communism as "a theory, which professes to explain philosophy, religion, history, economics and society. Communism is a vocation, whose devotees accept its discipline in every part of their private and professional lives. Communism is a science of conspiracy, a technique of wrecking and subversion. Communism is a revolutionary movement, a political force which operates in a social environment, which recruits its members from various classes of society, and marshals its armies against various political opponents."<sup>3</sup>

My own definition is that communism is a Marx inspired, Moscow-directed, international conspiracy of lawless men against civilization, based on a God-denying philosophy of life, sustained by faith in the dialectic, backed by the devotion of fanatical believers, and to an uncertain extent by the might of the Red armies.<sup>4</sup>

Communism should be defined both by its doctrines and by its deeds. It is important to understand what it does. "By their fruits ye shall know them." (Matt. 7:16). The Communists cannot reject this test, since they maintain that theory is a guide to practice. Their deeds are the application of their theory to conduct. As we shall see, it is evil in conduct, because it is basically evil in its concepts.

As we set forth various aspects of communism, keep in mind that a person may hold some aspect of its doctrines without being a Communist. Communism is each of the things which we shall mention, but it is more than any one of these things. It is an embodiment of all of them.

### **Importance of Understanding Communism**

Does it make any difference whether we understand communism? Ask Alexander Kerensky, whose provisional government the Communists overthrew in Russia in 1917, after he thought he could cooperate with them. "Freedom and bondage, democracy and dictatorship, these are the two irreconcilable symbols of political creed. There can be no peace between them."<sup>5</sup>

Ask the British Embassy at Petrograd, which informed our government on January 19, 1918 that communism was "a world-wide social revolution, with the suppression of religion, nationality and property."<sup>6</sup>

Ask New York State Senator Clayton R. Lusk who in 1920 said: "If the great forces which have been set in motion are not checked and the movements redirected into constructive and lawful channels, the country faces the most serious problems that it has had to meet since the establishment of this Republic."<sup>7</sup> He told me that he was called a red-baitor and a creator of hysteria.

Ask J. Edgar Hoover who, as Special Assistant to the Attorney General, in 1919 prepared a legal brief on the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party which showed that organized communism is a conspiracy.<sup>8</sup>

Ask Ambassador William C. Bullitt who on April 20, 1936, informed our Government in a dispatch from Moscow: "Yet it must be recognized that communists are agents of a foreign power whose aim is not only to destroy the institutions and liberties of our country, but also to kill millions of Americans. Our relations with the Soviet Union, therefore, involve questions of domestic policy which can not be answered except on the basis of a careful estimate of the strength of world communism and the

reality or unreality of its threat to our liberties and lives.”<sup>9</sup>

Ask Dore Schary, a top man in the Anti-Defamation League, who in 1965 wrote: “At a time when the strongest threat to our democracy is the force of communism in the world, we are engaging all our defenses to contain and contest it.”<sup>10</sup>

Ask Edgar Ansel Mowrer, who has been a correspondent for fifty years and who lived abroad twenty-seven years. He not only told the world what Hitler planned to do, but also long ago warned the world of the threat of communism. Only this year he testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities that: “We are lacking in the understanding of the basics of this international power conspiracy — ideology, pseudoreligion, whatever you wish to call it — which threatens us at many points over the globe.”<sup>11</sup>

Ask the House Committee on Un-American Activities which on July 20, 1965 said: “In 1917, Communists seized control of the first nation to come within their power. With a relative handful of men, they succeeded in taking over a nation that encompassed 10 percent of the world’s population and approximately 1½ percent of its land mass. Today, 48 years later, they have expanded their power to the point where they control 35 percent of the world’s population and over 26 percent of its land mass. They rule at least 18 nations and have organized Communist parties in virtually every one of the hundred-odd countries of the world. Some of these parties in the non-Communist nations are so large (numbering millions), well-organized, and tightly disciplined that they exercise powerful influence on the political and economic life of the host countries and constitute a continuing threat of armed insurrection.

“Yet, today, when the world population is estimated to be approximately 3,200,000,000 persons, the Communist parties of the world claim a total membership of less than 45 million. Less than 2 percent of the world’s population, in other words, has succeeded in dominating 35 percent and threatening the freedom of many millions more.”<sup>12</sup>

And finally, ask M. A. Suslov, Secretary of the Central Committee, CPSU, who on June 2, 1965 said: "Despite the difficulties which have risen, the world Communist movement continues to make headway. Communist parties are active at present in 88 countries and unite more than 46 million people in their ranks.

"Most of the Communist parties firmly stand on the position of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and are consistently implementing the general line of the world Communist movement as defined by the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960.

"The Communist parties are becoming an ever more influential force in the social and political life of a number of capitalist countries. Thus, the French and Italian Communist parties have scored big successes in local and general elections. Active work among the masses is being conducted by the Communist parties of Finland, Belgium, Greece, Chile, Uruguay, and other countries. It is gratifying to see how the positions of the Communist movement are being strengthened in the countries of Asia and Africa. Twenty-six new Communist parties have been founded there in the past two decades, and the number of Communists has risen nearly 15-fold."<sup>13</sup>

#### **Understandable?**

Communism is understandable, although some parts of it are easier to grasp than others. It is a riddle wrapped in an enigma only to those who have not done their homework. No one person can be an expert on all aspects of the history of communism from Marx until now in each and every country, and no one man can keep up with all that all the Communists do and say. It would be a full time job for an ordinary person to keep up with the Communist fronts; and this could not be done without a considerable office force. Yet with some study we can understand its basic philosophy, strategy, tactics, vocabulary, and goals. Since the publication of the *Manifesto* in 1848, both the teachings and the deeds of the Communists have furnished us with

ample material as to its nature. In fact, some important documents go back before 1848. Most of these became available in our century in the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*.

