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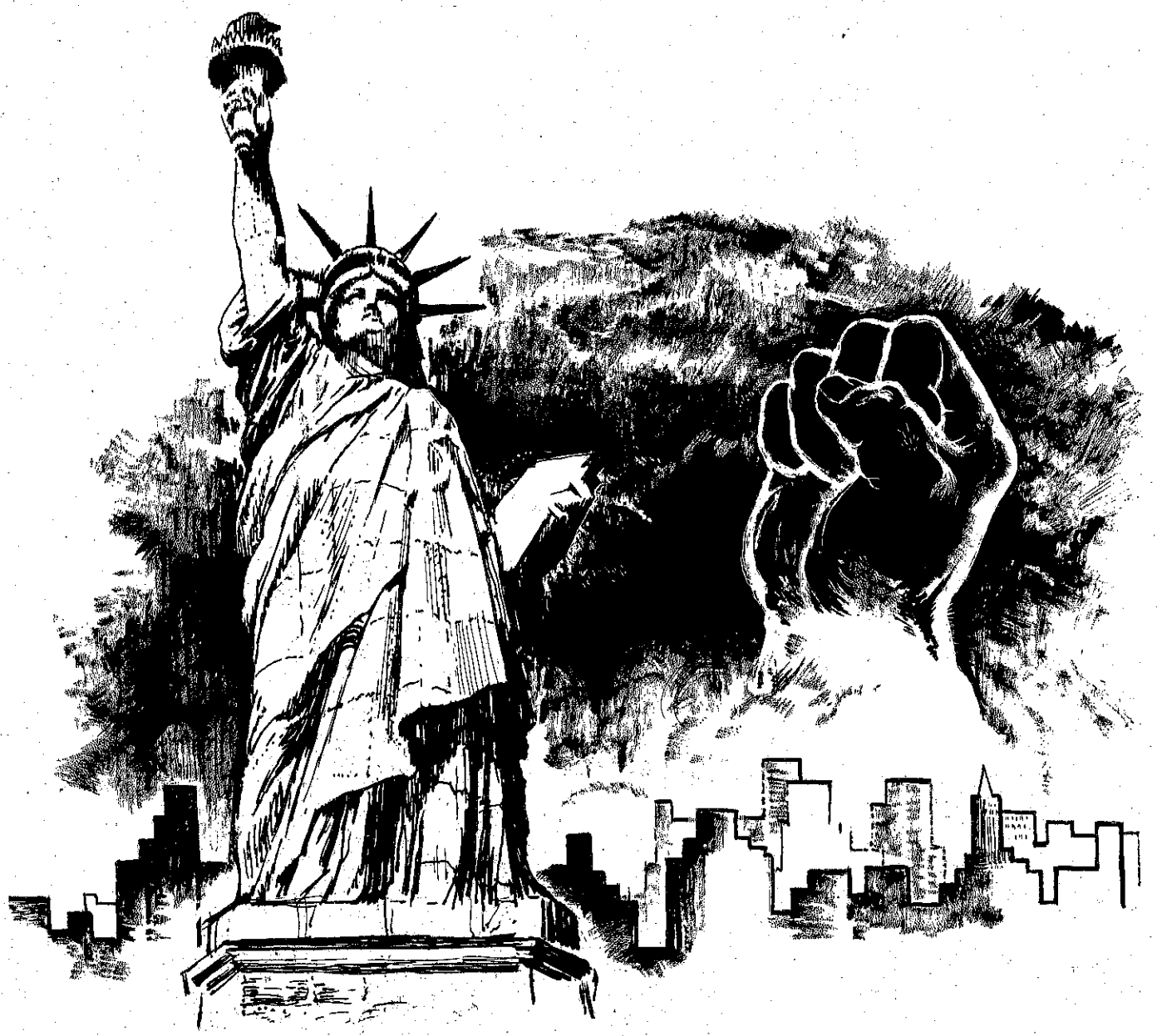
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COMMUNISM IN THE U.S.A.

KNOW YOUR COMMUNIST ENEMY



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON

17 December 1954.

Know Your Communist Enemy Series.—The information contained in the publications on COMMUNISM is for the official use of the personnel in the military services.

