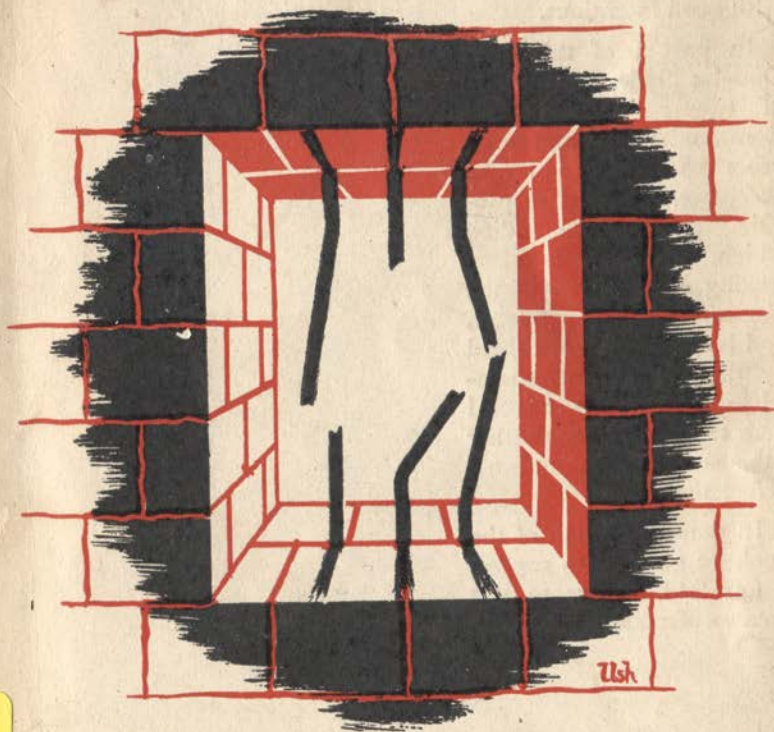


The answer to **COMMUNISM**



DOUGLAS HYDE

late news editor of the Daily Worker

1/6

BEFORE we can find an answer to Communism we must understand what it is, why it has spread, and why it is able to attract, hold and pervert good people with good intentions.

In part I of this book Douglas Hyde, on the basis of twenty years in the Communist Party and many years as a *Daily Worker* executive, attempts to provide this understanding which, he says, is often lacking on the part of the Communists' opponents, and is deliberately withheld by the Communists themselves who today conceal their real aims when putting "the case for Communism" before the public.

In the second half of the book he goes on to suggest a four-fold answer to this greatest of modern problems.

The answer to COMMUNISM

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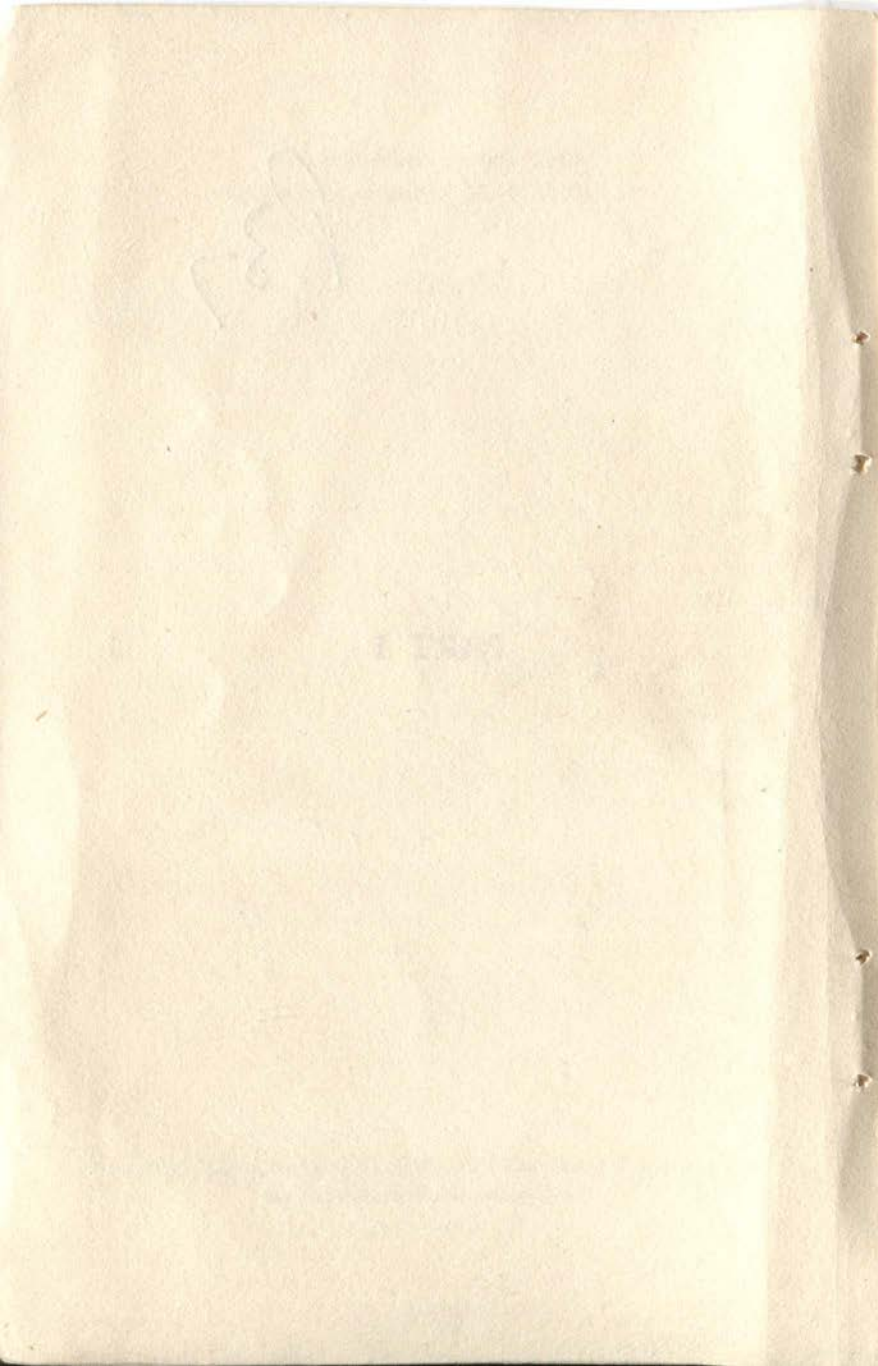
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PART I



COMMUNISM

Origins

When the Bolsheviks carried through their successful revolution in October 1917, overthrowing the Government of Kerensky, and establishing in its place their new Soviet power they set in motion something which had its effect upon the entire world.

One immediate result was that attempts to emulate the Bolsheviks were made in several countries and in almost every country of Europe movements were started with the purpose of carrying through similar revolutions. In this Britain was no exception.

Throughout this country there existed small groups and organisations of Marxists who for years had constituted the materialistic wing of the Socialist and Labour Movement. Among them were the British Socialist Party, formed in 1911 from the Social Democratic Party (formerly the Social Democratic Federation), the Workers' Socialist Federation, founded by Sylvia Pankhurst, and various local groups in London, South Wales, Scotland and elsewhere.

The majority of these responded to Lenin's call to the workers everywhere to follow Russia's example. There was talk of the setting up of Workers and Soldiers Councils, which were to be the British equivalent of Soviets, and conferences were held with this end in view.

The "Soviets" came to nothing. But out of the scattered groups, which in the past had tended to remain aloof from each other and disunited, came the Communist Party of Great Britain.

The majority of those organisations and individuals who had in the past made up Britain's Labour and

Socialist Movement had for years been regarded by the Marxists as "idealists" who owed their origin and inspiration to Christian influences rather than to the ideas embodied in Karl Marx's *Das Capital*.

The formation of the Communist Party was the first serious attempt to weld the materialist wing into a united and effective political force challenging the British "idealist" tradition.

Thus, organised Communism in Britain was, from the start, materialist in outlook and consciously in conflict with those who owed their ideas and origins, no matter how remotely, to the Christian tradition.

Most of the Continental Socialist parties had claimed to be Marxist, although many of them, whilst retaining their materialism, had come in time to reject Marx's insistence on the need for revolution and were looking to parliamentary democracy as the means by which they could best achieve their ends. It was this Marxist origin and materialist basis which distinguished them from the British movement.

The infant Continental Communist parties, which came into existence at approximately the same time as that in Britain, saw their main task as that of bringing back the Socialist movement to its undiluted Marxist origins. Their task, therefore, was a rather different one to that of the Communist Party of Great Britain which began with a severe handicap.

Meanwhile, under Lenin's leadership, the Communist International was brought into existence with the idea of bringing all such bodies together, co-ordinating their activities, grouping them around the new Soviet state, as at once both a protective barrier against "capitalist" attack and shock troops for carrying the revolution into the enemy's camp, and for stimulating the emergence of new Communist parties where none existed.

The Russian party, as the one successful, ruling party, from the start dominated the counsels of the International.

And, when it decided to provide funds to assist the infant Communist movements to stagger to their feet it was, inevitably, first and foremost Russian money that was used since only the Russian party had the power of a great State behind it. Hence the "Moscow gold" about which anti-Communist propagandists have always had so much to say.

So far as the British party was concerned such financial assistance did not last for long. Wisely, the International insisted that the Communists in the "wealthy" democracies of the West must learn to stand on their own feet, so far as funds were concerned, from the earliest possible moment.

The party here received its last Moscow gold in 1923. There were often occasions when its members rather wished they could put their hands on a little of the gold they heard so much about. But they knew that the policy which made them fend for themselves was sound and that they were stronger for the fact that money did not drop easily into their laps whenever they were in need.

In the case of the much poorer colonial countries the position has always been different and Moscow has seen that if the revolutionary movement there is to progress at all, assistance from outside in the form of cash and supplies is required.

The Burmese, Indonesian, Malayan and similar parties have undoubtedly for years been given material aid in this way and are most certainly receiving it at this moment.

It is legitimate to argue that should the Communists in Britain ever find themselves confronted with the possibility of seizing power, Moscow would ensure that they were not held back for want of either cash or arms. Its policy of not providing funds at this moment is therefore a question of tactics and not one of principle.

For myself I have never been able to understand those who appear to think that the "Moscow gold" story is their

most valuable weapon against Communism.

If British Communism is such a weak and alien thing that it must be nourished from abroad with imported funds then it is simply something with which the police should be able to deal in a very short time. It is a job for M.I.5 and no more.

It is surely much more significant that Communism has been able to strike its roots sufficiently deeply into our soil to enable the party to be able to maintain one of the most expensive propaganda machines in this country and that this is made possible by the sacrifices and contributions of its members and sympathisers.

To accept the Moscow gold myth is seriously to underestimate ones opponent—a foolish thing to do at the best of times. And it suits the Communists very well indeed, for many people who have worked in the factories know of the endless fund-raising efforts of the Communists and so recognise the story as false and then reject the whole of the anti-Communist case as a consequence.

The fact is that the Communist Party of Great Britain succeeded in getting on to its feet by 1923 and has been a source of trouble ever since.

The history of the Communist Party in this country may be divided into three stages : Infancy, Adolescence and Maturity. These stages have, of course, naturally overlapped with each other as the party has grown and progressed.

Infancy

During the period of its infancy the party was attempting to find its place in the British political set-up. Its leaders assumed at the beginning that it would almost as a matter of course, take its place as part of the larger Labour party.

That party had always been a somewhat loosely organised and all-embracing body which contrived to

makeroom within its ranks for organisations and individuals stretching from Left to Right, from Evangelical non-conformists to militant atheists, from militarists and imperialists to pacifists.

The leaders of the new party, therefore, saw no reason why they should not be admitted too. Once inside they would set out to discredit the leadership, win over the rank and file, capture the leading positions and so carry out the destruction of the larger body parallel with building up their own. To their surprise the hitherto all-embracing Labour Party proved not to be as all-embracing as that.

The Communists' pleas to be allowed to affiliate fell on deaf ears, although for some time it was seen as permissible for individuals to be members of both parties at one and the same time. It was during this period that Saklatvala and Walton Newbold were returned to Parliament on Labour votes whilst holding the Communist Party ticket. Communists are still occasionally returned to Parliament on the Labour Party ticket but it cannot be done openly as in those days.

But once it had become clear that the party and its members would have to be in open opposition to the Labour Party, it settled down to the task of establishing itself as an independent body, seeking to find a place in the broader Labour movement.

Adolescence

Then came the period of early adolescence, with all its naivety and enthusiasm. Right through the 1920s and into the '30s the party behaved as though the revolution was just around the corner. As late as 1935 Allen Hutt, one of the Communist intellectuals and their leading historian, could write a book entitled "This Final Crisis," the whole case of which was that the economic crisis through which this country and most of the world was passing at the time was indeed the last great crisis of

Capitalism as foretold by Karl Marx and which would lead inexorably to the triumph of Communism.

And if that expectation of the early realisation of the Marxist dreams was to be found among the party's leaders and intellectuals it was still more firmly held amongst the members themselves.

An amusing and not altogether untypical illustration of this occurred in a Northern town. Arrangements had been made for sending out leaflets from the party headquarters in London to all district offices one weekend. Following normal Communist practice telegrams were sent in advance, preparing the local officials for their arrival. But when one Lancashire organiser, at least, received a telegram which read : " Prepare for action on Monday " he went out and, though unemployed, spent his last penny on the purchase of a gun, thinking that the party was going to go over to revolutionary action at last.

The party, to use its own jargon, was at this time " sectarian " in the extreme. Members glorified in holding the most outrageous views and doing the most outrageous things. In their lives and in their propaganda they conceded nothing to " bourgeois " conventions. The result was that they isolated themselves from the mass of ordinary, decent and, undoubtedly, conventional workers as a consequence.

They made no attempt to sugar-coat the Marxist pill. Their revolutionary aims were not only openly proclaimed, they were publicly emphasised and reiterated with enthusiasm over and over again.

Inside the trade unions and in the Labour Movement generally they made it clear that the only reason why they supported the " social democrats " at all was in order that social democracy might demonstrate its bankruptcy. The result would be that a disillusioned proletariat would turn to the Communists, recognising that if socialism was ever to be achieved, and justice done, it must be through heavy civil war and insurrection, the need for which was

proclaimed by the Communists.

In particular, the Party's almost pathological hostility to religion was given full rein and the incompatibility of Marxism and Christianity was proclaimed from every Communist platform. The *Daily Worker*, in the early days of its life, ran regular contributions of a crudely anti-religious character from the pen of T. A. Jackson who led the League of Militant Godless, modelled on Russian lines, principle task of which was to destroy religion, employing mockery, "Marxist education" and organisation to achieve this end.