Not only has there been an abundance of material published by Communists but also a mass of material has been made available by investigating committees of various states and of the national government.

One does not have to be what some people call an intellectual, in order to understand communism. Intellectuals can have illusions and biases. Genuine intellectuals can be wrong. For example, as late as Spring of 1929 most economists, according to Robert S. Lynd a social scientist, were optimistic; while but a few viewed the future with apprehension.<sup>14</sup> Reinhold Niebuhr, an intellectual and a liberal who himself once said that he had been wrong so often he wondered that anybody now took him seriously,<sup>15</sup> maintains that the record of the intellectuals "since the eighteenth century has been so dismal. It has consisted in dreaming of both harmless and dangerous utopias." "Considering the vanity of these schemes dreamed up by the intellectuals, one is almost persuaded to thank God for the common-sense wisdom of the traditional 'man in the street.' I would substitute the taxi-driver for the man in the street to make the simile more vivid. For the taxi-driver is superior to the ordinary intellectual in dealing with the complexities of politics, including international politics, because a shrewd awareness of human foibles prevents him from engaging in vain dreams or self-pity."<sup>16</sup> We are for real scholarship, but real scholarship includes common sense and an understanding of human nature.

Furthermore, one does not have to be an economist to understand communism. One can be an economist and not understand communism. Communism embraces economic aspects but it is far more than economics. It is an entire philosophy of life. As a matter of fact, certain of the basic ideas of Karl Marx were formulated *before* he took up the study of economics. His "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's

Philosophy of Right" in 1844 reveals his atheism, his dialectical outlook, his class morality, his hatred of the existing society, his decision to make the proletariat the bearer of all good and the bourgeoisie the bearer of all evil, his determination to destroy the existing society through revolution, and his utopian vision of a new society and a new man. Unless he understands such basic aspects of its world view, the best economist in the world does not really understand communism.<sup>17</sup>

### Why Has Communism Been Misunderstood?

If communism is understandable, why have so many people misunderstood it? First, some have not done their homework and thus are ignorant of its nature.

Second, our common human tendency is to judge other people by ourselves, both with reference to our weak points and also with reference to our good points. If you would not stoop to a certain thing, you find it difficult to believe that other people would stoop to it. Certain crimes are inconceivable to us, yet someone commits them. Too long we have felt that the Communists will act as we act. Too long we have thought that they accept our basic values. Some individuals do not have any deep seated convictions themselves, and find it impossible to believe that anyone else does. Thus it is inconceivable to them that Communists can believe the Communist philosophy of life, take it seriously, and act accordingly. If they will read Communist literature, and study the lives of Communists, they will find that enough of them take it seriously to make it an exceedingly dangerous threat to all of our values.

Third, some assume that because people should not do a certain thing they will not do it. As a liberal sociologist, George Lundberg, observed: "Men and nations *shouldn't* behave in certain ways, therefore, it is believed, they *won't* behave that way, especially if we exhort them enough. Although the whole course of history indicates the fallacy of this reasoning, we cling to it."<sup>18</sup>

Fourth, we do not like to believe unpleasant truths. If we really see communism

as it is, it means that business can no longer be as usual. Everything is changed, for we are confronted with a foe who has declared war on us whether we want the war or not.

Fifth, there are those who have such illusions about human nature that they believe that man cannot become depraved and that progress is inevitable. They overlook both the teaching of the Scripture (Romans 1:18-32) and history which show the tremendous evil of which man is capable. Their illusions soften them up for the kill, while the Communist illusions steel him for ceaseless attacks.

Sixth, some have judged Communists simply by their physical features. Because Communists do not have horns on their heads they think that there are no horns in their hearts. It is only when we understand what is in a person's mind that we fully understand him. If we understand his basic philosophy, we understand the basic concepts by which he operates.

#### **Dynamic System**

Communism is a dynamic system which activates its followers to work for the Communist conquest of the world. The Communists have always maintained that theory must be the guide to practice. Marx believed that one must understand the world with the purpose of changing it.<sup>19</sup> As Khrushchev said: "Revolutionary theory is not a collection of petrified dogmas and formulae, but a militant guide to action in transforming the world, in building communism. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that a theory isolated from practice is dead, and practice which is not illumined by revolutionary theory is blind."<sup>20</sup> And Mao wrote: "What Marxist philosophy considers most important is not understanding the laws of the external world and thereby explaining it, but actively changing the world by applying the knowledge of objective laws."<sup>21</sup> One is justified in defining communism by its deeds as well as by its doctrines, since its deeds are demanded by its doctrine. Their creed calls for their deeds and their deeds embody and demonstrate their creed.

## Aggressive Atheism

Communism is militant atheism. The fool has said in his heart that there is no God. (Psalms 14:1). The Communists have not only said it in their hearts, but have proclaimed it in their literature. Marx was an atheist before he, with Engels, formulated the Communist understanding of life.<sup>22</sup> Atheism has continued to be a vital part of communism, so that although all atheists are not Communists, yet every dedicated Communist is an atheist. It is true that they will receive a person into the party before he has abandoned all his faith in God, but under party education he will either abandon the rest of it, or ultimately he will be severed from the party. Since theory is viewed as a guide to practice,<sup>23</sup> the Communists spread atheism. This does not mean that it is always in the forefront, for Lenin warned that they must not emphasize it when it would keep some religious people from cooperating with Communists in the achievement of limited objectives. However, their ultimate goal is that faith in God shall be banished from the world.<sup>24</sup>

What does this mean for practice? First, communism is a faith which is held with religious fervor. It believes that it has the truth about life, and it is opposed to all other religions. How this opposition is manifested varies from time to time. It may be very crude at one time and very shrewd at another time. Something of its crude attitude toward religion is brought out in the Home Service broadcast by Radio Sofia on May 2, 1960. "Picture a big advertisement of Coca Cola somewhere on the American Highways. Some of the people looking at it are indignant, while others are smiling scornfully. The advertisement depicts the crucifixion of Jesus, with a Roman soldier offering him a sponge soaked in vinegar while he turns his head away. Written in big letters on the picture is the following: If they had offered him Coca Cola, he would not have turned his head in refusal.