C. Wilson

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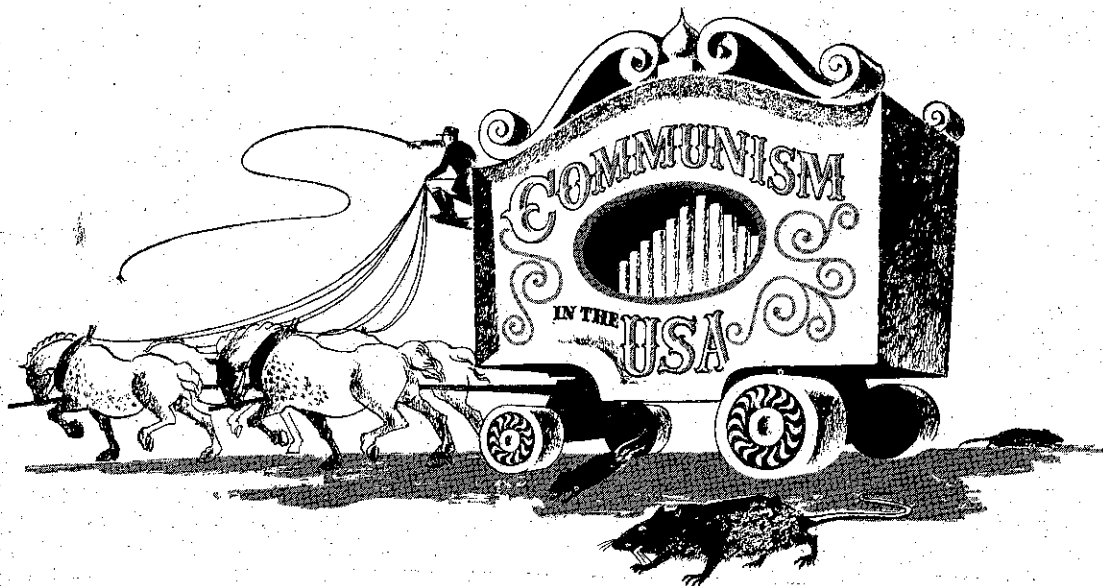


**KNOW YOUR
COMMUNIST
ENEMY**

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Every Communist in the United States gives his allegiance to the Soviet Union. Even if his ancestors have been in this country for many generations, a Communist works as a foreign agent against the interests of our Nation.

Therefore, Communist activities are of grave concern to loyal Americans. To combat communism effectively, we need to know how Communists are organized and how they operate. We need to know their strategy and tactics. This pamphlet is intended to give such information.

How the Party Began. The basic pattern for Communist organization was laid down early in this century by Nicolai Lenin, who led the Bolsheviks to power in Russia. The Communist Party should consist, he said, of "professional revolutionaries." The members should be willing, as he put it, "to give the whole of their lives" to the party. The structure would be military—that is, it would be controlled from top down through a "chain of command."

By the end of 1917, when Lenin and his Bolsheviks succeeded in seizing power in Russia, the party was a highly disciplined and effective instrument for leading a military revolt. It was Lenin's success that persuaded many Socialists as well as radicals all over the world to copy Russian methods. Under the sponsorship of the Russians, a new international organization known as the Communist International or Comintern was formed to replace the old international organization of Socialist parties, which to a great extent had been peaceful and democratic.

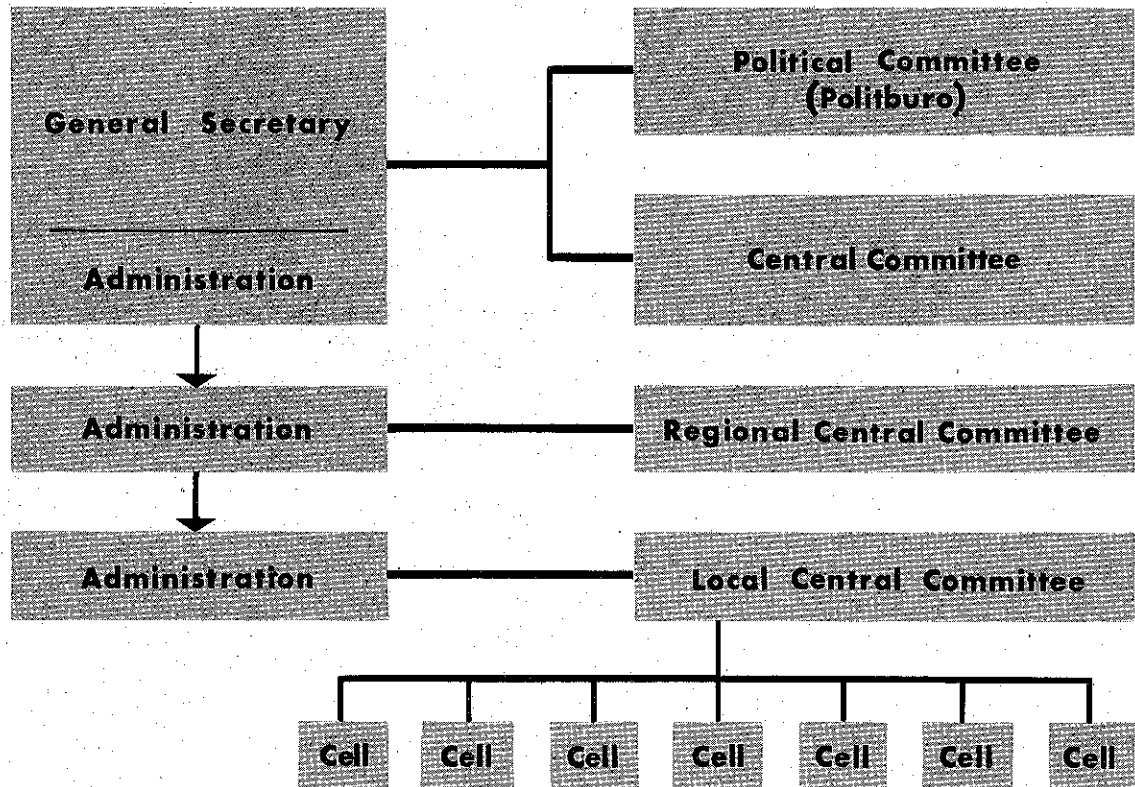
The Communist Party of the United States was formed in 1919 as a section of the Comintern. Also formed that year was the Communist Labor Party. Two years later they merged to form the Workers' Party, and this name was retained until 1929 when it was changed to the Communist Party.