But in the middle '30s came what can best be described as the period of Late Adolescence. The Party was still adapting itself to work in a Capitalist world but was discovering, with the assistance of the Communist International, more successful ways of achieving its purpose. It was the period of the Popular Fronts, which in all the countries of Europe brought large numbers of people, particularly from the ranks of the students, intellectuals and professional classes within the range of Communist influence and led to a considerable recruitment of members from these sections of the community.

Instead of placing the main emphasis on their ultimate aims, the Communists now campaigned first and foremost on short-term issues, primarily campaigning against "war and fascism."

In a world still recovering from the first world war, fearful of another and horrified at the excesses of the fascists in Italy and Germany, such campaigns were likely to win wide support, particularly among the more thoughtful sections of the community.

In Britain, the party during this period was able to change from one based almost entirely on the unemployed into an organisation consisting very largely of intellectuals and skilled artisans.

The Communist Party had in fact, found a means whereby it could quickly spread its influence to important

sections of the community and so build up its numbers more rapidly than ever before. And though those coming in might now have little knowledge of Marxism, this could quickly be rectified by means of an ever-increasing flow of Marxist books and by the improvement of the party's educational technique, which developed as rapidly as the membership grew.

Maturity

Then came the second world war and with it the commencement of what is seen as the present more mature stage of the party's development. The so-called "imperialist" phase of the war gave the party the chance of experiencing semi-illegal conditions, and acquiring first-hand knowledge of underground activities. The latter part of the war, after Russia had been brought in by the German attack, taught it a tremendous amount about leadership in the factories and made it think for the first time along "positive" as opposed to purely negative and destructive lines.

For, from opposing the war, party members became its strongest and most active, if somewhat difficult and very impatient supporters. At all costs, it reasoned, the war must be won and the revolutionary gains of the Russian Communists saved from the Nazi attack.

Its war-time production campaigns, its work on the production committees in the factories, the experience of working within national unity and being accepted, for the time being at least, on a more or less equal basis by the leaders of the other parties, provided lessons which the party's leaders and members were not slow to learn.

It had now had experience of working as a sectarian minority ; it had led great unemployed demonstrations ; many of its members had had first hand experience of civil war in Spain ; it had led broad Popular Front movements and brought the intelligensia into its ranks in so

doing ; it had opposed a war, built up an underground press and created a duplicate " under-cover " organisation ; it had mixed with the politicians of the democratic parties and played their own game and many of its members had at last been enabled, through the production committees to learn something of the mysteries of " managerial functions " in industry.

When enthusiasm for Russia's resistance to the Nazis and thankfulness that Hitler's bombers had at last turned East and so away from British homes and cities, was at its height, the party membership reached the sixty thousand mark. A great campaign was started to bring that figure up to the one hundred thousand but the moment of opportunity passed and gradually its members dropped back to forty thousand. And there, or thereabouts, it has stuck for some years.

The party today does not proclaim its long-term aims to all and sundry. Those aims are concealed by campaigns in the social, economic and political fields, which have nothing to do with the long-term aims of Communism, as such, at all.

The party spokesmen and press do not now discuss in public just whom they are going to liquidate during and after the revolution. To those whom they would destroy is extended the hand of friendship. But the aims of the party remain the same in every detail as when it was first launched. The naivety, frankness, crudeness—call it what you will—of those days of the party's infancy has gone. But not a single point of the Marxist-Leninist creed has been dropped. Not one word has been taken back. It is simply that new and more discreet methods have been found. Its aims remain unchanged in every way.

Communist Aims

What are those aims ? They are not easily outlined, since the Marxist classical writers have always been careful

never to state them clearly or to make any attempt to describe just what Communist society would be like. The theoreticians have written plenty about the revolution and how it is to be fought and won, and about the dictatorship of the proletariat and the forms it should take. But about Communism itself they have been rather more reticent. Thus, for example, William Gallacher M.P. in his "Penguin" book, "The Case for Communism" devotes just two and a quarter pages to "Communist Society," out of a total of over 200 pages—and this despite the title of the book !

This creates problems when the new member innocently asks the local leaders to recommend a book which will outline Communist aims in simple and handy form. But it is no accident that no such work exists.

Because the long-term Communist aim has been left vague, each member makes the word "Communism" a mould into which he pours his own content, making it his ideal. And so it can claim the whole of his idealism and, not unnaturally, exactly represents his ideal !

There are, of course, many catch phrases and meaningless clichés used by the Communist to suggest what Communism will be like in only the broadest possible outline. The classless society ; the ending of exploitation of man by man ; the expropriation of the expropriators and, inevitably, true democracy, justice, freedom, and plenty are typical, but they mean just what ever the individual Communist wants them to mean.

But from the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin this much at least emerges. There will be an end of private property (although it is not fashionable in Communist circles publicly to make the point today), for Marx's slogan : "The knell of private property sounds, the expropriators are expropriated" still holds good and is not likely to be repudiated by any good Marxist.

There will be an end to the home and family as we know them today (though this point, too, is not stressed in

public for the moment). Frederick Engels was the great exponent of this aspect of Marxist teaching and in his book *The Origin of the Family* he made the position abundantly clear. His vision is of the destruction of the home as we know it today. The housewife becomes a thing of the past and children are put into the hands of the State.

Understandably this is not how Gallacher deals with the question in his book which is, after all, intended for popular consumption.

There, he discreetly deals only with family life in "socialist," as opposed to "Communist," society and, incidentally, dismisses this important, indeed, fundamental question, in just two paragraphs.

There would be an end to individual liberty and responsibility. "The A.B.C. of Communism" which is a classic and much sought-after Marxist work, says on this point: "When parents say 'my son,' 'my daughter,' the words do not simply imply the existence of a parental relationship, they also give expression to the parents' view that they have a right to educate their own children. From the socialist outlook no such right exists. The individual human being does not belong to himself but to society, to the human race . . . The child therefore belongs to the society in which it lives, and thanks to which it came into being."

That is, after all, a perfectly logical position to take up if you deny the very existence of a God to whom the individual may be answerable. To permit the individual to assume that he is responsible only to himself would lead to anarchy even from the Communist's point of view. Thus "society," or the State, takes the place of God.

In order to be able to progress towards a Communist society, the Marxist argues, you must make an end of all religious institutions, religious influences and the very idea of God by every means at your disposal.

Upon this point all the Marxist thinkers and writers have been agreed from the start. Lenin's book "On

134
Fascism - mss
6 April 1941

Religion " begins with these words : " Atheism is a natural and inseparable part of Marxism, of the theory and practice of socialism." And on page 7 of the same book he again declares : " Atheism is an integral part of Marxism. Consequently a class-conscious Marxist party must carry on propaganda in favour of Atheism."

And on page 8 he says : " The final emancipation of the toiling masses from religion will occur only after the proletarian revolution, only in a Communist society." And so on right throughout the book.

On the same question " The A.B.C. of Communism " had this to say : " It is essential at the present time to wage with the utmost vigour the war against religious prejudices . . . "

And wherever the Communist Party is victorious the fight against religion is regarded as one of the first necessary steps to be undertaken.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat

But if the Marxists have been vague about their Communist goal they have never hesitated to outline in detail the form which the dictatorship of the proletariat is to take and to insist that the dictatorship is a necessary and inevitable step which must follow the revolution and precede the Communist society.

It is that, allegedly, transitional stage between Capitalism and Communism which we see in practice in the various countries of Eastern Europe which are ruled by Communist Governments today.

As the name implies, it is recognised as a form of dictatorship, the conscious unrelenting suppression of certain well-defined sections of the community and for achieving equally well-defined ends.

Ideologies, argues the Marxist, have their origins in classes. If, therefore, you wish to destroy " capitalist " or " bourgeois " ideas and influences you must destroy

the bourgeoisie and all those economic conditions which make their survival possible. In short you root out a whole section of society, ultimately destroying it right down to the very last idea to which it gave birth.

The weapon for achieving this is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. And the methods used are those normal to any other dictatorship. Restriction of liberty ; suppression of all opposition ; the one-party system ; conscious limitation of the freedom of speech and freedom of the press. The whole machinery of State, which Lenin called the weapon of persuasion and coercion—the Press, the platform, the radio, the schools, for persuasion ; the police, the courts, the jails and the armed forces for coercion—is used to this end.

Throughout a whole historic epoch the entire machinery of State is used for the purpose of destroying capitalist ideas “at the base.” The State during this period is all-powerful. Since the State is regarded as a weapon in the hands of the party, this really means that the Communist Party, allegedly acting in the name of the working class (or proletariat) is responsible for wielding the dictatorship. And if, because of its construction, the party is dominated by a tiny group of men they, in fact, are the dictators.

It follows that if you go to such pains to destroy all bourgeois influences from inside you cannot let similar ideas and influences percolate through from outside. Hence the Iron Curtain which the Communists like to infer is a capitalist creation but which is, in fact, an essential feature of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

One feature of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat which the early Marxists glossed over is that it is not some brief transitional stage through which an entire people may be guided by a high-minded minority during the course of a single generation, but is, as Russia has already proved, something which lasts for many years.

Here lies an obvious danger even from the Com-

munist's point of view. Already, in Russia, a generation has grown up having passed through school and out into the world, which has never known anything but dictatorship. It is a generation which takes all the restrictions on its liberty for granted. It has known no choice between the old "bourgeois" ideas and the new "proletarian" ideas. It has never tasted of freedom or democracy. And knowing no other it may be prepared to take these things for granted and to accept them.

And when you have had a small group of men heading a tightly exclusive organisation in possession of power for so long they must almost inevitably either become corrupted by absolute power or reach a stage where they are unwilling to relinquish it. Thus, where Communism has seized power there is a strong probability that the Dictatorship of the Proletariat will be found in time not to be "transitional" at all but a permanency. And the rather hollow pretence that it is dictatorship by a class is in time likely to give way to the open and naked dictatorship of the leaders of the party.

Theory

Lenin had a slogan (from which incidentally non-Communists might learn) which ran as follows : "Theory without practice is sterile ; practice without theory is blind."

To understand Communist behaviour at all one must have some understanding of Communist theory. For the Communist is grimly and almost terrifyingly consistent in this, that he does achieve a unity of theory and practice. Consequently when one understands his theoretical basis one can also fairly safely predict his probable actions under any given circumstances.

Non-Marxists sometimes feel that dialectical materialism is a curious philosophical eccentricity on the part of the Communist, unrelated to his behaviour and

unnecessary to his way of life. Nothing could be further from the truth. One cannot understand the Communist's actions, his psychology, or his driving force without understanding certain practical points, at least, about his dialectical materialism.

I am acutely conscious of the fact that there are obvious dangers in over simplification and a whole booklet or a course of at least five lectures, would be required adequately to deal with dialectics alone.

But I think it is worth attempting a thumb-nail sketch, as it were, limiting it simply to those aspects which are directly related to the Communist's personal and political behaviour.

First, it is a form of materialism. The Marxist declares that this is a material world. He denies utterly and completely, the existence of God and the soul. The spiritual—which to him is really no more than the "cultural"—proceeds only from the material mind of man and is, therefore, secondary to matter.

In this, of course, he does not differ very much from many other materialists who have gone before him. But, he claims, the "bourgeois" materialism of the past has been a negative thing. Dialectical materialism he says, is something more positive. And that is where the dialectic comes in, making his materialism the most militant, aggressive atheism of all time.

Marxism claims to have discovered certain laws and processes of nature which run throughout the entire physical universe and to which all matter, including man, is subject. Most significant of these laws is the conflict of opposites. All progress, all development, has come, from this conflict. Out of the clash between opposing forces comes something new which is neither one nor the other—the thesis, antithesis and synthesis.

The whole of matter is in a state of constant change and flux ; nothing is permanent. The old is constantly giving way to the new. And the old inevitably becomes

“bad” and the new is always “good.”

And, just as Marx used Hegel's dialectic so, too, Marxism accepts the Darwinian theory of evolution up to a point. It accepts the doctrine of evolutionary change but says that evolution does not explain everything : that, from time to time the gradual, orderly, march of progress or change represented by evolution, is broken by a “revolutionary leap.”

In Marxist philosophical terms this is described as the “transformation of quantitative into qualitative change.”

The classic example used by all Marxists to describe the process is that of the changes which can be made to occur in water. Produce quantitative changes in the heat of water, a liquid, and it remains water up to a certain point ; then, suddenly, the qualitative change takes place and the liquid is transformed into steam, a gas.

Or reverse the process, reducing the temperature stage by stage instead of increasing it, and again the water remains a liquid until suddenly, it is transformed into ice, a solid.

It is, of course, risky, to say the least, to generalise from such an example and to claim that it applies to the entire physical universe but nonetheless for the Marxist this simple illustration demonstrates a law which, he claims, is operating the whole of the time over the whole of the world.

Applied to human relations such a theory has an obvious significance.

The Marxist says that precisely these same laws have governed human behaviour, progress and development. When he applies his dialectic to history it is known as Historical Materialism.

The conflict of opposites in man's history, the Marxist says, takes the form of the class war—the haves versus the have-nots, the rulers versus the ruled, the old order versus the new—and it is this that has been responsible for all human progress and development.

Each society contains within itself the seeds of its own

destruction, in the form of the class which will create the new system that is to grow out of that class conflict which has been a feature of every system of society to date. And all the time, the existing society is in a state of constant change, moving inexorably towards its decay and doom, whilst the new society matures in its womb.

Then, at the appropriate moment, comes the transformation of quantitative into qualitative change, the revolutionary leap. The old system collapses or is made to collapse when the rulers are no longer able to govern. And those same conditions make it possible to unite the ruled, who take over by force, establishing a new system of society in which they become the rulers.

Thus the dialectic gives the Communist certainty and confidence in the final victory of his cause. The very laws that govern the universe are on his side. He alone understands them and uses them for his own purpose. He is the conscious and willing instrument of the historic process. The revolution for which he works must come, it is inevitable. He will accelerate its coming and lead it at the moment of opportunity. The victory of his cause is assured.

And, moreover, Stalin has said that *this* is the epoch of the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship. In other words, the Communist will see the revolution for which he sacrifices his time and effort, for which he lives, in his lifetime, if he understands the processes of history, speeds up the class war by stimulating class-hatred, and skilfully leads the masses at the right moment.

And then after the revolution will come the proletarian dictatorship and with it the realisation of all his fondest dreams.

The dynamic effect of dialectical materialism upon the individual who accepts it is incalculable. Its effect upon morale is terrific. In its consequences it is as though Christians knew for a certainty that if they worked hard enough they would see the coming of the Kingdom of

Heaven upon earth within their lifetime.