"There is nothing about this advertisement to cause wonder. Everyone in the States knows of multimillionaire Jim Far-

ley, chairman of the Coca Cola Company, former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and also a prominent catholic and close friend of American Cardinals.

"It is said that after the war Jim Farley went on a pilgrimage to Rome where he met with Pope Pius XII and offered him ten million dollars in return for replacing the phrase 'God forgive us' in all prayers with the phrase 'Drink Coca Cola.' The Pope's reply is not recorded, but we may assume that he did not accept the offer, because he has better ways of replenishing the Vatican coffers — interest from the 'Holy Ghost Papal bank' and from the roulette wheels of Monte Carlo. . . .

"All this is not just anecdote. In the kingdom of the dollar, business and religion march hand in hand. The kings of iron, oil and pork fat head the administrative councils of the various Baptist, Methodist, Evangelical and other churches. . . The inventive American pastors make use of every business trick to sell their stale merchandise, which consists of religious excitement, superstition, and prejudice. They take part in sports, rock and roll dancing, and install television sets in churches for the sole purpose of luring the souls of young people. . . ."25

Second, militant atheism means that they repudiate all the values which are rooted in God and in man's relationship to God.

#### **Communism Is Idolatry**

Communists maintain that man created God in man's own image. Instead of bowing down before his own creation, man should get up off his knees, and stand erect as a man.<sup>26</sup> This self-deification is a disastrous and irrational form of idolatry.

Communism is idolatrous because it enthrones someone besides God as the supreme object of trust and service. Although they tell man to get up off his knees and stand erect, man finds it impossible to do. First, because without God man is just an animal. Instead of getting up off of his knees and standing erect as a man, he gets up on all fours as an animal. Second, because com-

munism calls upon man to bow down before the Party. Liu Shao-chi said that one must give supreme allegiance to the Party and have no interest which in any way conflicts with the Party.<sup>27</sup> Then, too, there are Communists who admit that some of them deified Stalin.<sup>28</sup>

The Scriptures show that when man refuses to retain God in his knowledge and turns to the worship of idols, man not only becomes a religious apostate but also morally reprobate. (Romans 1:18-26).

### Pride

Communism embraces pride. The self-deification of man is the basic illustration of this enormous pride. They have succumbed to the temptor's lure that if they will accept communism they will be as God.

This pride is also found in the self-righteousness of communism. It maintains, in line with the tactic which Marx said was essential to create revolution, that the proletariat is the embodiment of all good, and the bourgeoisie is the embodiment of all evil.<sup>28A</sup> Its doctrine of morality ministers to their self-righteousness for it says that anything they do is right if it advances communism toward its goal.

The pride of communism is further nourished and sustained by its success throughout the past 48 years. If one thinks that their pride will falter in the midst of their successful crime career, and that communism will mellow in the midst of its successes, one is overlooking the deep-seated nature of their pride.

### Communism Is Materialism

Communism is materialism. It maintains that matter in motion is the only reality. "Man is only a particle of multiform nature, and consciousness is a property, a faculty of man." "Those who consider that the material basis — nature — is primary and regard thought, spirit, as a property of matter, belong to the camp of *materialism*."<sup>29</sup>

Thought is but matter in motion. As the Communists say: "Ivan Pavlov, the great Russian physiologist, said: 'Mental activity

is the result of the physiological activity of a definite brain mass.' This is the conclusion drawn by all modern natural science.

"The excitation of the sensory nerve-endings resulting from external and internal stimuli is transmitted through the centripetal nerves to the appropriate parts of the brain. From there impulses are carried by the centrifugal nerves to various organs of the body, stimulating their activity. What we have is a reflex action of the given organ, and the whole organism, to one or another stimulus."<sup>30</sup>

"Mental activity, consciousness, thought, is a special property of matter, but not a special kind of matter."<sup>31</sup>

If this view of thought be true there is no reflective thought, but only a reflex action to physical stimuli. We are forced to think as we think, thus there is no freedom of thought (even though the atheists claim to be free-thinkers) and rationality is impossible.<sup>32</sup> The man who says "I think" is describing a physical sensation as surely as one who says "I itch." This philosophy of life, which claims to be scientific, makes rational, and thus scientific, understanding impossible when it is followed to its logical conclusion.<sup>33</sup>

What we call the spirit, love, thought, freedom, and the power of the will are but motions of matter. Man is a thing, thus of no lasting value. After being used he can be tossed aside.

### **Communism Is Dialectical Materialism**

Dialectical materialism teaches that there are contradictions or antagonisms in everything and that progress comes through their clash. In human society the contradictory elements are various classes. The decisive ones are the capitalists (the owners of the means of production and distribution who by Communist definition are exploiters) and the workers (the laboring man in industrial society who is the exploited). These two are in constant conflict and what is good for one is bad for the other.<sup>34</sup> Out of the clash between the two, and the victory of the workers, emerges a higher order of society.

The leading laws of the dialectic are: First, contradiction is universal and thus there is conflict in everything at every stage.