From the outset in 1919, Communist membership came largely from "left-wing" Socialists. While a majority of Socialists believed in democracy and favored social change by peaceful methods, the left-wing minority was convinced that violence was necessary to bring about the social revolution they wanted. This group included William Z. Foster and Earl Browder, who were to become top Communist leaders in the United States.

Under the Workers' Party tag, the Communists put up Foster as their candidate in both the 1924 and 1928 Presidential elections. The national vote for Foster totaled 33,316 in 1924 and 48,228 in 1928. Not until 1932 did a candidate for President of the United States actually run under the Communist label. Foster, the candidate again that year, received only 102,991 votes out of a total of 39,816,522 cast. And this was the largest vote any Communist candidate ever received. Even though the United States was at the pit of the worst depression in its history, communism had no appeal for the average American.

Browder was the Communist candidate in the next two elections. His total vote dropped from 80,159 in 1936 to 48,579 in 1940. Since that year, the Communist Party has not put up a candidate.

ORGANIZATION OF COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE U. S. A.



The graveness of the threat to a nation's security from Communists within its borders cannot be measured merely by their numbers. In fact, the Communists have been a minority—and often a very small one—in the countries they have taken over. So we cannot afford to take lightly the possible danger from Communists in this country just because the party here has always been small. Today there are only around 25,000 Communists in the United States. The party had about 7,500 members in 1930, while the peak membership of around 100,000 was reached during our wartime alliance with the Soviet Union. Since then membership has declined rapidly. According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, party membership was 54,174 in 1949; in 1950 it was 43,217 and in 1951 it was down to 31,608.

The fact that the FBI is able to give such exact reports on party membership is proof of the close check it keeps on Communists and the Communist Party. Year after year the FBI has had agents inside the organization, even when Russia was our ally during World War II. Moreover, these agents became familiar with party secrets and plans, as is shown by the testimony they gave at

trials such as that of the 11 top Communist leaders who were convicted in 1949 of conspiring to overthrow the Government of the United States.

STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY

In 1954 Congress passed legislation stripping the Communist Party in the United States of the "rights, privileges, and immunities" of "legal bodies created under the jurisdiction of the laws of the United States" or any of its political subdivisions. Presumably this means that the party cannot hold bank accounts, obtain aid from the courts in enforcing contracts, or run candidates for public offices. The measure also applies existing anti-subversive restrictions specifically to members of the Communist Party.

It is impossible, of course, to predict the exact steps Communists will take as a result of this legislation. Therefore our description of the Communist Party is based on the organization as it existed before this legislation was passed.

The first thing that linked the Communist Party of the United States with the Soviet Union was its organization. This organization was fixed by the constitution of the Communist Party under which

it has been operating since 1945. *In every important respect the Communist Party of the United States was modeled after that of the Soviet Union.* So are Communist parties in other countries.

"The highest authority of the party is the *National Convention*," according to the 1945 constitution of the Communist Party of the United States. Such a convention is to be held every two years. Between conventions the party's "highest authority" is exercised by a *National Committee* elected at the convention. This Committee is required to meet at least three times a year and has the "right to make decisions with full authority" for the party between conventions. The constitution directs that the *National Committee* elect a *National Board*. This Board is to carry out the Committee's decisions and work when the Committee is not in session. Since the members of this Board are usually also top leaders in the party, they can keep a tight rein on the daily operations and decisions of the party at all times. They are in the key spot to direct at once any shift in the party line needed to make it conform to directives from Moscow.

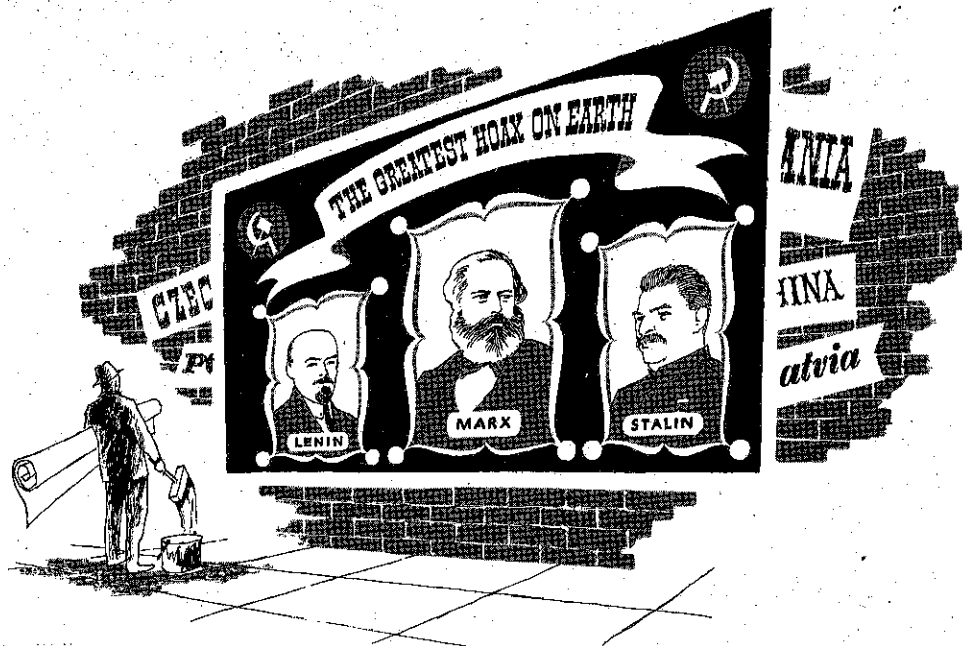
The 1945 constitution also gives the National Committee the discretion to establish district units of the party. Any state Communist party organization within such a district comes under