But dialectical materialism has other consequences upon the individual, too, and explains a great deal about Communism and the individual Communist's behaviour which the non-Communist often finds difficult to understand.

Because he is consciously fighting the class war the Communist takes it seriously. For him it is the most serious and at the same time the most hopeful thing on earth. And so he proceeds to fight it with all the methods of war. That is why the Communist's vocabulary is full of military terms, which are not mere words to him but are descriptive of his forms of activity.

He thinks, talks and acts in terms of strategy and tactics. The main overall strategy he leaves to those at the very top, the international leadership, who are as it were the allied general staff. The national strategy and tactics are the concern of the national leaders. For him it is a case of applying the day-to-day tactics, applying policy to his own particular sphere of activities.

Politics is not for him a game but a battle which must be fought with skill and determination, with no quarter.

Behaviour

The class-war provides him, too, with his only test of right and wrong. Does it serve the class-war or does it not? That is the question. If it serves the cause of the revolution it is right, if it harms it it is wrong. Upon the basis of this simple test, the Marxist man finds that anything is permissible, no matter how cruel, how immoral—provided only that it is for the good of the cause.

In time of war, he will reason, people come sooner or later to believe that anything is permissible provided only that it contributes to the cause of victory. The old saying has it that "all's fair in love and war." The Communist is not much concerned about the love part of it but he

certainly accepts the tag in its reference to war.

And that other, rather more modern saying, "the first casualty in time of war is truth" is also something which he accepts. If falsehood, and deceit serve the cause of victory in the class-war, then they are legitimate weapons. Thus Lenin, instructing Communist journalists on how to shine at their profession, told them to study their opposite numbers on sections of the "capitalist" press, to see how they slandered their opponents, how skilfully they used deceit and lies and then to emulate and improve upon such methods. 7
Quote
Sawyer

Through all the party's propaganda and right through the campaigns of the branches and individual members runs the acceptance of the maxim that truth is subservient to the needs of the moment.

In the class-war any sort of subterfuge is permissible, the Communist says. You may deceive the enemy, pretending to be a friend, penetrating or infiltrating his ranks and then revealing yourself as his foe and, if need be, stabbing him in the back.

In the conduct of the class-war, too, you look for allies, use them for just as long as it suits your purpose to do so, and then, if the cause is served thereby, either drop them or round on them as the case may be.

Both these aspects of Communist behaviour are familiar to all who have seen the Communists at work. They can, I think be best illustrated from my own experience since first-hand illustrations are so much more to the point than those which come at second-hand.

I was at one time during the Spanish Civil War, Welsh National Organiser for Spanish Medical Aid, whose job was to assist the anti-Franco cause. Every Communist understood the significance of that struggle in Spain and understood too, the political importance of building up support for it in Britain.

Working at that time in North Wales, I knew that my campaign could only succeed there, in view of the strength

of Nonconformity, if I got the local religious leaders on my side. This I proceeded to do when ever possible by telling them it was a great humanitarian, non-political cause. If they were politically wide-awake they realised what I had done after I had got them on my platform and their flock in the hall. If they still did not see the political character of the job I was doing, I continued to use them for as long as it suited my purpose. For me it was work for Communism, which includes the destruction of all religion and, as a militant atheist I had no illusions about what I would do with them, "when the revolution came."

This was completely in accord with the teachings of Lenin and Stalin on the use of allies and I was complimented by the party for the way in which I had been able to use them.

The party still, of course, uses religious leaders with the same cynicism. And even as it uses them it despises them.

I started work on another occasion, in a town where there was no active Communist Party branch and immediately set about the task of creating one. It was, from the party's point of view, a "backward" area with no natural basis for party recruitment. I joined the local Labour Party, made myself both seen and heard and was quickly elected, first on to the local party executive and then on to the Divisional Party Committee, whilst still, of course, secretly retaining my membership of the Communist Party.

Within twelve months I had brought a majority of the members of both committees into the Communist Party, but instructed all to keep their membership to themselves and to continue to work within the Labour Party. Not unnaturally that constituency quickly became known for its "militancy." Its resolutions were quoted with approval by the *Daily Worker* and it was used to stimulate other areas where the Labour Party was, according to our reckoning "reactionary."

It was a proud night when, knowing that I had "captured" every possible local Labour Party leader for the cause, I got them all together and watched their faces as they discovered that, unknown even to themselves, I had got practically the entire local Labour leadership into the Communist Party.

At an appropriate moment when Communist headquarters wanted to do the Labour Party the maximum damage, all resigned and publicly announced that, disillusioned by the current policy of the Labour leaders, they were applying to join the Communist Party, that being the only one which now defended the cause of socialism and the working-class.

The heart was, as a consequence, torn out of that local Labour Party but a brand new Communist Party appeared before the public. The episode over, I was complimented for my good "infiltration" work and proceeded to get down to action elsewhere.

But, perhaps most important of all, there is another way in which viewing the class-struggle as something to be fought as a war effects the behaviour of the Communist.

In time of war, if you believe in victory sufficiently, you harden your heart and mind to the human consequences of your actions. It is thus that youths by nature kindly and sensitive can bring themselves to assist in shelling areas where they know there are many civilians.

If you lived in the South of England during the closing stages of World War II, when the bombers laden with block-busters went out night after night you knew that, inevitably some must fall on built-up areas. You shuddered maybe, with dread for the men, women and children who must, inevitably suffer as a consequence. Then, if you believed in the cause enough, you closed your heart and mind and told yourself that it was necessary for victory.

In the same way the Communist can bring himself to engage in or to support activities which he knows will have the most appalling consequences in terms of human

suffering, provided only that they serve the cause of Communism and the revolution.

Thus, today, Communists throughout the Western democracies can work night and day to aggravate the difficulties of post-war economic reconstruction, can oppose Marshall Aid in the hope that it will precipitate an economic crisis, with all that that means in terms of unemployment, malnutrition and misery. By such means, they hope, will the Soviet Union, citadel of Communism, and its Eastern European satellites, be assisted and the cause of Communism everywhere advanced.

So, too are naturally sensitive people enabled to support the most ruthless Russian policies.

When you accept such a basis for your approach to the world about you, it inevitably "does something" to you. With a free conscience you are able to do all sorts of things which would have appalled you before you became a Marxist. You have, of course, undoubted advantages over your opponents because the rest of the world is almost unaware of the war which you are fighting with such ruthlessness and guile.

For you there are no restraints and no code of honour other than that "revolutionary honour" which is a very real thing to those who observe it but which has nothing in common with ordinary moral considerations and is in every way subservient to the cause.

And when thousands of people holding such views and behaving in such a manner, are organised into national parties, linked in a world-wide battle-front, they become something formidable indeed.

Strategy and Tactics

The whole of the party's work is based on strategic and tactical considerations which are applied to a constantly changing world.

When Communists deal with either enemies or allies

they work to a pattern which can, and should, be understood by anyone who attempts to follow the news intelligently today. And, since any allies the Communists may make will sooner or later be treated by them as enemies, it means a single pattern in either case.

How it should be done is set out in broad outline in the Marxist classics, is elaborated at Communist study classes all over the world and is thoroughly understood by anyone who has spent any length of time with the Communists and knows how the teachings of Lenin and Stalin are applied in practice.

For this reason it is possible to foresee the lines along which they will work and to understand the underlying intention in almost every move they make.

Their treatment of the Church in Hungary is along the classic lines. The technique employed there is fully understood by every Marxist and has been used in the past to destroy all types of organisations they have wanted to get rid of—trade unions, political parties, cultural and other bodies, many of them former allies—in one country after another all over the world.

Its basis is to be found very largely in the writings and teachings of Joseph Stalin, who has been the great exponent of Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics, and in the books and speeches of Lenin.

When the Communists wish to destroy an organisation this is how they proceed :

First, they attempt to win the support of some, at least, of the rank and file. By carefully chosen campaigns and ingenious propaganda they seek to make it appear that they and their future victims have really a good deal in common and that, therefore, it is only common sense to achieve some measure of co-operation. It sounds plausible and inevitably there are some who are taken in by it.

It is, I suppose, typical of the flabbiness of modern thought that there are some who will agree when the Communist declares : " We are admittedly, in different

camps when it comes to the long-term fundamental issues, but we can, at least, agree on the urgent practical necessities of the moment. It was along such lines that the late Editor of the *Daily Worker* recently argued in an appeal to Christians to support one of the Party's current campaigns.

When such limited co-operation ("the united front from below") is achieved, a big first step on the way to success has already been taken. For it means a fundamental change in the "morale" of a section of the potential enemy forces. To convince the enemy that you are "not so bad after all" when you are at war is to reduce his fighting spirit very considerably and to create doubt in his mind as to the necessity for the fight at all.

Secondly, they seek to "isolate" the leaders from the rank and file in order to render the former defenceless and the latter leaderless. This may be done by means of spreading personal calumnies against individuals, by creating doubt as to their suitability as leaders or as to their personal integrity. In a world recovering from a war with Fascism, it is clearly useful to brand such leaders "Fascist." If there is any "evidence" that can be used in support of this it is built up, exaggerated and distorted. If it does not exist it may have to be created.

I remember how eagerly as a Marxist opponent of the Catholic Church, regularly writing on such questions, I seized upon what appeared to be evidence of an association between Catholics and Fascists and the pleasure and excitement with which we used it in the columns of the *Daily Worker*. I remember, too, with pleasure now, how the worthlessness of that evidence gradually sank into my consciousness, setting me off on a path whose end is Rome.

Then in order to facilitate the destruction of the leadership, rifts in the ranks of the leaders themselves are watched for and worked for. Anything which can be construed as such is given the widest possible publicity, the broadest possible interpretation and the maximum embel-

lishment. Some are temporarily boosted, others are slandered.

At the same time the campaign to discredit the leaders is built up amongst the rank and file and before long some are beginning to ask, "I wonder, is there anything in what the Communists say. Is he really a Fascist?"

Once such questions are even being posed a "positive gain"—to use the Communist jargon—has been registered. The charge has become one which is open to debate. It is quite simple and it works. Once you have set people arguing about it you have gone some way towards blackening your victim.

Again, if no evidence is forthcoming to make it possible to start such a campaign, it will be manufactured and will be just as effective in the end.

Normally such a process takes time and several lines will be pursued simultaneously; the wooing of the rank and file; the isolating, discrediting and ultimate destruction of the leadership; the driving of wedges between the leaders to facilitate the process. At the right moment, when the process has gone sufficiently far, the job of developing new leaders, creatures of the party, within the rank and file or among the existing lesser leaders is started.

In the course of the campaign for co-operation some will have shown themselves to have come closer to the Communists than to the organisation with which they are publicly associated. Their motives may be good, they may simply have become the unconscious tools of the Communists, or they may be bad, seeing a future career, greater than they had previously deemed possible, as being more important than devotion to principle or loyalty to leaders. But the result will be the same in either case.

At the right moment, when the old leaders have been removed or driven out, the "stooge leaders" will be presented to the populace as the ones who have all along represented the best traditions, interests and wishes of the people. I can think of several Anglicans who might

quickly be promoted under such circumstances and several Labour M.P.s who would soon be heading the Socialist wing of a Socialist Unity Party of Britain. Such people, the Communists with their cynicism know quite well, can almost always be found, for human flesh is weak and some are stupid and some yield more easily to temptation than others.

With the "top" leaders out of the way, the rest divided, a new leadership created, and confusion spread among the rank and file, the mopping up is fairly easy.

It may take different forms according to circumstances. We were carrying such a process into effect inside the old Independent Labour Party fairly early in my association with the Communist Party and there found the creation of a multiplicity of unofficial bodies within the official one the best way of finally reducing the whole thing to a farce.

Under different circumstances, particularly in a country where the party is in power, a combination of propaganda, persuasion, coercion and downright terror may achieve the desired end more quickly and steer the rank and file into the appropriate fold.

In Czechoslovakia by the time of the February *putsch* the vast majority of organisations had been either rendered leaderless, provided with fake leaders or were riddled through and through with quislings. It is obviously easier to employ such a technique (and certainly quicker) to political organisations than to the Church. But the same lines are followed and the same strategy and tactics employed, and only an understanding of what is happening can prevent the same results.

The Communists in Hungary have applied their Marxism to the fight against religion in a way which must have had the admiration and approval of Marxists throughout the world. The first stage through which they have already passed was clearly laid down by Lenin in the following words :

"The first round against religion, the opium of the

people, occupies an important position among the tasks of the cultural revolution. This fight must be carried on persistently and systematically. The proletarian power must withdraw all State support from the Church, and abolish the influence exercised by the Church in the system of education and training organised by the State ; it must ruthlessly suppress the counter-revolutionary activities of ecclesiastical organisations.

"The proletarian power acknowledges freedom of conscience, but at the same time uses all the means at its disposal to conduct anti-religious propaganda, abolishes the privileged position of the established Church and reforms the entire educational system on the basis of the scientific materialist conception of the world."

The aim he gave as "The final emancipation of the toiling masses from religion."

Applying the technique which is used for all "enemy bodies" to working class organisations in particular, the programme of the Communist International gave the main strategic aim of the Communist Party as to "extend its influence over the majority of the members of its own class, including working women and the working youth.

"To achieve this," it said, "The Communist Party must secure predominant influence in the broad mass proletarian organisations . . . trade unions, factory councils, co-operative societies, sports organisations, cultural organisations &c. It is particularly important for the purpose of winning over the majority of the proletariat to capture the trade unions . . . to work in reactionary trade unions and skilfully to capture them, to win the confidence of the broad masses of the industrially organised workers. To relieve and remove from their posts the reformist leaders, represent important tasks in the preparatory period."

The same tactics are urged "to develop the struggle against the leaders of the reactionary cliques of the Catholic Church" as one of the "most important strongholds of

Fascism.”

Both Lenin and Stalin in their writings have been brutally frank about the need for the use of repression if the Communist aims are to be achieved.

Thus Stalin, in his book *Leninism*, discussing the application of Lenin's methods to the peasantry, declared quite bluntly that “repressions are a necessary element in the offensive.”

He went on to warn that even this was not enough, that even though they “arrest and exile tens and hundreds of thousands of kulaks,” it would be wasted effort unless they also proceeded to “blow up and liquidate” the productive sources upon which they depended.

On another occasion Lenin gave this word of advice : “When one enjoys an overwhelming majority of forces one can succeed by direct frontal attack. When forces are inadequate, detours, waiting periods, zigzags, retreats, and so on and so forth, may be necessary.”

That last point explains the Chinese Communists' current policy of “tolerance” towards the Church and also the campaign in Britain to prove that the party is not hostile to religion. It is not without significance that the latter campaign was launched precisely at the moment that the attack on religion began in earnest in the Communist countries of Eastern Europe.