Second, contradiction is particular; that is, it exists at a given time under a given set of circumstances. Therefore one must be flexible and study the specific situation in order to discover how best to win the conflict. Thus a change of tactics is not a change of heart. In fact, the more they change, the more they are the same; that is, the greater the flexibility which they manifest the more certain it is that they are implementing their determination to conquer the world. Lenin is represented as saying that: "If you strike steel, pull back; if you strike mush, keep going."<sup>35</sup> Too often a change is interpreted as a change of heart. As Bertram Wolfe pointed out, over 40 years ago an expert on Russia said that the Communists were changing and giving up communism for capitalism.<sup>36</sup>

The third law of the dialectic is that progress comes through the struggle of the contradictory elements in the situation. Although there may be periods of relative rest and periods of conspicuous change, yet struggle continues on one level or another. Since progress comes through struggle, the antagonisms in society should be intensified. The Communists' endeavor to create and to enlarge tensions between employers and employees, between various other interest groups, and between races. A divided and chaotic society is easier to conquer than a united one.

The transformation of quantity into quality is the fourth law of the dialectic. In order to overthrow the capitalists the proletariat, guided by the Communist party, is supposed to bring about a number of quantitative changes such as: digesting their gains; strengthening themselves industrially, militarily, economically, agriculturally, etc.; dividing their enemies; carrying on subversive activities; waging psychological warfare, and such like. When enough of these changes have taken place, the society is overthrown and the leap is made to a new order of existence; for the

dictatorship of the proletariat has been established and life is lived on a qualitatively higher plane. So they say.

The negation of the negation is the fifth law of the dialectic. The proletariat negates or brings to an end the capitalist class. It establishes a dictatorship of the proletariat which destroys the remnants of capitalism, liquidates opposition, and educates the people in the socialist way of life. The State then gradually withers away — for by Communist definition the State is the instrument of violence by which one class holds down another class — and man flowers forth as a new creature in the stateless, peaceful, prosperous paradise. Thus the proletariat, which brought to an end the rule of the capitalist, has itself ceased to exist. Since almost all forms of private property have been abolished, and since in their theory classes are created by private property, classes have ceased to exist.<sup>37</sup>

### Scientific Socialism

Since communism maintains that dialectical materialism is the scientific understanding of life, they claim that their socialism is scientific socialism. For it is that to which all natural science leads. The laws of the dialectic are the laws of society. They are as understandable and as determined as the laws of nature.<sup>38</sup> Communists view themselves, therefore, as social scientists whom history has destined to remake the world. Marxist Sukarno said: "Please do not think Sukarno is a clairvoyant person. Do not think Sukarno is in possession of some magic power. . . . If there is any magic in my possession — it is because I know the message of sufferings of people, because I know conditions, and because I know a science which is efficacious, namely Marxism."<sup>39</sup>

Communism claims, therefore, that their system will be established not simply because it is better than ours, but because it is the necessary consequence of the workings of the laws of nature and society.<sup>40</sup> As Kosygin recently indicated to W. Averell Harriman, communism is the inevitable way of the future and that by opposing it, we

are opposing the march of history. Their backing so-called national liberation movements, such as in South Vietnam, is not aggression, but, as Kosygin observed to Harriman, "they are in line with the historic trend and when the U.S. tries to stop them we are trying to halt history."<sup>41</sup>

As long as Communists are successful, they will view their successes as scientific confirmation of the truth of their philosophy of life. Thus Mao Tse-tung said: "Social revolution is not only entirely necessary but also entirely possible, and that the whole history of mankind and the triumph of the Soviet Union all confirm this scientific truth."<sup>42</sup> Although communism has not had unbroken successes, yet it has had sufficient success to keep them convinced of the truth of their philosophy of life. As Edgar Ansel Mowrer said: "It is necessary, if communism is to wither away, that it be unsuccessful.

"Nobody ever deserts, I believe, a political movement, even in the United States, when it is winning. There is nothing like success. We have not been successful. Our successes have been holding a line."<sup>43</sup> We must contribute to their failure on every possible front. First, on the home front communism as a system of production is a failure. We should not bolster it up economically when it begins to sag under its own weight. Second, through constant exposure and various legal means Communist infiltration and subversive activities should be doomed to failure. Third, we must continue to try to keep them from dividing us from our allies; although this will not always be possible. Fourth, we must do a better job in the realm of propaganda and help bring about their defeat in this area.<sup>44</sup> Fifth, they should meet with failure in the national liberation wars. They view the current war in Vietnam as a very important test, and state that we also thus view it.<sup>45</sup> If they are successful there, we may expect an intensification of this type of war elsewhere,<sup>46</sup> in fact, they have for years been laying the ground work in Latin America, Africa, and elsewhere in Asia. If they were unsuccessful not only in South

Vietnam, but also lost North Vietnam, it is my judgment that they would hesitate to launch such a war from an adjoining country.