the jurisdiction of the district unit. Both district and state organizations are to hold conventions at least once every two years. These sessions provide a direct channel by which the party's top leadership can reach the "grassroots" membership of the party. They also help show, by pin-pointing local progress and problems, where concentrated efforts should be made to strengthen the party.

State Communist organization is similar to the national structure of the party. For example, on a state level, the highest party authority rests in the state convention of the party. A state committee and a state board are elected and function in precisely the same manner as the National Committee and the National Board.

Local units of the party are known as clubs. In some states, each club deals with the state organization of the party on an individual basis. In others, state party leaders prefer to work through area organizations that are made up of several clubs.

Finally, very small groups of individual Communists carry out the propaganda, agitation, and infiltration chores and do the actual leg work for the party. These groups are known as *cells*. A cell most often consists of Communists who work in the same field. For example, there might be



STUPENDOUS worker revolutions were predicted when the Communists "put their show on the road." Lenin staged an upheaval in Russia, and Stalin "captivated" nearby peoples—that is, when backed up by Red guns. In the U. S. A., Commies still look for suckers.

a cell organized in a particular shop, or a cell among the professors of a university, or a cell among assembly-line workers in a factory. In short, a cell is organized wherever three or more party members are situated near enough together to do effective work as a group. In recent years we have heard much about such cells in departments of the Federal Government, and how effective even a very small group of disciplined members working together can be.

Any Communist activity, whatever its importance or nature, is always subject to the closest supervision from above. This rigid control from the top was described by Lenin as "democratic centralism." But we should not be fooled by the word "democratic" here—or anywhere else it may crop up in Communist writings. What Lenin meant was that decisions would be made by the top leaders, after discussion among themselves, and then carried out without question by all party members. This, of course, is the exact opposite of democratic methods.

Moreover, the Communist Party in action has two parts. One appears on the surface, and its actions are open to view. The other part operates "underground." The chief underground operations are espionage and conspiracy against the Government of the United States. While the Communists have had *some* success, that success has been limited.

To combat such activities, our Government uses organizations whose members are specially trained for such work—the police, the FBI, Service intelligence agencies, Congressional committees, Government loyalty screening boards, and similar agencies.

PARTY DISCIPLINE

Later in this pamphlet we shall look at some of the actual operations of Communist cells. But first we must say something more about *party discipline*, which Communists consider so important that their party constitutions have always contained a key section dealing with punishment for violating party discipline.

Neither the Republican nor Democratic Party concerns itself with party discipline such as the Communist Party exercises. And for a very good reason—they are political organizations that operate in a truly democratic manner. For example, Democratic and Republican leaders actively seek the opinions of party members on various issues

as a guide for making decisions for the party. In fact, the members of the Democratic and Republican Parties do more than vigorously debate issues: They determine major policies and party platform by majority vote. Anyone is free to disagree with the majority. Losers may be dissatisfied with the majority chosen decision but they can choose for themselves whether to remain in the organization or not. If they choose to remain, it is their democratic privilege to work openly to get their views accepted by the majority.

In contrast, no Communist can openly disagree for very long with the official stand of the Communist Party without feeling the whiplash of party discipline. To understand this Communist emphasis on party discipline, we must remember two things: (1) By party discipline, the Communists mean complete and unquestioning obedience to their top leaders; (2) the rank and file of Communist Party members have no part in forming the party's policies and platforms. All issues are settled only by top-level leaders and the results announced to ordinary party members as the line they are to follow. Any member who questions or fails to accept such readymade decisions lays himself open to the penalties for violating party discipline.

The real "joker" in the section of the party constitution that concerns party discipline says, "Personal or political relations with enemies of the working class and Nation are incompatible with membership in the Communist Party." The word "Nation" in this section is mere window dressing of the type often used by the Communists to foster their pretense of being patriotic. On the surface, the provision seems harmless enough. The catch is that *only* the *party leadership* can determine who is "an enemy of the working class" or of the Nation. Therefore, to avoid punishment, the individual Communist must follow the line party leaders lay down for him—no matter what it may be or how often it may change. The most severe penalty, of course, is expulsion from the party.