For the suffering Catholics of martyred Hungary and their heroic Cardinal it is a case of the direct frontal attack to which Lenin referred in its most brutal form. And we shall see it developed in all those Eastern European countries where the party boasts an “overwhelming majority of forces.”

Revolution

If the Marxist classical writers have left a good deal to the imagination so far as the nature of Communist society is concerned, they have written in considerable detail and

with great enthusiasm about the need for civil war and revolution.

Years ago British Communists, too, were equally frank about this and demonstrators gaily sang about "when the revolution comes" on London's streets.

But it is not fashionable to stress this side of Marxist teaching today. Not, at least in public.

Gallacher, in "The Case for Communism" tries as skilfully as he can to skate over the question, lest "the broad appeal" to the "masses," which is the current tactic, should be undermined. And so, answering his own question "Don't the Communists want violence?" he answers with a bluff good humour: "Nothing of the sort."

Then, trying to show that Marx did not mean violence when he wrote of "forcible change" he declares: "The power of the working class will have to be used to force the changes through." He quotes the rather unhappy example of Czechoslovakia as a case of "forcible change against the will of the old order but no violence." But he rather spoils his case when he continues "It is always the representatives of the old order who are responsible for violence, when it does arise. They were not strong enough to make violent opposition in Czechoslovakia."

But Marx, Engels and Lenin made no such pretence when they wrote of the "overthrow" of the capitalist class. They regarded the violence of civil war as being not only necessary but even desirable.

Said Marx in *The German Ideology* (P.69): "This revolution is necessary, therefore, not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class *overthrowing* it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of the ages and become fitted to found society anew."

And to leave no doubt in anyone's mind, Engels roundly declared: "The war of the poor against the rich will be the bloodiest ever waged," (*Condition of the Working Class* P.296) whilst Marx followed up again with:

“Combat or death, bloody struggle or extinction. It is thus that the question is inexorably put.” (Poverty of Philosophy P.147).

And Lenin, like Engels, wrote pages on the art of insurrection, detailing how it should be carried through.

All this is known to every Communist Party member of anything more than a few months standing. And all, from Communist M.P.s down to the humblest branch member, understand that violent revolution has to be expected and prepared for.

All understand, too, the need for “soft peddling” the violent-revolutionary line for the moment and the need for keeping the tongue firmly in the cheek when writing books for popular consumption on the case for Communism.

In days of poverty, crisis and mass unemployment, when men are angry, the Communist can be more frank about these things. But when pay packets are comparatively full and the queues at the Labour Exchanges are in most cases short ; and particularly when the party is busy working for a return to precisely such conditions, it is more discreet in public to pretend that talk of the Communist belief in violence is all an extraordinary mistake.

The Communist works and lives for the revolution, which often becomes almost an end in itself in his mind and he has plenty of revolutionary literature on which to feed, books which emphasise the lessons to be learned from the failure of the Paris Commune of 1871 and the success of the Bolsheviks in 1917 and which have an extremely practical, if somewhat cold-blooded approach to the question.

In them it is made clear that an insurrection is not enough. The “bourgeoisie” may, and almost certainly will, retaliate and the answer to that must be the Red Terror, for which party members must prepare their minds.

And the Secret Police is seen in advance as a necessary institution without which the Dictatorship of the Proletariat can never become a reality. The leaders of the Russian revolution at the time insisted that the Secret Police was not

something about which Communists should apologize but rather should be seen as a weapon of the revolution of which they might be proud.

The revolution comes, according to Marxist reasoning, when, because of the crisis and collapse of capitalism, the rulers are no longer able to govern, and when, because of the conditions which arise from that situation, the masses are thrown together in unity, the peasants and the "middle stratas" of society, momentarily at least, being prepared, if given a lead, to join with the working class in finding a revolutionary solution to an impossible situation. The process can be accelerated by Communists making themselves "the conscious and willing instruments of the historic process."

Thus the Communist policy must first and foremost aim at increasing the difficulties of the "ruling class," uniting the working class and winning allies for them. And the success of the revolution can only be assured if it is led by the Communist Party. Without that leadership there may be a blood-bath but still no Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Communist Leadership

The job of Communist Party members is therefore to become trained in leadership and the whole life of the party is geared to the need to turn every member into a leader of men.

To direct this work a special department, the "cadres department" was brought into existence. "Cadres," said Stalin, "decide everything," and the department is seen as the key to all others.

In military language "cadres" are the framework of the army. In party jargon the word has come to mean those comrades who are trained and fitted collectively to become the framework of the entire army of the working-class when the revolution comes. A Communist who is a

true Bolshevik is described as a "steel hardened cadre." He is one who flinches at nothing ; accepts an iron discipline and is able to lead others under any circumstances—as a shop steward, may be, in a factory today, in the front ranks of the insurrection tomorrow, in the job of "socialist construction" under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat the day after tomorrow.

And the Cadres department has proved that under modern conditions any quite ordinary person can be developed as a leader.

To achieve this two things are necessary. He must be instructed so as to be rather better informed on certain specialised subjects than the average man with whom he mixes and in addition he must be made accustomed to the sound of his own voice ; to express himself in public.

In order to achieve this latter point the party's "Marxist education" system is based on a technique calculated to make all Communist Party members able in time to contribute to discussion, first in small gatherings and later in large. By such means everyone, short of a half-wit can with patience be turned into a "leader" by virtue of a little extra knowledge of a certain type, the acquisition of the jargon that goes with it, coupled with plenty of self confidence.

So, when a strike develops, it is the Communist who steps into a position on the strike committee. When rents are to be increased it is he who will emerge as the leader of an agitation. And when military defeat or crushing economic crisis comes it is he who will lead the angry masses in the seizure of power.

Communist Organisation

The party's organisation is designed for the purpose of conducting war. In the democracies it is adapted to legal conditions although its present form was developed under the illegal conditions of Tzarist Russia.

But it is so fashioned that the party can switch from legality to illegality with a minimum of disruption and it is to illegal or semi-legal conditions that it is best suited. Democracy has, in fact, always been something of an embarrassment to the Communists.

But the party structure is very much what is required for an organisation with revolutionary aims and methods.

The Communists call it "democratic centralism," although we need not take too seriously the "democratic" part of it. What is required of the organisation is that it should be able to command the maximum revolutionary discipline of its members ; it should be efficient ; it should be flexible, able rapidly to change its line as and when required and it must be so military in its formation that in the event of civil war it can function as the vanguard of the revolutionary masses.

Now, no truly democratic organisation can function in such a way and the party's internal structure can only therefore be called "democratic" if one is prepared to give an entirely new meaning to the word. Having, like the Communists, done so, one can, of course, argue that it is the most democratic party on earth.

It is, in fact the exact opposite of the usual democratic body. Policy is made at the top and handed down, *not* made at the bottom and transmitted upwards. It can best be illustrated by a pyramid, at the apex of which is the small handful of men who comprise the Political Bureau. It is here that policy is made and at this level international directives and commands are openly discussed and applied to national conditions and national needs.

Next comes the rather larger Executive, or Central Committee, which has the appearance of being a policy-making body but which never, in practice, changes Political Bureau decisions on major points of strategy. The policy it makes is only in relation to the detailed application of a previously decided line.

Below the Executive Committee come the District

Committees. Their job is to apply national decisions to the area for which they are responsible and to transmit them to the branches.

The far more numerous branches themselves are made up of the individual members in a given locality—probably organised in area or even street groups and in the factory group. Group activities are organised and led by the branch committee who are responsible also for directing the “education,” practical activities and party life in general of the members of those groups. It is thus responsible for conveying District Committee decisions to the area and factory groups and to the unattached members.

The factory group is “the basic unit of the party,” as has been reiterated in party memoranda time after time. For it is in the factories, pits and other work places that the party can gain the greatest numerical strength and the greatest power for harm.

The factory groups get a double directive. The branch committee fits their work into the wider pattern of the locality in which the factory is situated and assists “from outside” in any way possible.

But the factory groups are also directly linked with “Industrial Bureaux” which exist to apply the party’s policy to each specific industry and to the trade unions associated with it.

And at the base of the pyramid are the 40,000 members, constantly applying “the line” to their daily work, their union and their locality, responding to every call for action, and going into battle in disciplined fashion at the call of the Political Bureau.

There is constant discussion of policy at every level. But it is always initiated from above. It is the duty of the organisation at each level to “win” that below it to the party line—and having been “won” in this way, each party unit then discusses the significance of the line to itself and how best it may be carried into effect. Nowhere is there more discussion (linked always with practical

activity) and nowhere is discussion confined within more narrow and pre-determined limits.

Around the Executive Committee exists a number of consultative committees. On each there is a member of the Political Bureau and, usually, one or two Executive Committee members. The purpose of the Consultative Committees is to make the maximum use of all the party's "experts" who, whilst they are not up to top leadership level as politicians, have a specialised contribution to make to the application of party policy in their own particular sphere of activity.

On the Economic Committee, for example, there may be Professors of Economics, people employed on the Economic or Financial press or government employees in responsible positions, who are well informed about government economic policy or research. The party ensures by such means that every member is able to make the most direct and positive contribution to the cause of Communism.

Around the party itself is a widely-varying collection of organisations known as "the solar system." Some are party-created, some party-inspired, others party-infiltrated. All are party-manipulated.

The purpose of one may be to foster "friendship" with Russia or some other Communist country; another to bring writers, artists, musicians or other intellectuals in touch with the party line; another to familiarise the ordinary housewife with Communists and Communism.

The technique of the party is, normally, to work through minorities rather than majorities. A well-directed minority, united and knowing exactly where it is going, can achieve everything that may be achieved by a majority—with none of the responsibilities.

And when the entire party machine goes into action in pursuance of the aims of international Communism it has a tremendous power for mischief.

Linked, through larger sister parties, to the

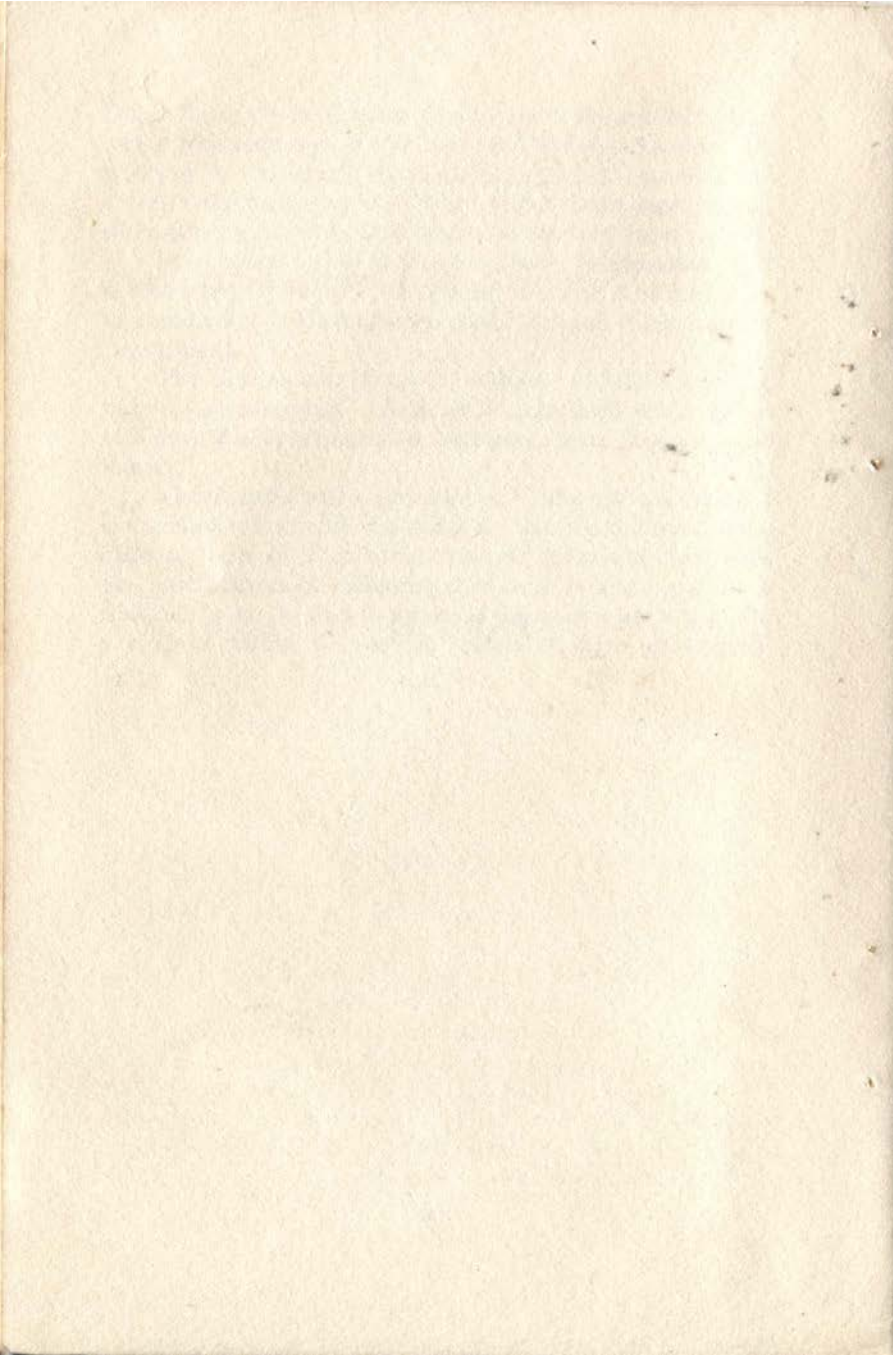
Cominform, the British party's strategy is always that of the wider grand-strategy of the International organisation. It is keyed to the needs of world Communism, particularly those of the parties which have already been successful in the conquest of power in Russia and the satellite countries.

It is bound by no national or local considerations ; it is restricted by loyalty to nothing but the Revolution as represented by Communism militant and Communism triumphant.

The Communist Party is, indeed, as Stalin said " a party of a new type." And, as he reiterated at the grave of Lenin, the Party member becomes a man " of a special mould."

The Marxist man, product of " Marxist education," is someone quite unlike his fellows. He has different aims, different morals, a different code of behaviour. He sees the world through different eyes and is leading it to a different goal—a goal which only he understands and the nature of which he prefers, today, to keep to himself.

PART II



THE ANSWER

The Strength of Communism

The growth and spread of Communism in our day has, I suppose, been one of the most spectacular things of all time.

None of our present-day Communist Parties, with the exception of the Russian Party, is much more than 30 years old. Yet there is a Communist Party in every country of the world, and a party branch in practically every town or city of any size or consequence.