#### **Communism Includes a Code Language**

The dialectic framework explains much of their vocabulary. For example, peaceful coexistence is that period of time during which the Communists are bringing about the quantitative changes which will lead to the revolutionary seizure of power. Peaceful coexistence is neither new, peaceful, coexistence, nor perpetual. The dialectical approach also explains why they call us warmongers and themselves peace lovers. They maintain that war is inherent in capitalism; therefore we who wish to perpetuate the capitalistic system are guilty of perpetuating war. Communism will bring peace when the Communist victory has brought the transformation of man on a world-wide scale so that the cooperative man is created by the new cooperative economic order. Thus they are for peace since they are for the Communist society, the only society in which peace can exist.<sup>47</sup>

#### **Communism Is Moral Relativism**

Communists reject God and the moral law. They maintain that morality is but a means of justifying, protecting, enlarging, and perpetuating the interests of a class. For the Communist, class interest is defined by the party and anything is right which advances the will of the party.<sup>48</sup> Their class interests are diametrically opposed to ours and therefore their moral system is in opposition to ours. What is good for us is evil for them and what is evil for us is good in their eyes.<sup>49</sup> "Thou shalt not steal" is viewed as the law of a property holding class; therefore, they believe it is right to steal if it advances the interest of the party. "Thou shalt not commit adultery" is viewed as a means by which man protects a woman as his private property; therefore, commit adultery if it advances the interest of communism. "Honor thy father and thy mother" is based, they say, on the assumption that the children belong to the parents; therefore, dis-

honor your parents if it advances the interest of the party, for the Party is supreme. They are like those of whom Isaiah said: "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter!" (Isaiah 5:20).

Because of their view of morality, it is disastrous to assume that the Communist will respond to moral appeals based on moral law. It would be a violation of the conscience of a Communist to keep faith with the class enemy or to call off the struggle for world victory. To ask them to cease to support so-called national liberation wars is to ask them to refuse to do their sacred duty by international communism. It is to ask them to be immoral, when viewed from their "moral" outlook.

### Deception

Believing that anything is right which advances communism, the Communists have made an art and science of deception. As Ambassador Bullitt said: "It is difficult to conduct conversations with the Soviet Foreign Office because in that institution the lie is normal and the truth abnormal and one's intelligence is insulted by the happy assumption that one believes the lie."<sup>50</sup> We are all familiar with the example wherein the Soviets told our government that no missiles in Cuba were capable of reaching the United States, As Sorensen said: "The message could not have been more precise—or more false."<sup>51</sup> The Trojan horse is a favorite weapon with Communists. As Georgi Dimitrov put it: "Comrades you remember the ancient story of the taking of Troy. Troy was protected from the army which was attacking her by impenetrable walls and the attacking army, having sacrificed not a few victims, could not succeed in the attack until, with the help of the famous horse of Troy, it was able to penetrate into the heart of the enemy."<sup>52</sup>

The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Organization of American States raised the question as to how small Communist parties could exercise such great influence

in various countries. Their reply was that through deceit Communists "usurp the strength of others. . . ."53

### **Communism Is Organization**

Communism is not a philosophy floating in thin air, but is embodied in a combat party which views itself as the weapon of the proletariat organized to carry on the class struggle through guiding and manipulating the proletariat and anyone else possible.<sup>54</sup> The party must be the "mind, honour, and conscience of our epoch," said Lenin. One must subordinate his life to it and die gladly, if necessary, for the party.<sup>55</sup> The party operates on both legal and illegal levels.<sup>56</sup> It does not seek large numbers, but seeks to develop a hardened, dedicated, disciplined group. Concerning numbers J. Edgar Hoover said: "To that I can only say that numbers mean nothing and that those nations which have attempted to assess the threat of communism on the basis of numerical strength alone are eating the bitter bread of slavery for their short-sightedness."<sup>57</sup> Hoover quoted, without contradiction, Gus Hall's claim of 10,000 party members plus ten times that many who are state-of-mind members.<sup>58</sup> An army of around 110,000 soldiers, a part of an international army of around 45 million people, which is not in uniform is stationed on our shores.

### **Communism Is Conspiracy**

The Supreme Court on June 5, 1961 recognized that the Communist Party, U.S.A. is the agent of a foreign power. Hoover said: "The Party in this country remains an inseparable arm of the treacherous, atheistic, international conspiracy which is being directed against the free world from Moscow."<sup>59</sup> Hoover spoke of ". . . those home-grown traitors who call themselves members of the Communist Party, USA. . . ."60 It is "a lawless organization," as J. Edgar Hoover pointed out.<sup>61</sup>

### **Communism Is An International Movement**

The *Communist Manifesto* calls upon working men of all countries to unite and to

win the world.<sup>62</sup> On June 2, 1965, M. A. Suslov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, said: "The internationalist education of the Communists and of all the working people is more important now than ever before. Any attempt to artificially fence off 'one's own' Communist Party from the problems and tasks arising before the world Communist movement ultimately leads to a weakening of the party. The Communist movement is international by its very nature, and none of its national contingents can solve any task (to the end) if it isolates itself, closes itself up in a national shell, and passes over to a platform of national egoism.

"Lenin said, 'There is one, and only one kind of internationalism indeed: working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle *in one's own* country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy and material aid) *such, and only such, a struggle* and such a line in *every* country without exception.' (*Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 24, p. 54.)

"This is an axiom for a Marxist."<sup>63</sup>

This international movement has a common line, although the time, place and tempo may vary. This line is the statement of 81-Communist Parties which was adopted in Nov.-Dec. 1960 and further analyzed on Jan. 6, 1961 by Khrushchev. The 1960 Statement is currently endorsed by Brezhnev,<sup>64</sup> by the Chinese Communists,<sup>65</sup> and by the Communist Party in America.<sup>66</sup> There is, of course, some squabbling between the Soviet Union and the Red Chinese, but it does not concern basic goals or basic tactics. It involves questions of leadership, of aid, of time and of tempo.<sup>67</sup> Even Tito maintains that the Communists in the Soviet Union are his brothers. He agrees with their stand on the main international problems. They have "common aims — the building of socialism and ultimately communism."<sup>68</sup> He further said: "The adulation we quite often hear from various sides, the allegations that we have our special and peculiarly national brand of socialism which is easily accessible and attractive to non-Socialist

countries also should be alien to us. We do not need such expressions of sympathy. We want a genuinely socialist society, we want such relations which are typical of socialist countries."<sup>69</sup>