If a person chose to leave a free, democratic organization for some reason or other, he might be unhappy for a while, but he would make out all right. He would not worry seriously about making a fresh start. But for a Communist the situation is entirely different. Often he owes his job or livelihood to the party since very few American employers will knowingly employ a Communist. If his membership has been secret,



The Russian bear has become "overbearing." As the boss of international communism, he makes his Red subjects jump through hoops. Complete loyalty to Communist leaders is required.

the party will denounce him after he has been expelled. In any case it will hound the dissenter and his family. In some cases the party has even resorted to violence in order to keep an ex-member from talking.

To be expelled from the party can thus be a total disaster for a Communist. Of course, a few Communists who have broken with the party—particularly those who have testified against the Reds—have managed to profit by their action. In the main, though, most ex-Communists face overwhelming odds if they try to make a fresh start. The threat of expulsion is almost like a power of life and death over any individual who joins the Communist Party. And as the experience of Earl Browder shows, this form of party discipline may be applied even to a person holding the highest position in the party.

Browder was the top Communist in the American branch of the party during World War II. He headed the Communist Political Association when the party adopted that name in 1944 in hope of spurring American war aid to the U. S. S. R. Browder cast the only vote against a proposal to disband the Association and reorganize the Communist Party in the spring of 1945. He also openly criticized the decision to do so. The Communist National Convention threatened to expel him if he tried to split the party to win support for his views.

Later Browder wrote the National Board a letter of apology for his "criticism of certain

trends." The Board refused to accept it and some months later recommended that he be expelled. In February 1946 the Communist Party formally charged Browder with factional activity and violation of party discipline and dropped him as a party member. He applied for readmission to the party, but was turned down by the unanimous vote of the 1948 National Convention. In mid-1949 he lost his job as American publishing representative for the Soviet All-Union Council of Ministers. In late 1950 he was indicted for contempt of Congress, but was acquitted in March 1951.

WHAT MUST A COMMUNIST DO?

Now what are the *obligations* a Communist must assume in order to avoid the penalties for violating party discipline?

First, he must be unquestioningly obedient to his superiors. Whatever he is told to do he must do; whatever he is told to think, he must think.

Second, he must, as Lenin said, give the "whole of his life." This means that he must always and in every situation place the interests of the party ahead of his own. He must learn to identify himself with the party so completely that he is never tempted to differ with the party line or to disobey orders. It is this obligation which makes a Communist unfit to hold a position of responsibility in our society.

Third, a Communist is obliged to put implicit faith in the teachings of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin, as interpreted by the party. He must approach

every question and every activity from this point of view. Thus a Communist cannot be an honest seeker after the truth. He cannot, for example, be a true scholar. His mind is controlled by his first loyalty.

Fourth, a Communist is obliged by his party membership to place loyalty to the Soviet Union above loyalty to his own country, because he believes that the Soviet Union is the homeland of the world Communist revolution and therefore must be defended at any cost. It is this obligation to support the Soviet Union under any and all circumstances which leads the Communists in the United States to follow so slavishly the foreign policy line of the Soviet Union.

Sometimes Communists in this country are made to look ridiculous by changes in Soviet policy. During the first part of World War II when Hitler and Stalin were pretending friendship, American Communists were protesting against selective service, lend-lease, and anything else that might help the Allies. The Communist slogan was "The Yanks are *not* coming." The American Peace Mobilization, a front organization, picketed the White House until 21 June 1941—the day before the Nazis invaded the USSR.

Within a month, it became the American People's Mobilization. Immediately it started plugging for all-out war production. Before 22 June, the war had been an "imperialist" struggle in which American workers could have no interest. Now it was a war to "save freedom and civilization," a struggle of "democracy against fascism." The United States must get into the struggle immediately to help her sister "democratic republic," the Soviet Union. But if the Reds in the United States blushed, their blush could not be seen.

We may now summarize the *four chief obligations* that the American Communist Party member has accepted under pain of severe punishment: 1) complete obedience to his superiors; 2) giving the whole of his life to the party; 3) accepting without question the teachings of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin as interpreted by the party; and 4) complete devotion to the Soviet Union. These obligations and the punishments for failure to toe the line are what we mean by *discipline* in the Communist Party.

HOW THE PARTY OPERATES

Next we shall turn our attention to the strategy and tactics of this Communist organization.

Strategy means the long-range methods the Communist Party uses to achieve its objective, while *tactics* means the short-run, day-to-day methods it employs. Briefly, the *objective* of the Communists is to gain control of the Government of the United States, in order to make it into a totalitarian dictatorship and bring the country into the orbit of the Soviet Union. The *strategy* they use to achieve this objective is two-fold: to create conditions under which they can seize power, and to prevent the United States from being an effective opponent of world communism and of the Soviet Union. This *strategy* has remained constant since the formation of the party, but the *tactics* may, and do, change frequently. In this pamphlet we shall deal with the two most important *tactical* maneuvers of the Communists: *infiltration* and the *formation of front organizations*.