Communism today rules over more than a quarter of the world's land surface ; it is knocking at the door of such great European countries as France and Italy where the question is still unresolved.

Tens of millions are party members today and hundreds of millions are influenced by it. Such a movement has obviously much to teach us.

It is imperative that we should understand its nature, and equally urgent that we should see why it has spread.

We have seen what we are up against.

It is a highly organised movement, equipped with a theory which gives it an aggressive self-confidence. It is a highly-disciplined body, which gives it an effective striking-power.

In order to achieve its ends it employs hatred, deceit, ruthlessness. It employs, too, a militant atheism, which sets out to be a positive and complete philosophy whose survival depends upon destruction of the very idea of God.

Yet it is also able to claim and harness such good qualities—qualities in all too short supply today—as loyalty, zeal, devotion to a cause, willingness to sacrifice, and to use them for its own ends.

It is able also to attract, and hold, good men with good intentions. It claims some of the best, the most intelligent and keenest of our generation. And it uses them for an evil cause. It is able to wield immense influence, moving millions.

It is able to do so for a variety of reasons all of which must be noted if we are to understand the sources of its strength.

It is strong and effective because of its form of organisation ; because of its methods of work ; because it is restrained by no moral or ethical considerations ; because of the way in which it develops its members to become "cadres" or leaders ; because it uses those cadres to the best possible advantage ; because it has a vast fund of loyalty and enthusiasm on which to draw, stimulated and maintained by a pseudo-scientific theory which promises an early victory and because its enemies are divided whilst it is inflexibly united.

But when we have said all that it still leaves the question of why it attracts and holds good men largely unanswered. And if we find the answer to that we shall have a better idea of how to meet its challenge and defeat it.

The Source of Communism

It is often taken for granted that Communism has its origins in poverty, squalor and bad social conditions. But these things are not new. They are not the creation of the 19th or 20th centuries. Yet Communism as we know it today—and it is quite unlike any earlier philosophies which happen to bear the same name—is something new, something essentially belonging to our day. Born in the 19th century and carried into practice in the 20th it could have belonged to no other age.

Poverty, squalor, social injustice, bad conditions are the things upon which it feeds, the things it uses for its own purposes. They are not the things from which it originates.

Communism is not, first and foremost, a social or political problem. It is a spiritual problem and only if we understand this shall we see why it has spread in this particular age and no other.

Its rapid growth would not have been possible in the ages with a Faith. Only in a pagan, faithless age was it possible for such a philosophy and way of life to spread to millions of men.

The growth of Communism in our day proves, as nothing else could, that a deeply-held faith is fundamental to the very nature of man. Breed a generation the majority of whom have no deeply held religious beliefs, and, denied a good faith they will turn to a bad—even to the cold, hard religion of the Marxist no-God. And they will give to it the energy and devotion which a real religion might and should, have claimed.

Communism today gives men a sense of direction, a purpose in life, a cause to fight for, an ideal to sacrifice for and, if needs be, die for.

It claims their zeal, their devotion, their loyalty. These are things which belong to religion. They belong to God. But in a pagan age the majority of those who become Communists have not even thought of Christianity as an alternative—although it is something very much more than that.

Men today are hungry for a cause, starved for a faith in which to believe. They are frustrated by the apparent purposelessness of modern life. They lack a sense of direction. And so Communism appears to meet a fundamental need. It originates from unbelief and the frustration to which it gives rise.

Unless they have a live and intelligently-held Christianity which offers them all this, men are left unsatisfied. Then the Communist comes along, and they are his easy victims. He is able to take their unsatisfied idealism, their willingness to give themselves to a cause, and to use these things for his own ends.

If Communism were simply the product of poverty and bad social conditions you would expect it, first and foremost, to be the party of the very poor, who would form the majority of its members, with decreasing numbers coming from each social group as one ascended the ladder of wealth.

But an examination of the social composition of the British Communist party reveals something quite different. In it you find a few members of the old (and new) aristocracy and a slightly larger number of "small capitalists." Then comes a quite disproportionate number of intellectuals civil servants, professional workers and members of the middle-class generally.

The next, and largest group, which gives the party its "proletarian" basis, comes from the higher paid workers, the skilled artisans.

Finally you get a tiny grouping of unskilled, casual or general labourers—the only real "bread and butter Communists" among them. The slum dwellers, the really poor, the people most hard-hit by poverty and squalor are notable for their absence. Yet they are precisely the ones who would form the bulk of the party's membership if these conditions were the originators of Communism.

During the period of the last economic crisis, when there was widespread poverty, hardship and millions of unemployed, the party was tiny in numbers and failed completely to do any mass recruitment among them even though it tried desperately for years.

It led them in allegedly non-Communist unemployed organisations. It used them but failed to make Communists out of them.

Communism uses the very poor in times of crisis or when a revolutionary situation develops. That is its main interest in them. That is their main usefulness to the cause of Communism. Social injustice is the thing upon which it feeds. It is not the originator of Communism.

Or examine the thing in reverse. If poverty and

insecurity (which is said to be more deadly than poverty itself) were the main cause of Communism then you would expect Communism to fail completely to influence those who are in secure and stable positions.

Thousands of parents who persuade their children to take the Civil Service examination do so believing that in the Civil Service there is a job for life, security in the shape of a steady income and a pension at the end of it. There is some basis for that widespread view.

Yet civil servants become Communists. In every country, including our own, the party has had some notable successes in its work in the Civil Service. So much so that the Communist civil servants have become a security problem in Britain and elsewhere.

But the "Red" civil servant's Communism cannot be explained by poverty, for he has at least an income which keeps him above the poverty line. It cannot be explained by insecurity, for nothing short of gross misbehaviour will lose him his job—and his old age is provided for through a good pensions scheme. It cannot be explained by squalor, for he usually lives in a tidy little suburban house, observing highly-respectable, if sometimes needlessly snobbish, standards.

But precisely these conditions tend to make his life unadventurous. There is little in such a life to call up his reserves of idealism. Precisely because it is so orderly, with the daily routine of train, office, train, suburbia, it seems purposeless and dull. Nothing short of a faith which gives him a real sense of purpose and direction, which demands that he should sacrifice, which makes him see that the daily routine in the material world is not the beginning and the end of everything, can make such a life tolerable for an intelligent man. That, at least, or Communism.

For Communism can appear to satisfy for the time being. The civil servant who by day is the most respectable of the city-bound travellers, can exchange his homburg hat and carefully-rolled umbrella for a cloth cap. He

can sail forth at night, with an assumed name, to engage in Communist activities and acquire a philosophy for the first time in his life ; something in which he really believes.

So can he end his boredom and frustration, find adventure and salve a conscience troubled by his own comfort and that of his class in the face of social misery. And when he becomes a good Marxist he can find still greater adventure passing back confidential memoranda and such secrets as come his way through the party "grape-vine" to the citadel of Communism itself. He can come to believe that it is all for the good of the cause, part of the fight against injustice and on behalf of the downtrodden. And so his idealism is satisfied as his values are turned upsidedown. I have known many such in the past.

It requires a religious faith which makes life an adventure, an apostolic zeal which makes him able to rise above his environment, to offer anything which can compete with Communism as an outlet for such a man. Given such a faith he would be proof against Communist influences. But deprive a generation of a faith of any sort and the phenomenon of the Communist civil servant becomes immediately explicable.

The spread of Communism and Communist influences has been made possible by the spread of wrong ideas, wrong values, wrong standards. Still more it has been made possible by the existence of large numbers of people with no standards, no values and often all-but no ideas at all.

For some centuries men have been told that it does not matter what they believe so long as they are "good men," that they can believe anything. And it has ended in the majority of men believing nothing.

That is the modern paganism. It is a state of things which obtains in Britain today, where only a minority have any deeply held beliefs whatsoever. A country, or a world, in such a state is "easy meat" for the Communist. Its defences against Communism are down.

Communism is the expression of a deep spiritual ill. The spread of Communist influence can, in the long run, only be countered by the spread of the Faith.

I believe that men will respond if we give them a cause, that they turn to Communism only in their frustration. But the matter is urgent. Large parts of what once was Christendom are now Communist. With no lead from the West, the East is going Red. Communism threatens such great and once-Catholic countries as Italy and France today.

The Challenge

Here in Britain the challenge of Communism has in the past seemed a somewhat remote one. The Communists were a nuisance but they did not appear as a serious menace. Discussions on Communism tended to be somewhat academic.

But are we proof against Communism here? Can we be certain that "it can't happen here?" Conditions in Britain today do not appear to be conducive to the growth of Communist influence. The things on which it feeds are largely absent.

Pay packets are more full than they were in the past, even though prices are high. Real malnutrition—and the diseases that go with it—is not conspicuous, as was the case in the 1930s. Apart from in a few "pockets" of unemployment, there are not the long queues which once one saw at the Labour Exchanges. Mothers in the South Wales mining valleys do not stop their children from playing on the mountain side as once they did, lest they come home with a big appetite and find nothing in the larder to satisfy it.

We have some sort of social security and something approaching full employment today.

Yet I think that any member of the Government would agree that there is something a little unreal about this

apparent "prosperity" which depends upon an export programme which in turn depends upon the willingness and ability of the foreigner to buy whatever we can produce, in whatever quantities we care to produce it.

Should, to use the ugly phrase, the bottom fall out of the export market we might experience an economic crisis far deeper, more widespread and more profound even than the last; far harsher in its human consequences. For we lost during the last war, many of those things which gave Britain an artificially high standard of life in the past. Future crises will be worse than those we have known.

I was in the Communist Party throughout the last economic crisis. Most of the time we had only some 5,000—8,000 members. Yet we were able, temporarily, to use tens and hundreds of thousands of unemployed in our attempts to deepen the crisis and produce a civil war.

On a number of occasions we had hundreds of thousands demonstrating on the streets, coming into conflict with thousands of police. And on more than one occasion the military were standing by lest a riot should turn into something worse.

The Communist party today has just over 40,000 members—which means it is 5—8 times as strong as in that period. Then, it was an infant party. Today it is much more mature and experienced. And around it is a vastly larger body of "fellow-travellers" and sympathisers with a knowledge of Marxism, and a wider net-work of satellite organisations. The party is now stronger in every way and in a much better position to exploit a crisis situation.

It would be quite wrong to assume that the Communist danger is something which threatens only unenlightened foreigners.

Its challenge is something which we needs must meet, for wider and wider sections of the public are becoming effected by Communist propaganda. Communist ideas filter through to circles far remote from the party. There are plenty of people today who regard themselves as anti-

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Communist who yet are influenced by Marxist ideas and accept without thought wrong theories which had their origins in Communism.

And every year some 10,000 people pass through the ranks of the Communist Party. In the party jargon this is known as the "turnover." They are, in the main, people who come into the party attracted by one of its current campaigns, agreeing with some point in its current programme of which they have been made aware.

They come knowing nothing of the long-term aims of Communism. They know nothing of dialectical materialism, of which they have probably hardly, if ever, heard.

At first, they are used on one social campaign after another, going from one form of what one might call Communist good works to the next.

Then they are given "Marxist education."

First, they take a beginners class ; then something a little harder. Gradually they absorb the Marxist theories. In a few months they are taking a "Scientific Socialism" syllabus and then on to Dialectical Materialism.

But the party is an organisation of 100 per-centers. By the time they reach this theoretical level it demands their whole time and energy. It demands their whole life. Not all are prepared to give it, and some go out. In still more cases their wives are not prepared to let them give it. In which case there are only two things to be done. One is to get the wife in the party too, in which case she is never home either and the children go into a nursery. The alternative is to go out, which is what a number do, taking their new-found faith with them.

Something has happened to them. They see the world through Marxist eyes ; they accept Marxist values. They become the genuine "fellow-travellers" who take their "line" from the Communist shop steward in the factory, or in the trade union branch. And as people who proclaim that they are not party members they have a

special and valuable job to do for Communism. They are often able to influence those who are still suspicious of the self proclaimed and organised Communist party member.

And so some 10,000 people are corrupted in this way each year and in their turn become corrupters. And their total grows, year after year.

This is a problem no serious-minded person, least of all a Christian, can contemplate with satisfaction. It is a challenge which should be accepted, met, and defeated.

These are days of great danger. But they are days of opportunity, greater than the Faith has known for centuries.

The world stands today at the cross roads and men and nations are having to choose, must choose, between Communism and Christianity. And in practice, for men and nations, as events are proving, this means in most cases a choice between Communism and the Catholic Church.

Meeting the Challenge

I lectured some time ago to a political school, in a series on the British political parties.

I prefaced my lecture, in fairness to my hearers and myself, by saying that I was not a member of their party nor, for the moment, of any party. I had resigned from the Communist Party, not in order to join the Labour Party, or Conservative Party or any other party. I had resigned because Catholic thought had already undermined my Communism. I left Communism to become a Catholic. They must therefore, said I, not expect any political policies from me.

But being politicians, as soon as question time came they tried to pin me down to policies, to get me to commit myself.

One asked : " Don't you think the Communist Party should be banned ? " I answered that I did not think that the party itself would mind very much if it was, for its

organisation was quite prepared for illegal activity, should that be forced upon it.

Another asked : " Don't you think that, at least, some of its books should be banned ? Those books, for example, which tell how to conduct a successful revolution or explain the ' art of insurrection ' and which are offered for public sale. Or when the *Daily Worker* goes too far, wouldn't it be a good idea to ban that from time to time ? "

I replied that the party certainly wouldn't mind that at all. I was on the staff of the *Daily Worker* at the time when we were banned during the war ; it was during the period which we characterised as the " imperialist " war, which we opposed. And the ban gave us the biggest opportunity we had ever had.

It was not long before we got a great campaign going for the raising of the ban—in the name of freedom of the press, freedom of speech and democracy, whilst we knew quite well, just what we would do with those bourgeois notions if ever we came to power.

Before long sponsored resolutions were going through the trade union branches. National trade unions, co-operatives and Labour Parties supported the campaign. Liberals and liberal-minded Conservatives joined the great democratic campaign. Newspapers joined in and soon their editors were appearing on our platforms.

The result was that in the process we spread our influence to new sections of the community, we familiarised former opponents with Communists in person and we acquired just that aroma of respectability we had hitherto lacked and which is so essential for any man or party wishing to get on in Britain. And more important still, the party made contacts and personal friendships in the trade unions which it has been using ever since.

Those answers to my questioners, though quite truthful, were, I suppose, depressing for a conference of politicians. And that probably explains what happened in the common room later, when several people came and, in their different

ways (for they were widely differing types of people) said something which added up to this : " You know, thinking about your replies to those questions ; there isn't really any political answer to Communism at all, is there ? Only you Catholics have got the answer."