### Communism Is Dictatorship

Regardless of whether they take over a country through peaceful or non-peaceful means, the Communists establish a dictatorship. "To put it briefly: *The dictatorship of the proletariat is the domination of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, untrammelled by law and based on violence and enjoying the sympathy and support of the toiling and exploited masses.*"<sup>70</sup>

"The dictatorship of the proletariat,' says Lenin, 'is a persistent struggle — sanguinary and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative — against the forces and traditions of the old society.'"<sup>71</sup>

Communism as Ambassador William C. Bullitt pointed out on April 29, 1936 is a police state.<sup>72</sup> Its intention is to make man the "servile creature of the state, obedient to the whims of the ruling party clique."<sup>73</sup>

### Communism Is An Economic System

As an economic system it teaches such as the following: first, economic determinism; that is, how a person makes his living and his relationship to the economic system is the foundational fact of life. In fact, man's nature is shaped by the economic system. Second, capitalism in its nature is a system of exploitation, the cause of imperialism, creates gigantic monopolies with finally only a few rich capitalists remaining while the masses are in poverty and misery. These people finally realize that there is no way out but to destroy the system. Third, it teaches that all profit is robbery; a withholding from the worker of that which is due him, for it believes that the worker is a creator of all value. Fourth, communism is the planned society — planned from the top. As A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers pointed out in 1965, planning is not simply an economic activity, but is "the sum total

of the economic and social tasks to be carried out during the planned period, as the sum total of all aspects of human life."<sup>74</sup>

In other words, this type of planned society embraces the five "p's." First, the party which controls the total life of the people in so far as it is possible. Second, the planners who labor under the illusion that they are wise enough and good enough to plan the life of the nation. Third, the plans which may change. Fourth, the people who are the planned. One does not plan economics; one plans the activities of man. Fifth, the police to enforce the plan if the people cannot be persuaded by other types of pressure.

As an economic system it is a very poor one. It cannot adequately clothe, feed and house its own people.<sup>75</sup> As Walter Lippmann once pointed out, no group of planners is wise enough, good enough or powerful enough to wisely plan all of society; and that the planners left to themselves would be unable to plan the entire process of getting breakfast on our tables.<sup>76</sup>

#### **Communism Is Socialism**

Not all socialists are Communists, but all Communists are socialists, and thus they work for socialism in non-Communist countries even before they take such countries over.<sup>77</sup> Various non-Communists have recognized their system in the U.S.S.R. as socialism. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. called it "Soviet socialism."<sup>78</sup> In 1945 Senator Fulbright spoke of "the Russian experiment in socialism."<sup>79</sup> On November 10, 1964, the *Arkansas Gazette* quoted his identification of Communist Yugoslavia as "a socialist country."

Nehru said: "Perhaps we Indians believe in the communist ideal. For us — and I mean by that the majority of the Indian people — communism as a social ideal is not a hobgoblin. And we do not have anything against socialism either; there is hardly a difference here in theory."<sup>80</sup>

#### **Communism Is Constant Conflict**

As a philosophy of ceaseless war it embraces the strategy and tactics of total war,

including the threat of nuclear war.<sup>81</sup> They endeavor to create or to intensify conflicts between employers and employees, between races and between classes. They are ceaselessly engaged in economic warfare, in propaganda and psychological warfare, and in national liberation wars.<sup>82</sup>

Erwin E. Canham, editor of *The Christian Science Monitor*, maintained that "Soviet domination of the world by economic means might be just as deadly to Western freedom as nuclear war. . . ."<sup>83</sup>

Joseph Alsop claimed that the failure to take the cold war seriously resulted in the Korean war.<sup>84</sup>

M. A. Suslov of the Presidium of the Soviet Party, stated that the Communists were supporting "the liberation and revolutionary movements."<sup>85</sup> And Brezhnev spoke of their aid to Vietnam.<sup>86</sup>

The Organization of American States concluded: "Certainly, Communist action is sustained. But what is still more serious, there is no room for doubt that the world is virtually at war — an atypical kind of war, which is being waged by international communism and suffered by the democracies. In this sense, it is undeniable that the Marxist dialectic has changed the saying of Clausewitz that 'war is the continuation of politics by other means,' to the assertion that 'peace is only the continuation of war by other means.'"<sup>87</sup>

No wonder Ambassador William C. Bullitt on April 20, 1936 said: "We should not cherish for a moment the illusion that it is possible to establish really friendly relations with the Soviet Government or with any Communist Party or Communist individual."<sup>88</sup> This is true as long as Communists are Communists. And they still are.

### Communism Is Hate

In order to motivate men to ceaseless war against non-Communists, communism embraces class hatred. Engels mocked at love or good-will.<sup>89</sup> Christian principles are repudiated because they "blunt the edge of this class war."<sup>90</sup> Jiri Wolker said: "Let us assume that class hatred could disappear in a class society. Nothing could be more

harmful to the working class than that. They would be degraded to the position of oxen under an eternal yoke, for it is only hate that helps to maintain the worker's human dignity — class hate which one day will abolish all classes."<sup>91</sup> Briefly and bluntly Mao said: "Communism is not love. Communism is a hammer which we use to destroy the enemy."<sup>92</sup>

### **Communism Is Terror and Murder**

As the philosophy, strategy and tactics of ceaseless conflict, communism is the way of the terrorist, the assassin and the murderer. Whittaker Chambers observed that the Party is a terrorist organization and that only terror terrifies it.<sup>93</sup>