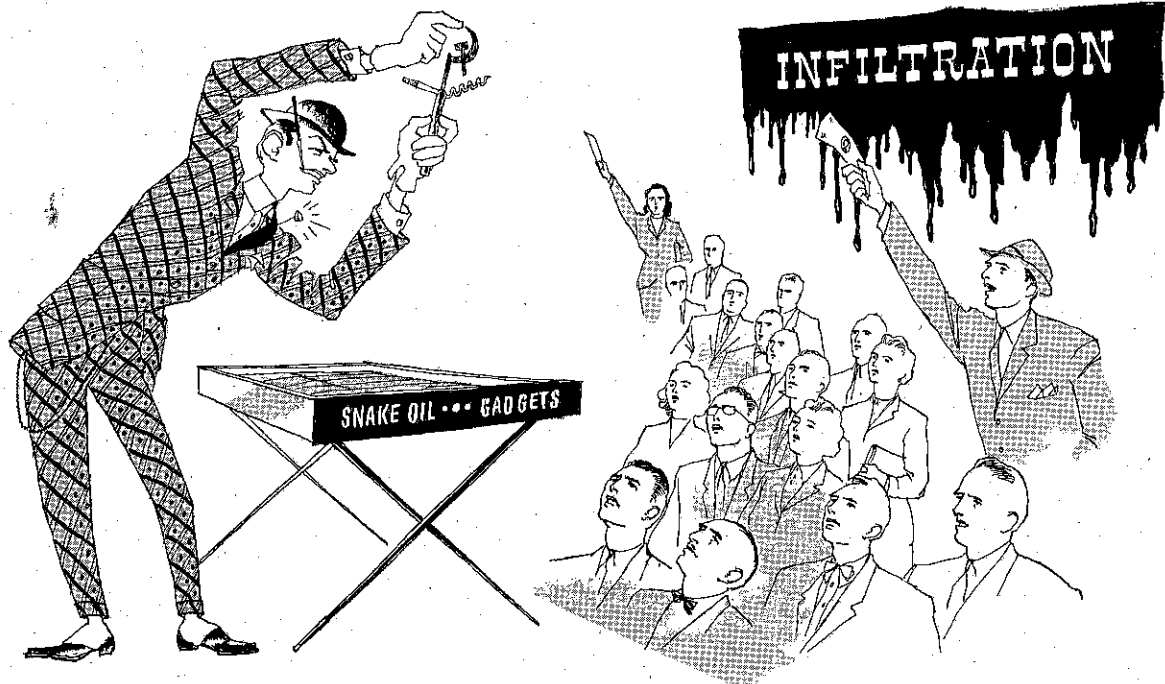
But before we discuss how these tactics work, it is important to say a word about *why* the Communists use them. The Communist Party in the United States has never had wide popular support. This explains the Red slogan that "Communism must be built with non-Communist hands." Therefore, these fronts are used, as J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, has pointed out, to "deceive the non-Communist mass of people into unknowingly supporting the Communist program and, in turn, furthering the cause of the Communist Party."¹

Infiltration means the placing of Communists in established and legitimate organizations and thereby gaining control of such organizations so that they can be used for Communist purposes. The kind of organization chosen for infiltration may vary with changes in the party line, but the tactic is always the same. At some time since 1919 almost every organization with a popular following and a popular social purpose has been the object of Communist infiltration—trade unions, farm organizations, political parties, professional societies, and civic and religious organizations.

Let us illustrate this tactic of infiltration by a specific example. In this way we can see how it is done, how the Communist purpose is served, and how free and informed citizens can stop it. *Our illustration disguises names and places, but it is based entirely on fact.*

Communist Target—A Factory Union. The scene is a typical assembly-line factory in an indus-

¹ *Pathfinder*, 5 November 1952.



Like the carnival barker who plants stooges among his listeners to influence them, the Communists secretly infiltrate legitimate organizations to gain control of them for their own purposes.

trial city of the Middle West. There are 5,000 men employed by the hour in this factory. Some are of Slavic extraction, some of Italian, some of English and German. Their wages have been low but are beginning to increase. Most of the men have known the misery of unemployment and poverty. A union has been organized and has won a contract with management.

The time is 1938. Hitler is menacing the world, the Spanish Civil War is raging, and Americans are wondering where they should stand if there is another war. The members of the union constantly talk about the fascist Axis of Mussolini and Hitler, whether we should give aid to the Spanish Republic, whether we should join the League of Nations, whether we should re-arm, and whether they are for the New Deal or against it.

Now what was the line of the American Communists, as of 1938? The Communists were saying that "Communism is 20th-century Americanism." They were pretending to be "liberals." They were devoting most of their energies to building what they call a "popular front," in which they hoped to bring together people from all walks of life who opposed fascism. They were energetically supporting the Spanish Republic against Franco. They were calling for a worldwide alliance with the Soviet Union against

fascism. And they were *not* talking about overthrowing the U. S. Government.

Unless a person knew a good deal about communism, it was easy to assume that those Communists were fairly ordinary, patriotic Americans, even though one might disagree with them on some things. Why? Well, because most Americans were worried about Hitler. They remembered the depression and they wanted security against unemployment. The new unions and the New Deal reforms had wide support. In short, many Americans seemed to have something in common with the Communists—at least they *would* have had if the Communists had been what they said they were.