I believe that to be absolutely true. The politicians have the duty and the power to restrict Communist activities by means of sounder education and by elementary acts of self-preservation to safeguard the interests of the State. Only in Christianity is to be found the long-term answer.

But, as I have travelled about in my spare-time, lecturing to lay organisations, I have wondered whether Catholics themselves always realise that they alone have the answer to what is generally considered to be the greatest problem of our day. And, for that matter, that the Church has the answer to all our modern problems.

For if Catholics themselves really appreciated this they could not remain in silence about it. They would have to proclaim it from the house-tops. And the signs that they are doing so are still too few in number.

How can we meet the challenge of Communism ? What is the Christian answer ?

I do not think that there is any single, simple way by which Communism can be easily and speedily defeated. But there is a fourfold way in which its challenge may be met.

The answer must be provided by means of propaganda, organisation, Christian action and we must supply that spiritual answer too, which is the basis upon which any others must rest to be effective.

Propaganda

When I was in the Communist Party we took the view that most of the anti-Communist campaigns helped no one but the Communists themselves. And this was very

largely true. For almost invariably such campaigns were based upon, or included, distortions of the truth, exaggerations, or downright untruths.

I am sure that in most cases those responsible were very sincere and worthy people filled with the best of intentions. But, although they knew they did not like Communism and instinctively felt it to be evil, they often lacked knowledge of the facts and, all too often, made up for it by the use of the imagination.

And that was what gave the Communist his chance. No matter whether nine tenths of his opponent's case was correct, he could pick on the one inaccuracy or untruth, expose it as false, concentrate all his propaganda upon it and proceed to discredit the whole of the other man's case as a consequence. Prove a man wrong in a detail, and, in popular propaganda, you can prove him wrong altogether.

Millions of people have come in touch with Communists in recent years, in factories and in the Forces, and they know sufficient about them to recognise some of the more crude anti-Communist campaigning points as patently false.

I should say that the "Red Gold" myth has done the Communists infinitely more good than harm. It has won them undoubted support from many people who have seen them busily raising and collecting money week after week in the factories and in the streets, who know their sincerity, their ingenuity and their pertinacity in getting others to sacrifice. And they also know how the Communists themselves sacrifice over and over again.

Yet, as usual, there is an element of truth in the Moscow Gold myth in that the funds would most certainly be made available—and are where necessary—if the revolution is served thereby. And so it is with most such propaganda. There is an element of truth, but it is the other element of untruth which aids the Communists. I would say that, quite apart from the ethical aspects of the

question, it would be better to have no anti-Communist propaganda at all than that it should be the crude, exaggerated stuff of the past which assumes that every Communist is a moran, that every Communist leader is a racketeer, that Communists have their pockets bulging with Moscow gold and that the Communist case is unworthy of a serious attempt to understand it.

Moreover, surely, the Christian case against Communism is strong enough without having to resort to lies. For the falsity of Communist ideas is daily being demonstrated in many parts of the world today. In one sense the fight against it is made easier by the fact that we can actually see it in practice. Whilst it remained in the realm of ideas it was more difficult to expose, at any rate to the satisfaction of the ordinary man. But it has now left the realm of ideas for that of practice and it can be judged by whether it works or not.

There is a certain advantage too, in that Russia is no longer the only country where Communism is in power. Communism has come further West.

In the past, any discussion of Communism inevitably turned to Russia. How about Russia's slums, her secret police, her one-party system, the fact that there was neither freedom of speech nor press? someone would ask. And the Communist would always have the answer: "Well, what do you expect in 25 or 30 years? Russia was 150 years behind us at the time of the revolution. She always had her slums. The secret police were there under the Tsars. She had never known a real democracy any way." And there was enough truth in it for him to appear to have truth on his side.

But Communism has now come, for example, to Czechoslovakia, a country which, by tradition and culture belongs as much to the West of Europe as to the East.

And the Czech Communist Party leaders, I know, anticipated that when Communism came to Czechoslovakia (as they were sure it would as soon as the war ended) they

would have to adapt it to Czech democratic traditions.

And they proceeded to try to do that when, at the end of the war, they had their chance. It is true that their aim was the same as that of the Russian or any other Communists. But they believed they could best achieve it by using the democratic form in their own way and that they could produce something which was distinctively Czech, as a consequence.

But in February 1948 all that was ended. The Czech Communists were told that they must conform to the general pattern of Communism, that you could not have one Communist-dominated country playing the very parliamentary game which was being decried as decadent and bourgeois in others. And so came the February *putsch*, the switch to naked dictatorship on the Russian pattern and destruction of all those freedoms which once they had intended using and, of course, being Communists, abusing too.

We can see today that whether Communism comes to Czechoslovakia, to Italy, to France, or to Britain it is likely to bear those same hallmarks and that what were once argued to be distinctively Russian Communism's undesirable features, arising from her backward past, are in fact essential features of all modern Communist states in practice.

Communism and War. For years the Communist Party throughout Europe made some of its best recruits from its campaigns against war. They were the basis of most of the big successful Popular Front movements of the 1930s. They were the means of bringing in thousands of new members in England, including many intellectuals and idealists whom the party badly needed.

The Communist argued, briefly, like this : Under Capitalism the trade war goes on unceasingly, the whole of the time. The difference between the trade war and the " shooting war " is only one of degree. War is as normal to Capitalism as peace : and, so long as you have Capitalism

you will have war. Therefore, the only way to end war is to end the capitalist system, and create a capitalist world in which there is neither trade war nor its counterpart the shooting war.

It was simple and it was appealing to a generation still remembering the first world war and wishing to avoid a second.

But what has happened to that argument now? We have today a little Communist world already in existence, a compact little world of Communist countries living cheek by jowl, and sealed off from the hostile Capitalist world, behind the Iron Curtain.

But already the first serious differences have broken out between them. And today Communist Hungary, Albania and Rumania, for example, do not hesitate to use the weapon of the trade war and economic sanctions against Communist Yugoslavia.

There is, indeed, sufficient bitterness being created at the moment for a shooting war between them to be not entirely unthinkable. Certainly the present open attempts to produce a Cominform-inspired insurrection in Yugoslavia, and the assassination of its Communist leader Tito are not far removed from acts of war in themselves.

And so, so soon after the creation of that little Communist world in Eastern Europe, already is being demonstrated the truth that wars have not their origins in economic and political systems but, as Christians have so often said, have also something to do with the nature of man.

In the abstract it all sounded quite convincing. But practice is showing that Communism does not bring peace and the post-war years have demonstrated that it is dividing and not uniting the human race.

Particularly dishonest is the Communist's "Peace" campaign to which William Gallacher devotes a good deal of space in "The Case for Communism" and which is winning new adherents to the Communist cause. Anyone

who has spent any time in the Communist Party understands the purpose of that campaign and knows quite well that it has nothing to do with the cause of peace.

The "united" peace conferences with Communists and fellow-travellers well to the fore on both platform and floor, the wooing of the pacifists, humanists and all sorts of kindly people who hate war and are easily taken in by the Communists, the opposition to expenditure on defence, to recruitment—these are not new and they have nothing to do with concern for the British people. They have all been used before on other occasions when the party has wished to aid Russia militarily and to weaken Britain. Last time there was the possibility of a war with Russia the Communists did exactly the same and ran an almost identical campaign. They called it the Peoples Convention then.

Britain was already at war on that occasion, at war with Nazi Germany, but Russia was Germany's friend for the moment and so Britain's military strength had to be weakened in every way possible in order to assist the U.S.S.R.

We might have achieved our ends by telling Communist factory workers in tank, ordnance and aircraft factories to put sand in the machines or spanners in the works. But that would have been bad tactics. We might have become known as saboteurs and destested as such. And that field of activity would in any case have been limited by the smallness of our numbers.

Instead, we created industrial unrest, we got strikes on homely economic issues, we made men in the Forces believe that it was not "their" war but only that of the bosses. We achieved much more thereby and gained the reputation among some of the war workers, at least, for being fighters for their rights and champions of social justice.

Today, too, in the factories, the Communists are pursuing the identical line, with the same end in view, to weaken Britain, potential foe of the U.S.S.R. and so aid Russia, citadel of Communism.

Our political campaign, too, was identical to that now being conducted. Exactly the same technique was employed to get "representative" conferences first in Central London then throughout the Provinces, and to build up a "national" movement from them, using exactly the same type of left-inclined trade unionist, Labour M.P. or clergyman, the peace-minded co-operator or the out-and-out pacifist for the purpose.

Russia and the Communist parties learned the lessons of the 1930s well. Then a pacifist mood swept certain sections of the community. University students passed "We won't fight" resolutions: a Peace Ballot was considered to reflect a widespread pacifism. And a British Prime Minister later revealed that he felt he dared not build up the military strength which would have enabled him to stand up to the Nazi and Fascist aggressors because of the pacifist mood at home.

In practice it mattered little that most of the students who said they would not fight later went and did so with considerable heroism or that the millions who supported the Peace Ballot later supported the war. They provided an excuse if not a justification for appeasement at the time.

If, the Communists reason, a similar pacifist mood could be created today, Britain would again be compelled to appease. But this time the potential war-maker is Russia and a policy of appeasement would enable her to obtain all the fruits of war without firing a shot. In fact, one good "peace" conference today, of intellectuals or of trade unionists, pacifists and others, is worth several guns and planes for Russia tomorrow.

And several thousand less recruits for Mr. Shinwell today are as valuable as many times that number of extra Red Army men if war should come.

That is the Communist technique; skilfully to conduct campaigns allegedly for a set of demands which appear reasonable and concerned only with the worker's bread and butter or the intellectual's peace of mind but which are in

reality intended to achieve entirely different ends which serve only the cause of Communism.

If, on the basis of past experience, people can be made to understand these things the Communist propaganda will fail. It is on ignorance of their methods and intentions that it thrives.

The Home and Family. The utter falsity of the Marxist theories on marriage, the home and family has been demonstrated in practice to a point where the party never even mentions them in its public propaganda today. Yet they still remain part of its fundamental doctrine.

Thus, for example, in "The Case for Communism" we find an idyllic section entitled "Family Life" in which Gallacher says: "Amongst the working-class, marriage and the family are regarded as the foundation of all that is good and desirable in life. For the religious, marriage is a sacrament. Nevertheless, under a system of society where anxiety flourishes because of actual or possible poverty, where the elementary right to a habitation is denied to so many is it to be wondered at that so many marriages end with unhappiness and the Divorce Court?"

That of course, is a very carefully worded passage. Whilst achieving in it the emotional appeal about marriage and the family as "all that is good and desirable in life" and even as a "sacrament" he in fact does not commit himself to a point of view at all.

Only two paragraphs of his book are devoted to this subject which once was regarded as so important that Engels wrote a whole work on the question. And in neither paragraph is the Marxist attitude to the family, as developed by Engels in his "Origin of the Family" or touched on by both Marx and Engels on many other occasions, outlined at all.

To elaborate the Marxian view of the family would be most unwise in a book intended for popular consumption in these days when the party aims to appear so respectable.

But by confining himself to inferences and generalisa-

tions the author is able to create the impression that Marxists are the true guardians of family life, without actually writing anything that is un-Marxist or in any way in conflict with the Marxist doctrine on the subject.

It is interesting, therefore, to see what the Communist party really stands for in this matter.

Since no family is complete without children let us see what has been laid down by the theoreticians on the subject. Here is what the "A.B.C. of Communism," published by the Communist Party of Great Britain, has to say on the question :

"One of the important tasks of the proletarian state is to liberate children from the reactionary influence exercised by their parents."

On the question of the family, the Marxist thinkers are equally clear.

The Marxist definition of "bourgeois" marriage as "legalised prostitution" is, of course, well-known. Engels described the family as "that compound of sentimentality and domestic strife" and wrote a book to show that the family belonged only to a certain, backward, stage of man's development and that he would, by the aid of Communism, ultimately outgrow it.

And although the author of "The Case for Communism" leaves the reader to assume that Communists feel that divorce is something tragic, the true Marxist doctrine makes the matter rather clearer. Under Communism, says Engels : "If affection comes to an end or is supplanted by a new passionate love, separation is a benefit for both partners as well as for society—only people will then be spared having to wade through the useless mire of a divorce case."

With that background let us look at the one paragraph (out of the two devoted by Mr. Gallacher to the question) which sets out to give a picture of the Communist idea of the family. "Under Socialism," he says, "there will be security for everyone and economic and political equality

for women. The family will therefore develop from the start as the union of two equal people which in itself provides the basis for happiness.

"Women will be able to take the same active interest in affairs as men, so that each couple can live as comrades, contributing together towards the progress of society. Finally, the care which society will provide for the children, will encourage larger families which most people would delight to have, could they be certain of adequate provision for their own lives and those of their children."

Superficially, that does not sound very sinister, although a moment's thought will show that it is really a picture of Mother never in the home and always either in the factory or "taking an interest in affairs," Father never home either because he is similarly engaged, and the children in the State nursery.

Now take this passage from Engels on the "home" under the Communists, which provides the "theoretical basis" for the Gallacher idyll.

"Private housekeeping is transformed into a social industry. The care and education of the children becomes a public affair, society looks after all children whether they are legitimate or not. This removes all the anxiety about the "consequences," which today is the most essential social—moral and as well as economic—factor that prevents a girl from giving herself to the man she loves. Will not that suffice to bring about the gradual growth of unconstrained sexual intercourse and with it a more tolerant public opinion in regard to a maiden's honour and a woman's shame?"

There is a certain similarity between the two passages. But Engels was rather more frank about the question. The difference was that Gallacher was writing for popular consumption, Engels wrote for the initiated. And, as Gallacher says, to the working-class (to whom he is making his main appeal) marriage and the family *are* regarded as all that is good and desirable in life, although, as a good

Communist he is careful to say nothing that is in reality in conflict with the true Marxist teaching.

Mr. Gallacher's two paragraphs are, in fact, of considerable interest as a study in the Communist technique. As a serious study of the Communist teaching on the family they are worthless.

But there is something very much wrong with a "case" which has to be presented in one way for the general public who buy their books from popular book-sellers, and in a very different way for those who are "initiated."

Communist practice on the home and family have proved how wrong is the Marxist position and how much unhappiness it would bring to the world if universally applied.

In the first days after the revolution in Russia that theory was translated into practice in the form of new legislation dissolving church marriages, making divorce the easiest on earth and encouraging the widespread practice of abortion—all of which was and is sound Marxism.

But it lead in less than 20 years to a simply grotesque situation where, as the Soviet Press itself admitted at the time, divorces were much in excess of even the easy, worthless State marriages, and where there were many more abortions than live births. It was realised that despite the revolution, the people were still not educated "up" to the Marxist ideal and that they were, as a consequence, threatening the very future of the State itself.