Robert S. McNamara wrote: "Their political tactics are terror, exhortation, and assassination. We must help the people of threatened nations to resist these tactics. You cannot carry out a land reform program if the local peasant leaders are being systematically murdered."<sup>94</sup> Allen Dulles said that the Communists were able to do in South Vietnam what we seemed to be unable to do in North Vietnam because they utilized terror.<sup>95</sup> For several years around six thousand people a year have been assassinated in South Vietnam.<sup>96</sup>

President Johnson pointed to the war of terror being carried on in South Vietnam by the Communists: "And it is a war of unparalleled brutality. Simple farmers are the targets of assassination and kidnapping. Women and children are strangled in the night because their men are loyal to the government. Small and helpless villages are ravaged by sneak attacks. Large scale raids are conducted on towns, and terror strikes in the heart of cities."<sup>97</sup>

No wonder Ambassador Bullitt once said of the Soviet Union that it is determined to produce world revolution and the murder of unbelievers.<sup>98</sup> It is estimated that from 20 to 30 million Chinese have been killed by the Red Chinese.

No wonder J. Edgar Hoover said: "Lethargy leads only to disaster. The Communists have a savage plan of liquidation for a vanquished America. The blueprint

can be found in the words of Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, who reportedly said that it was necessary to liquidate 800,000 'enemies' to solidify communism in China. Another pattern is the plight of countless families in satellite countries who were torn apart and transported to the oblivion of Soviet labor camps."

"No citizen would escape some form of suffering under a communist regime. One need but to compare his own worth, his own ideals, his own religious beliefs with the atheistic doctrines of communism to determine his priority on the list of liquidation."<sup>99</sup>

### **Communism Is The Philosophy of the Grave Diggers**

They view themselves as our grave diggers. "Whether you like it or not," Khrushchev said, "history is on our side. We will bury you!"<sup>100</sup> This burial is more than an economic burial, as bad as that would be. Khrushchev illustrated what he meant with a statement made by the Red Army men during the conquest of Russia. "'We have one issue in dispute with the Whiteguards on which we cannot agree, the simple issue of land. The Whiteguards want to bury us and we want to bury them. Who will bury whom first, this is our little issue in dispute.'" Khrushchev went on to comment: "We have a similar issue with capitalism. It wants to bury the socialist system and we not only want to bury capitalism but have also dug quite a deep hole, and shall exert every effort to dig this hole deeper and bury the capitalist system for ever, the system of exploitation, wars and plunder. That capitalism will collapse, of this there is no doubt. But it will not collapse of its own accord."<sup>101</sup> When they are tired of digging our graves, shall we rush up and say: "Here is wheat to eat."?

### **Communism Is Revolution, Not Reform**

In harmony with the instructions of Stalin, in a book currently recommended, Communists utilize reforms and promises of reforms for revolutionary purposes.<sup>102</sup> The revolution is three-fold. First, the

revolutionary seizure of the state. Second, the utilization of the power of the state to concentrate all power — education, communication, transportation, etc. — in the hands of the dictatorship. Third, the transformation of the nature of man into the new Soviet godless man.

### **Communism Is A Will and Plan for World Conquest**

The *Communist Manifesto* closes with the appeal for the workers of the world to unite and win the world. On January 16, 1963, Khrushchev stated that the hour would come when the Red banner would fly over all the world.<sup>103</sup> Liu Shao-chi asked: "What is the most fundamental and common duty of us Communist party members? As everybody knows, it is to establish Communism, to transform the present world into a Communist world."<sup>104</sup> The Organization of American States said: "The Marxist-Leninist concept of the world and of man places communism face to face with the alternative of winning the victory or disappearing."<sup>105</sup>

As Secretary McNamara put it in 1961: "There is no true historical parallel to the drive of Soviet Communist imperialism to colonize the world. This is not the first time that ambitious dictators have sought to dominate the globe. But none has ever been so well organized, has possessed so many instruments of destruction, or has been so adept at disguising ignoble motives and objectives with noble phrases and noble words.

"Furthermore, there is a totality in Soviet aggression which can be matched only by turning to ancient history when warring tribes sought not merely conquest but the total obliteration of the enemy.

"Soviet communism does not seek the physical obliteration of a conquered people, although it would not hesitate to do so, in my opinion, if this would serve its ends. But it does seek the total obliteration of their customs, their social structure, their political structure, their religion and their freedoms. Everything and everybody must be remolded according to a blueprint laid down by Lenin and altered only for the

purposes of ruthless efficiency by Stalin and the present-day leaders.

"There is nothing too sacred — friendship, integrity, church or family — that it escapes the attention of the Soviet Commissar or the Communist bureaucrat."<sup>106</sup>

McNamara further stated: "The missiles in Cuba represented but a small part of the total Communist threat to freedom. Crises or probing actions all over the world — in Cuba, South Vietnam, India, Berlin, Africa — are simply more obvious manifestations of the Communist drive toward their basic objective of world domination."<sup>107</sup> No wonder J. Edgar Hoover said that communism is total imperialism which is insatiable.<sup>108</sup> Thus President Johnson said: "We are also there because there are great stakes in the balance. Let no one think that retreat from Vietnam would bring an end to conflict. The battle would be renewed in one country and then another. The central lesson of our time is that the appetite of aggression is never satisfied. To withdraw from one battlefield, means only to prepare for the next. We must say in southeast Asia — as we did in Europe—in the words of the Bible: 'Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further.'"<sup>109</sup>