Bill Jones—Factory Worker. Now, against this background, let us follow for awhile the activities of Bill Jones, a worker in our fictitious factory. Jones is young, highly intelligent, and a good worker. He is a liberal. He favors the reforms that have been set up to deal with the depression and wants to see them become permanent. His father lost everything in 1929 and Jones was thrown entirely on his own. He knows what hard times mean.

There were a great many such Joneses in American factory jobs in 1938. But our Jones differs from most of them in one important respect: In

a former job he had run into the Communists and had learned about them. He had observed Communist tactics and read some Communist literature. He knew about Marxism and how Lenin had developed tactics by which the Communists hoped to seize power all over the world. He was not simply against fascism; he was also against communism because he knew that it was just as totalitarian as fascism and just as dangerous to American freedom in the long run. It is through Jones' eyes that we shall watch Communist infiltration. Let's go back to 1938:

One of Jones' major interests is the new union which has been formed at the plant. Things have been going along pretty well. The union has grown in size and its voice is beginning to be heard more and more. It has won a contract. Jones is an active member and serves on several committees. He has seen no signs of Communist activity.

Communists Move In. Then one night the union has an important matter to decide. Wilson, the hard-working union secretary, has decided to move away. A new secretary must be chosen—someone who is willing to give a lot of time to the union. The secretary, Jones feels, is really the sparkplug of the organization. Williams, he decides, is the best man for the job. So when the chairman calls for nominations, Jones stands up. "I nominate Bill Williams," he says.

But Williams gets up to say that he is just too tied down with family responsibilities. Two or three other persons are mentioned, but they de-



Communists have spread their ideas through these publications. Here are the *Daily Worker*; two magazines—*Masses* and *Mainstream*, and typical pamphlets.

cline. Finally a man Jones has seen at only two or three meetings gets up and says, "I nominate Smith—Jim Smith. He's just the man for it, if we can get him to take it." Our friend Jones has seen Smith only once before. He is a new member of the union and works in a different shop. Someone seconds the nomination. Smith says that he, too, is very busy, but if there isn't anyone else available, he will take the job. Smith is elected.

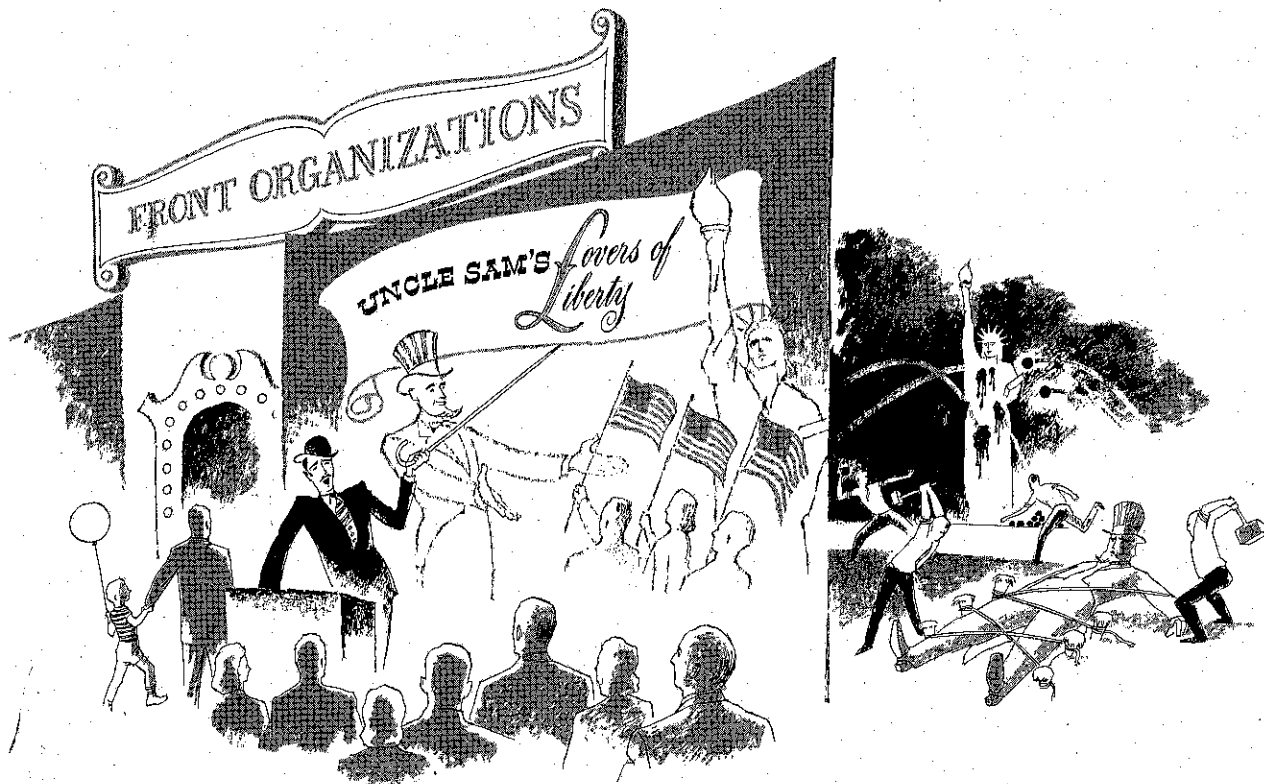
At the next meeting, about two weeks later, Smith proposes setting up a new committee to promote "people's culture." This, Smith says, is a good way for the union to reach other organizations and provide them with speakers on public affairs. For one thing, they might be able to do a better job in helping the Spanish Loyalists if they could reach more people through such a committee.