So the legislation was rescinded and a great propaganda for stable marriage and large families was begun. But the original Marxist theories were and still are taught to the party members in Russia and throughout the world, and it is clearly understood that it is only for expediency's sake that their practice in Russia has been put into cold-storage for the moment.

No one supposes that wrong and disastrous ideas about the home and family are exclusive to the Communists.

They are widespread in the world today and England is certainly no exception. And the unhappiness which their practice brings is to be seen all about us. It is indelibly written in the lives of the children who are the victims.

But it is only in Marxism that such wrong ideas are elevated to a "science" and a conscious way of life. And from the Marxists goes out an influence which reaches far and wide, to circles very remote from Communism. To people who still have some qualms as they practice "modern" theories about marriage and the home Marxist ideas come as a relief. It is alright after all—and there is a philosophy to prove it.

Against the Marxist conception of the family as something to be derided and "outgrown," the Church can set her own unyielding and unassailable doctrine of the sacrament of marriage, the sanctity of the home and the glory of parenthood. From that position she has never budged, never yielded an inch.

And after only a few years of "modernism"—a brief moment in her life—the indissolubility of the marriage tie which once seemed so reactionary, so old fashioned and so harsh is already being seen by an increasing number of thoughtful people as meeting the most up-to-the-moment solution for what has become a major social problem.

By meeting the challenge of Communism to the home and family the Christian way we shall, in fact, meet the challenge of modern paganism at the same time. Our generation will increasingly see the falsity of the ideas which its grandfathers thought so "naughty" and so attractively "outrageous" and which the Marxists have enlarged upon and practised in our day. The sanity, the sound common-sense and the spiritual satisfaction of the Church's doctrine can, and must, be presented as an ideal which is already achieved in a million Catholic homes and as urgent and compelling solution. As such it can attract hundreds of thousands of disillusioned members of our generation.

From experience I can say that of all the wrong ideas I accepted, preached and practised during the lost years, none brought greater misery and ultimate disillusionment than those on Communist morality. And nothing in the Catholic "case" ultimately appeared more attractive and brought greater satisfaction than that of the Church's unequivocating stand in defence of the home and family. **Hate—and Love.** Lastly, examine the Communist belief in hatred as the means by which a new world may be brought to birth. In Communist circles you will not hear the word "love," except in its sexual meaning. It does not enter into the Marxist vocabulary. It is a "cissy" word.

During the whole of my 20 years in the Communist Party I did not hear it once used on public platforms or in conversations between members. Certainly I did not use it myself, either in my speeches or my writings. But we used the word "hate" often enough. We said—and I said it myself very often—"What we need is a good healthy hate," and we set about creating it, harnessing it, canalising it, and using it to bring about our new order of society.

We sought to create or awaken class bitterness, out of which came class hatred and from which we could make and win a civil war. We put our trust in hate.

The Nazis did so, too. And we know today where it led. They, like the Communists thought that New Orders could be made with hatred. And it ended, not in a New Order, but in the ruined cities of Europe and the ruins of Berlin itself.

We, in the Communist Party, believed that class-hatred was the most dynamic thing on earth, the thing that had made the revolutions of the past from which came all progress and development, the searing, scorching thing of the present which could make possible the realisation of our dreams of the future.

But hatred is a brittle weapon. It brought ruin to the Nazis. To two thirds of the Communist leaders who unleashed that flood of hatred which made the Union of

Soviet Socialist Republics, it came back again and today they lie rotting under prison yards, riddled with the bullets of the executioners who once were their comrades-in-hate.

Hatred is a dynamic thing. About that there is no doubt. It has been demonstrated before our eyes. It is a terrifyingly dynamic thing. But the falsity of the belief that it is also a constructive thing, a power which can bring ultimate happiness to man has been demonstrated, too.

I believe that the world is sick of organised hatred. It is satiated. Our generation has had its fill. It can be made clear in this, the day of its disillusionment, that we do not need more would-be Lenins' today. What we need is a greater number of would-be St. Francis of Assisi—who, with the Church, believe that love is the great dynamic force by means of which new worlds may be won and, less heroic but just as necessary, by which broken lives may be mended.

These, I repeat, are days of danger, but they are also days of great opportunity. And the opportunities provided by the demonstrated falsity of the Marxist ideas are ones which we should seize with both hands. If we do so we may well find a harvest waiting of which we have, perhaps, been too little conscious. We shall neglect those opportunities at our peril, for such moments do not come often in the lives of men or of nations.

Positive Answers. But the answer to Communist propaganda must not only be a negative one. A positive propaganda is needed still more. It is not enough simply to be "anti"; we must be "pro" something as well. And in this Catholics are in a unique position.

For against the propaganda for the Communist Order we can put the propaganda of the Church for a new Christian Social Order, the social doctrine expounded in the Papal encyclicals.

In them is to be found a social doctrine which is notable not only as the social application of Christian thought and teachings but also for its sound common-sense.

We can make a public exhausted by fratricidal strife and the wordy battles of the theoreticians, see and appreciate its sanity, its reasonableness which avoids extremes whilst conceding nothing either to those who would maintain the present social system as it is, with all its misery, poverty, squalor, frustration, nor to those who exploit these evils in order to achieve the destruction of the very memory of God.

An active and effective presentation of Christian social teaching which made everyone, everywhere aware of where the Church stands on such questions might be the means of preventing many good, earnest men and women from going to the Communists, people who only go to the party and not to the Church for their ideals, their sense of purpose, direction and faith because they have never been shown a convincing and practical alternative.

Thousands might thus be saved from militant atheism and thousands of others saved from wasting the best years of their lives in its ranks. There is much that is immoral in the Communist's propaganda technique, but there is much also that is worth learning from and improving upon. When I was in Holland recently someone told me that "technique and the Holy Ghost don't go together." I was grateful to him mainly for expressing in its exact opposite form something of which I had been growing increasingly aware.

The Holy Ghost and technique do, I believe, go together and we should use every method which does not conflict with the moral law to bring the Church's teaching to a world which desperately and urgently stands in need of it today.

Christian Action

During my last months with the *Daily Worker* and the Communist Party I was struck, over and over again, by the way in which the party's most successful campaigns, the ones which made most new members and most new readers

for the paper were ones which had nothing to do with the long-term aims of Communism at all. They were on social and humanitarian issues which were, or should be much more the concern of Christians than of Communists.

They were Communist campaigns for Christian issues and were responsible for a constant flow of new members into the party. The people who came by such means were good types whose hatred of social injustice could be aroused and used for Communist ends. They came, not because they had a cold hatred of God, but because they were possessed of a warm love of their fellow men.

I do not remember anyone for years coming to the party and declaring that he wished to join it because he had made a study of dialectical materialism, agreed with it and felt that therefore he should be in the party of the dialecticians. The majority who joined did so because they were idealists. But it was not long before their idealism and their humanity were firmly harnessed to the chariot of the class-war. They might never have become Communists at all had others, with far greater justification and right, campaigned for the issues which the Communists exploited.

I remember, for example, an East London Communist organiser asking me to supply a reporter to popularise a campaign which he was running and which he described as "an absolute winner." In the local paper he had read a brief inquest report on a small girl who had been killed whilst playing in a blitzed building, part of which had collapsed upon her.

A Communist campaign was started in the borough. A petition was got going which demanded that the local authority should fence off all blitzed buildings.

The first to sign it were the parents of the dead child. Then the neighbours signed. And then every mother who had ever had her heart in her mouth as she worked, wondering where her child was playing in that area of no recreation grounds. A typical Communist deputation saw

organised composed of four genuine working class housewives and two Communists to keep them on the party line.

The Borough Council met the deputation's legitimate demands and the work of fencing off the potential death traps began. The result was half a dozen new party members, perhaps a dozen new readers of the *Daily Worker*. Then the party moved on to the next item on the agenda and quickly forgot the child whose death they had used for their cause.

But who shall blame the Communists? The fault was that of the non-Communists who left such issues around for the Communists to exploit. None could have dealt with the question with greater justification than the local Christians. They were not organised for such activity but they could and should be.

To the Christian the righting of social injustice is a responsibility and an obligation, for we cannot adequately love our God unless we are prepared also to love our neighbour as ourself. To the trained Marxist social injustice is something to exploit. He does not campaign against it in order to improve bad social conditions, for Communism feeds on such conditions. The Marxist maintains that things must steadily worsen in any case and that it is precisely the worsening of those conditions which gives him his opportunity.

He uses social injustice in order to establish Communism, and to the seasoned Marxist that is the beginning and the end of his interest in social justice. Communist Party members are constantly warned against getting so taken up with the fight for social reform that it becomes an end in itself, instead of a means to revolution.

But although the Communist Party may not be genuinely concerned about the improvement of bad conditions, the mass of our generation are. And their demand is a legitimate one although its satisfaction would still leave the fundamental problems of our age unsettled.

This generation, whether we like it or not, is first and

foremost concerned about material things. We have travelled so far from the generations that loved God that the majority of men today are hardly conscious of the existence of spiritual problems. They are embarrassed when such matters are discussed. It is a language they simply do not understand.

But they understand a great deal about wages, conditions, housing and the economic and social problems of every day life. In concerning themselves with these things Christians need concede nothing to the materialists. They will be giving the practice of their religion a wholeness which it has often lacked, accepting a duty and an obligation placed upon them by their Faith.

Cardinal Griffin has spoken out time and again against bad housing conditions and has urged that the building of houses should be an absolute priority. And clearly no one has a greater right so to speak out on this question, for it is Catholics who, through thick and thin have proclaimed the sanctity of the home. And homes require houses, although houses do not necessarily imply homes.

None have declaimed more often or more forcefully against bad social conditions and low wages than have the Popes in recent years. None have pointed out the evil aspects of monopoly capitalism more frequently than they. None have more often demanded an adequate wage and adequate leisure for the worker. This is part of the social doctrine of the Church and must be part of Christian practice. Once again it is the Church which has the answer. But it is not enough simply to do propaganda for these things. The social doctrine must be practised. The encyclicals are the blue-print. It is up to the organisations and individuals who make up the Church to work for their implementation.

The need for members of what are to the Marxists the historically and inevitably hostile classes to get together to find solutions to common problems in industry, politics and the social sphere is becoming increasingly recognised today.

But many of those who now demand these things are open to the charge that they are doing so simply because of expediency. The Church has urged precisely this for generations, and still urges it today, not as a temporary expedient but as Christian teaching.

Apply the Church's principles to industry and their reasonableness and sufficiency are at once revealed. She has urged that workers and managements should devise ways and means of working together for the common good ; that the worker must have a stake in the enterprise in which he is employed. The effect of such a policy on the spread of Communist influence alone reveals its obvious sanity and its proof of the contentment which it brings to those concerned.

Catholic employers should be in the forefront of those who are trying to work out schemes designed to " bring the worker in on the ground floor " in industry.

Where co-partnership and profit-sharing policies have been attempted, whether by Catholics or non-Catholics and for whatever reason, and however limited in extent, Communism has failed to gain a hold. That is true of the British gas industry ; it was true of the cotton industry some years ago. It is true of those relatively few industrial enterprises where such experiments have been tried.

For the workers in them the Communists have nothing but sneers (a very healthy sign) to the effect that they have been bought. But they recognise that the party can hope for little progress there and the tendency in party circles is to write off such enterprises as lost to the cause and so to concentrate on others instead.

If so little has achieved so much, what might not the full implementation of the Church's rich social teaching, consciously pursued for Christian motives achieve ?

If that social teaching were fully carried into effect—and it is laid down as a practical plan and not simply as an ideal—then there would be nothing left for the Communist to agitate about. There would be nothing left for him to

exploit for his own Godless ends.

UNHAPPILY 18
IMPOSSIBLE

Organisation

The Communists are often described as masters of the technique of organisation. They have created or moulded to their desire, organisations for everyone and everything and all are used for one purpose—the furthering of the cause of Communism, regardless of what may be the declared aim and purpose.

But the organisations which the Communists have used to the greatest advantage in Britain have been the trade unions. It is their influence in industry and in the unions, and the leading positions which they hold there, which provide them with the main basis of their power to make mischief.

It is this that gives the leaders' threats of what they will do in the event of war with Russia any significance at all ; it is this, first and foremost that gives them such blackmailing and sabotaging potentialities as they possess and which enables them to present the appearance of strength and numbers.

Without its leading positions in trade unions which cater for key industries, and the fact that its members hold jobs at all levels in the unions, the Communist Party in Britain would despite all its energy and enthusiasm, be weak indeed.

It is easy to say that the party members have obtained all their positions in the unions by means of packed meetings and cooked votes. To dismiss so lightly what they have achieved is seriously to under-estimate your opponent.

The party has a rule that every member must belong to his or her appropriate trade union and co-operative society. A second rule says that no matter what organisation you join you must give the appearance of being the best possible member. And this is precisely what the Communists have done.

They have set about putting up the appearance of being good trade unionists whilst doing so for their own Communist ends. This is the principle reason for their success. It is true that there have been packed meetings and cooked votes but the party has the sense to know that whilst it may be possible to continue indefinitely to operate by such methods under a Communist dictatorship, something more is required if you are to fool all the people all the time under a democracy.

Where there are cooked votes and packed meetings in Britain they are expedients, mere stop-gap methods used pending better and more successful "mass work" which will enable the party's members to obtain the majority vote and free consent of the trade unionists concerned. Much more significant is the indisputable fact that genuine majorities are obtained in many cases by the Communists.

In every organisation there are a great many dull, humdrum jobs which have to be done. And the reaction of the average person is to sit back and let someone else do them.

But the Communist does not sit back. When everyone else is doing so he comes forward and takes the job. He sets about doing it well and for this reason goes from one position in his organisation to another until, in some cases, he ends at the top, where he then speaks in the name of hundreds of thousands of non-Communists and strengthens his own party's power and influence as a consequence.

A strong trade union movement whose function it is to safeguard and improve working class conditions is not his aim. His purpose is to "capture" the organisation and convert it into a weapon of the class war and to use its members to hasten the day when, under a Communist Government, the trade unions become no more than the pliable instruments of the party's dictatorship.

But there is not a Communist trade union leader in Britain today who does not know that he is in a very vulnerable and isolated position. Not one of them has

anything more than a tiny minority of Communists behind him in his organisation. Each and all depend upon the votes of non-Communists and the apathy, indifference or credulity of others.

There are only just over 40,000 organised British Communists altogether. There are said to be over 3,000,000 Catholics who collectively represent the strongest defence against Communism and all forms of materialism. If all the hundreds of thousands of Catholic trade unionists and the thousands more who should be in their trade unions but are not, started accepting the responsibilities which go with trade union membership, the day of the Communist union leader would be done. It is a matter of simple arithmetic.