### **The United States Is The Main Enemy**

Since we are the main road block in their drive to world conquest, the Communists view the United States as the main enemy. Thus we are told that President Johnson is "the most cruel war criminal in the present era," and that he "must answer for his crimes before the tribunal of mankind."<sup>110</sup> "The whole world condemns the hangmen at the White House."<sup>111</sup> Communists in the United States also breathe out this same hatred. In a speech in November 1964, the Communist Anna Louise Strong spoke of our soldiers as, "Bayoneters of babies, rapers and torturers of women, poisoners of grain fields, devastators of lands beyond the seas that never injured America."<sup>112</sup> Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, spoke of the United States as conducting military aggression in Vietnam and that "For millions,

it is the first time they see the real nature of the beast."<sup>113</sup> He spoke of the "swinish gluttony" of the "big monopoly-imperialist combines," and that the image of the United States which is taking root "is that of an ugly, brutal monster driven to desperation because its plans of aggression have come up against the solid wall of human resistance."<sup>114</sup> "... the image of an irresponsible outlaw. . ."<sup>115</sup> "It is the main beneficiary from the world's oppressive system of colonialism."<sup>116</sup> "When U. S. spokesmen speak about our national interests in other parts of the world, they are speaking about the ability of a General Motors to invest profitably its already stolen loot to get some more."<sup>117</sup>

Against the United States he calls for unity on the part of the world Communist movement. "The growing aggressiveness of world reaction poses the need of the greatest possible unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement. This is made especially clear by the stepping up of U. S. imperialist intervention in Vietnam, the most shameful and dangerous act of aggression of all."<sup>118</sup> In spite of the constant effort of the Communists to make clear that they consider us their chief enemy years ago Stevens said: "And yet many Americans still think that the reason why we can't get along with the Soviet Union is somehow our fault."<sup>119</sup>

M. A. Suslov said, "U. S. imperialism in the first place," is responsible for the aggression by imperialists. We are, he said, "the worst enemy of all freedom-loving peoples." We are reactionists, "trying to check the irreversible historical process." And we are to blame for the critical situation in Vietnam where the Soviet Union is "rendering consistent support to the national-liberation movement." This is "their sacred internationalist duty!"<sup>120</sup>

### Communism Is Red Fascism

In spite of some differences, such as Hitler's emphasis on race and the Communist emphasis on class, communism is, as Norman Thomas a socialist recognizes, "Red Fascism."<sup>121</sup> Walter Lippmann said: "It is

proper, I believe, to talk of them as one phenomenon for their fundamental similarities, as most everyone but the bolshevists and the fascists themselves has noted, are much greater than their superficial differences."<sup>122</sup> Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. stated: "... from one viewpoint, the similarities are vastly more overpowering and significant than the differences" between communism and fascism.<sup>123</sup>

### **A Communist is a Communist**

It is the author's conviction that both the doctrines and the deeds of Communists, wherever they may be found, justify the conclusion that a Communist is a Communist. This does not mean that all Communists are equal in power, in effectiveness, or in the threat which they are to us at any given time. But it does mean that all Communists are Communists, and that they are working in one way or another for the world victory of communism. They may fight amongst themselves within a Party (as did Stalin and Trotsky), or between Parties; but they are not in disagreement with one another over the basic strategy, since they all agree to the Statement of 81 Parties; nor over the ultimate goals of destroying our freedom and establishing communism throughout the world.

As we have already seen, although he wants some freedom so that he can be the dictator over Yugoslavia, instead of himself being dictated to in all things by the USSR, Tito is still a Communist who is working for world victory by communism. This is also true concerning the Communists in Rumania. On July 19, 1965, N. Ceausescu, the General Secretary of the Party, reported to its Ninth Congress. Among other things it was stated that they wanted to strengthen Rumania agriculturally, economically, industrially, scientifically, etc., so that they could more effectively build socialism and carry out their duty toward international communism. Communism was proclaimed as a science which is confirmed by reality. That which united Communists is far more important than their dif-

ferences. He affirmed their backing of national-liberation wars, such as in Vietnam, as essential to bringing about "the changes in the balance of world forces in favor of socialism." Imperialism, and we are the chief imperialists, is the aggressor, the ruthless exploiter, "a constant threat to peace and a basis for starting a new world war;" but it is doomed to failure. Rumania "concentrates in its foreign policy on close friendship and fraternal alliance with the socialist countries," which include the USSR, China, Vietnam, and Cuba. In line with peaceful coexistence, however, it is for cooperation with non-Communist countries in those things which will promote the Communist conquest of the world.<sup>124</sup>

### Communism Has Plans For You

Communism has plans for you, regardless of whether or not your plans refer in any way to communism. It is thinking of you even though you have given it no thought. The Party is thinking about you as an assassin thinks of his victim, a con-man of his dupe, a heartless, cruel grave digger thinks of a prospect, and as a slave master thinks of his future captives. The Party is thinking of your children as material to be molded into the Soviet godless man; or, failing that, to be tossed into the scrapheap.

Are you making the job easier for them by apathy, ignorance, greed or illusions? Does Erward R. Murrow's blunt verdict hit you? "None of us is yet in the trenches, but we are all in the front line. Any man who deludes himself that the world struggle does not concern him personally and intimately deserves that dire destiny to which his indifference may consign us all."<sup>125</sup> For as the Assistant Director of the FBI, William C. Sullivan put it: "The struggle between communism and religion quite clearly is a mortal one. Merrimon Cuningim is certainly right: 'They compete not for the surface attachments but for the uttermost loyalties of men. Thus they are engaged not in a seasonal jockeying for advantage but in literally life-and-death struggle.'"<sup>126</sup> The struggle involves you even

if you deny, by words and by actions, that you are involved. By actively becoming involved you can keep your children and your children's children from being enslaved. The place to begin this active involvement is by understanding what communism is. Then you can become intelligently articulate, and effectively active.

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