But it would be quite wrong for Catholics to attempt to do the job single handed. For this is a fight which can unite all those who stand in defence of Christian principles, regardless of their affiliations.

The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists is doing much to awaken the Catholic workers whom it organises, to their responsibilities. If it succeeds in getting the great body of Catholics in the unions really moving as the vanguard of those who fight for Christian principles the challenge of Communism can be quickly defeated there.

By standing foursquare with other Christians, supporting the best man regardless of his denomination, provided only that he will see that nothing which is opposed to Christian teaching is allowed to go through the branch or become the policy of the union, Catholic trade unionists can guarantee the defeat of every Communist trade union leader in the land. It could be done in exactly as long as it takes to go from one union conference to the next.

The Communists are aware of this and it is for this reason that they so repeatedly attack the Association and its work. They regard it as the greatest potential threat to the biggest thing they have so far achieved. They know that A.C.T.U. could strike the main basis of the party's power

and influence from underneath it.

But to do so will require that non-Communist trade unionists give as much time and energy to the jobs they take on as do the Communists. And they will know that they are working for the purposes for which the unions were founded and not for a creed whose aims and methods are alien to the movement. Their success would result in a strengthening of the trade union movement, the awakening of its members to a greater sense of responsibility and a quickening of its whole life.

The Communists' achievements in the trade unions represent their greatest success in this country. But they are a potential threat to many other organisations as well and what has been said of the Christian's duties in the unions applies equally to a host of other organisations.

Just as the Communists use every sort of organisation to achieve their ends, so all the wide variety of our organisations could be used to strengthen the life of our Christian community, cementing it in a common purpose and assisting it to make its mark upon the world outside.

Spiritual Answer

By such means as we have discussed can the activities and influence of the Communists be restricted and retarded. But the only long-term, lasting answer to the Communist challenge is the spiritual one. Without this all others will be but temporary expedients and the re-emergence of a new Communist challenge would be but a matter of time even though it had met with apparent defeat.

There is a tremendous need for well instructed Christians, men and women who understand their Faith as the Communists understand theirs. It is not sufficient simply to be in possession of the Faith today. It is necessary also to understand it—as every Christian who starts speaking out in the workshop or market place for the things in which he believes quickly discovers.

The Communist spends hours, after giving to his cause what would be the whole of anyone else's spare time, to the study of Marxist theories and policies. The result is that he always has "all the answers."

We live in serious, critical times when the Faith is challenged at every turn. To know and understand it is to realise that we have the answer to that challenge. To fail to know it is to be in danger of letting it down and even playing into the hands of its enemies, as ill-instructed Christians who have been taken in by the Communists' guile have done before.

And, of course, simply to *know* the Faith is not enough. It would be quite possible to know the social encyclicals by heart, to have mastered all the works of St. Thomas Aquinas and still to be a thoroughly unpleasant person to live with and to work with.

Actively to understand and defend the Faith increases the obligation also to live it. It may be quite illogical of men to judge the rightness or wrongness of a creed by whether its champions practice it or not, but that is precisely what the majority of people do today. Thus one bad Catholic may do Catholicism a tremendous amount of harm. But one good one can do it even greater good.

There is a tremendous need today for saints. Not just saints in their appropriate niches in the cathedral, nor the brightly coloured little plaster saints we have in the home, important as they are. I mean saints in the engineering workshops who are members of their appropriate trade unions, saints driving buses who are delegates to their local trades councils. Ordinary men, doing ordinary jobs, whose lives stand out as something so different, so superior to those around them that they are a living advertisement for the Faith which they proclaim.

And in the hands of all Christians, including those millions who may at times feel remote from the fight, is the weapon of prayer. It is one which the Communist, being a militant atheist cannot use and to which he has no reply.

It does not have to defeat him as a person, it needs only to defeat his evil creed. And it may even make him a Christian. It is a weapon to be used unceasingly.

The pagan invader has hammered at the gates of Christendom before, but the whole of those who valued the Faith and the way of life it represents rallied unitedly to its defence. That is the need today.

Christendom is assailed and must be defended. These are dangerous days and they demand sacrifices of those who see the danger. But they are days of colossal opportunities too. For in our lifetime are being tried, tested and found wanting, in the form of Communism and modern paganism, all those wrong ideas which have increasingly befogged the mind of man and bedevilled the world for generations.

The opportunities are present. The alternatives are literally the catacombs or Christendom reborn. But how many of those who have the Faith see it like that? How many have the apostolic zeal even of the Communist? How many see that the appalling alternative calls for new approaches, new or modernised forms of organisation, new methods, new technique? That apathy today becomes a crime and being "in a rut" almost treachery?

Christians who are shock brigadiers by training and by conviction are needed, trained in Christian leadership, equipped with knowledge, "activised" to carry it into practise in new, bold, possibly unconventional ways. Armed with the ageless Faith but able to interpret it in terms of the Twentieth Century.

Employers with a new approach to "managerial functions," leading their class by example and through their organisations to a more Christian conception of their rights and responsibilities and to a realisation that if the class war is un-Christian then that applies to both sides.

Workers who are making their Christian organisations the initiators of new policies based on Christian teaching and owing nothing to that of Karl Marx. Purging them-

selves of all those un-Christian influences which have tended to colour their outlook once they got into the trade union or the factory.

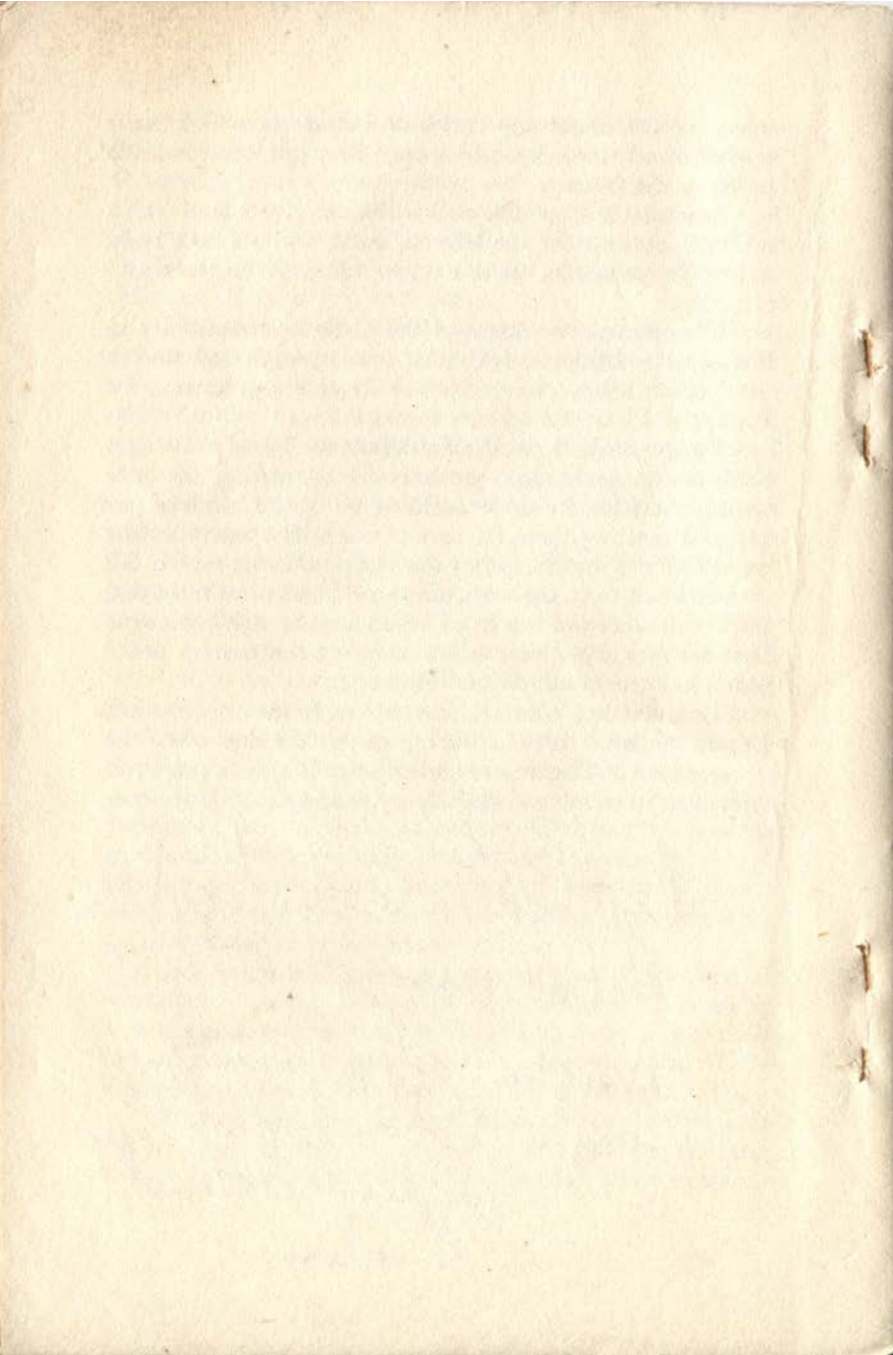
Spiritual leaders able and willing to give a lead which makes it possible for the laity to speak and act as a body united in principle, with a clear sense of purpose and direction.

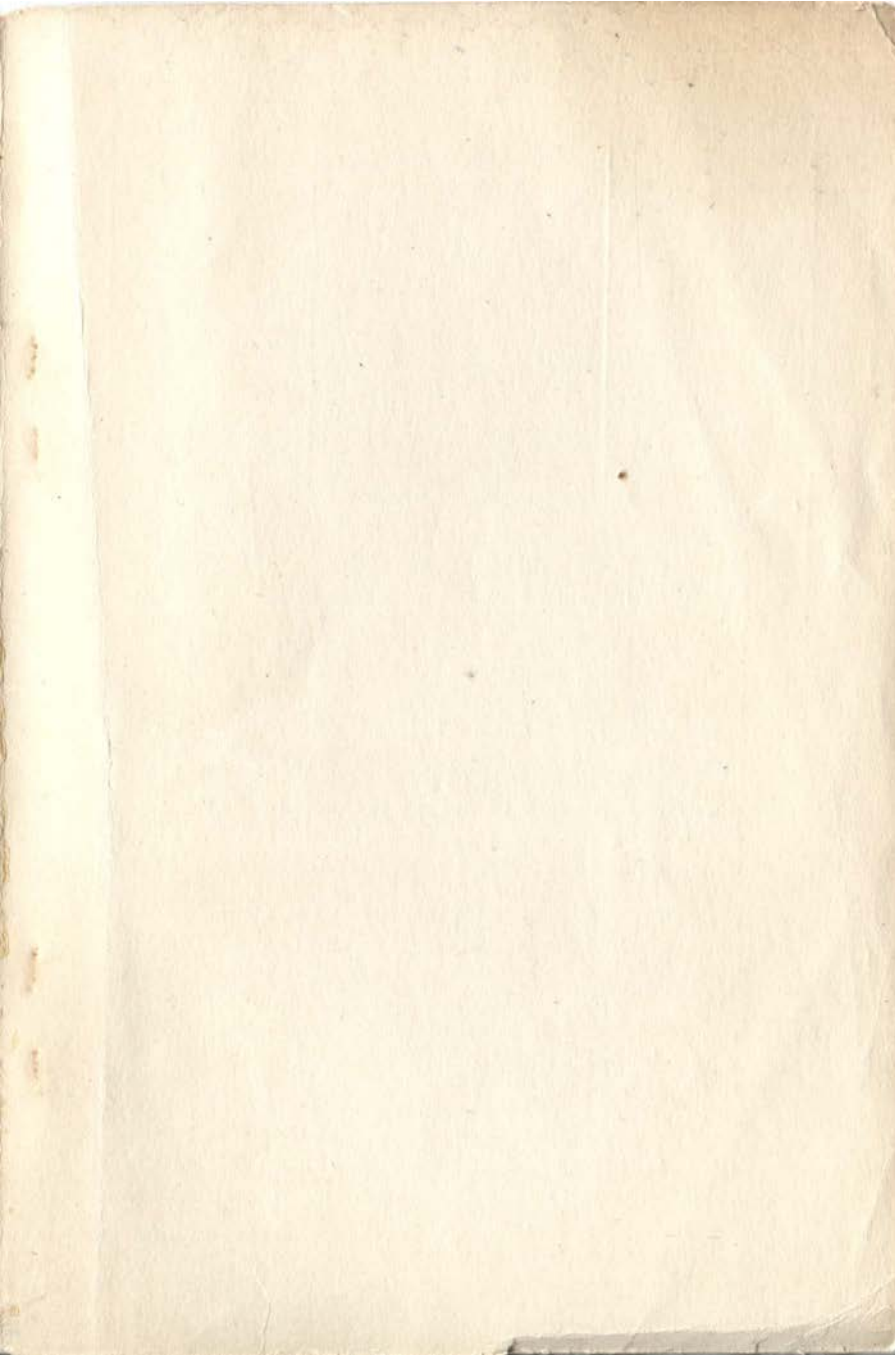
The greatest weakness of the Catholic community in Britain is its failure to realise its own strength and that of the Faith it holds. Given that realization a great creative ferment of ideas and activity would follow.

To those who have the Faith falls the job of showing a disillusioned generation the answer, by pitting the true against the false, by understanding the social needs of our day and meeting them for love of our fellow men and the love of God ; by accepting the responsibilities which fall to men who live in the workaday world and must meet and defeat evil wherever it is to be found, and by striving after a personal sanctity which will destroy at the roots a creed which has grown out of a faithless age.

In defeating Communism by such means we shall do much more. We shall bring nearer the day when the reconversion of England to Christianity is a reality and not something of which we wistfully write and dream but never achieve.

*No other ideology
But no reasoned criticism
Douglas, let us, who for
among with dishonesty who
are the fault in rationalism
in materialism.*







THE AUTHOR

Before Douglas Hyde was eighteen a flaming hatred of injustice had brought him in touch with the Communists. "Communism," he says, "became my life." For nearly twenty years he was a party member, occupying positions at all levels of its organisation.

He organised "cryptos" in other organisations and strikes in factories. Then, as a working journalist he was switched by the party to work on the *Daily Worker*, where he served in various positions for the next eight years, for the last five of which he was the paper's news editor.

The reasons for his resignation in March, 1948, from the party to which he had devoted his life are outlined in his pamphlet "From Communism Towards Catholicism."

His pamphlets have been sold in hundreds of thousands in Britain, have been translated into many languages and have been read throughout the world.

In recent months he has lectured all over this country and on the Continent. His broadcasts and newspaper and magazine articles have reached millions.