Following Secretary Smith's suggestion, a motion is passed authorizing the chairman to appoint a committee of three. Smith is immediately appointed. Then the chairman asks for volunteers from the membership. Jones, who has been watching this development with interest, raises his hand and is appointed. No one else speaks. Finally, the man who nominated Smith at the previous meeting raises his hand. "Well, if nobody else wants to work on this," he says, "I suppose I can." He is appointed, and the meeting goes on to other business.

Jones Has a Visitor. A few days later Secretary Smith asks our friend Jones to serve as chairman of the Committee on People's Culture; Jones says he will serve, and sets a date for a committee meeting. In another day or two, Jones gets a call from a woman who says she is very much interested in helping the Spanish Loyalists. She has seen a notice in the paper about Jones being chairman of the union Committee on People's Culture, and she wonders if she can talk to him. Jones agrees, and she comes to see him. The woman is polite but wastes no time in bringing the conversation around to Spain.

"I know you are a strong supporter of the Spanish Loyalists," she says, "and that is why I wanted to see you. My husband and I feel that too many Americans don't understand the issues over there, and we want very much to help educate the people. I don't like the Communists," she goes on, "but I have to admit that they are doing more over here than the so-called liberals are."

Jones expresses general sympathy for the Span-



"EDUCATIONAL! INFORMATIVE! You simply can't afford to miss it." That's what the Communist barker tells you as he tries to lure you into his sideshow. What he wants is to lure you into helping the Commies wreck our liberties and hogtie our Nation.

ish Loyalists, but says nothing about the Communists. "Just what do you think my committee can do?" he asks.

"Well, I wish you'd try to show people that they are just wasting their money by sending relief through the Friends' Service Committee and things like that. And they have got to stop baiting the Communists, when the Soviet Union is doing so much for Spain."

Jones encourages her to go on in the same vein for a while. Finally she hands him a stack of pamphlets.

"Here, read these," she says. "I think this kind of thing makes the whole matter very clear. We must support the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. They can get our money directly where it is needed most. Why can't your committee distribute these pamphlets at your meetings? Your speakers can get good material out of them, too."

Jones takes the pamphlets, thanks her, and leaves without giving her any clear idea of his own position.

Back at home Jones takes a good look at the pamphlets the woman has given him. In a few

minutes he has his bearings. They are, all of them, clever Communist propaganda. They praise the Soviet Union and attack the Governments of Great Britain and the United States for not giving direct aid to the Spanish Republic. They call on workers, professional people, and others to form a "people's front," and praise the Spanish Communists as the heroic leaders of the "people's cause." They attack liberals, socialists, and pacifists, and urge that people contribute only to the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade of American volunteers fighting in Spain.²

Communists Take Over. Jones calls the president of the union and reports what has happened. As he feared, the president is not much interested. "Look," he says, "suppose they *are* Communists? We're fighting fascism, aren't we? We can't afford to split our ranks by fighting each other. The Commies are doing a good job in Spain."

Jones talks to other friends. Most of them take

² Both of these organizations have been cited repeatedly by the Attorney General of the United States and by Congressional Committees as Communist fronts.

the same attitude as the president, but a few listen. With Jones as their leader, they resolve to fight Communist infiltration. It turns out to be tough going.

The next thing Jones knows, he is being outvoted 2 to 1 in his Committee on People's Culture. Over his protest, the committee recommends that the union put on a drive to raise money for the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. The secretary is careful to put this matter in last place on the agenda of the next meeting. By the time the meeting takes up the report of the "majority group" of the People's Culture Committee, about half of the members have had to go home. It is getting late.

When the motion is made, Jones gets up and makes a speech against it. He tells the union that they are being fooled into backing a Communist front organization, that their money will go to support only the Communists, and that the Spanish people will get nothing out of it whatever. Immediately the other members of his committee are on their feet. In long and emotional speeches, they accuse Jones of being a "red-baiter," of doing the work of the fascists, helping Franco, smearing brave men who are dying in Spain for democracy.

The hour gets later; still more people have to go home, but the speeches keep right on—with members Jones has never seen before joining in. Jones tries several times more to turn the tide, and some of his friends stay on and take his side in the debate. But they are outnumbered. By the time the motion is finally put to a vote, it is carried by a big majority of those who have stayed. Everyone heaves a sigh of relief and there are gestures of good fellowship all around the room. Most of the members seem to think it has been just another debate. Maybe more exciting than usual—more heat—but still just another democratic argument with a fair decision after everyone has had a chance to speak his piece.

But Jones knows better. The Communists have taken over, and the union is in the control of a party cell. He is not at all surprised when the president asks him to resign—"in the interests of harmony." He is tempted to agree and to quit the union. But he refuses and challenges the president to have him voted out. He *is* voted out—within a month.

"You are looking for Commies under the bed," his friends warn him.

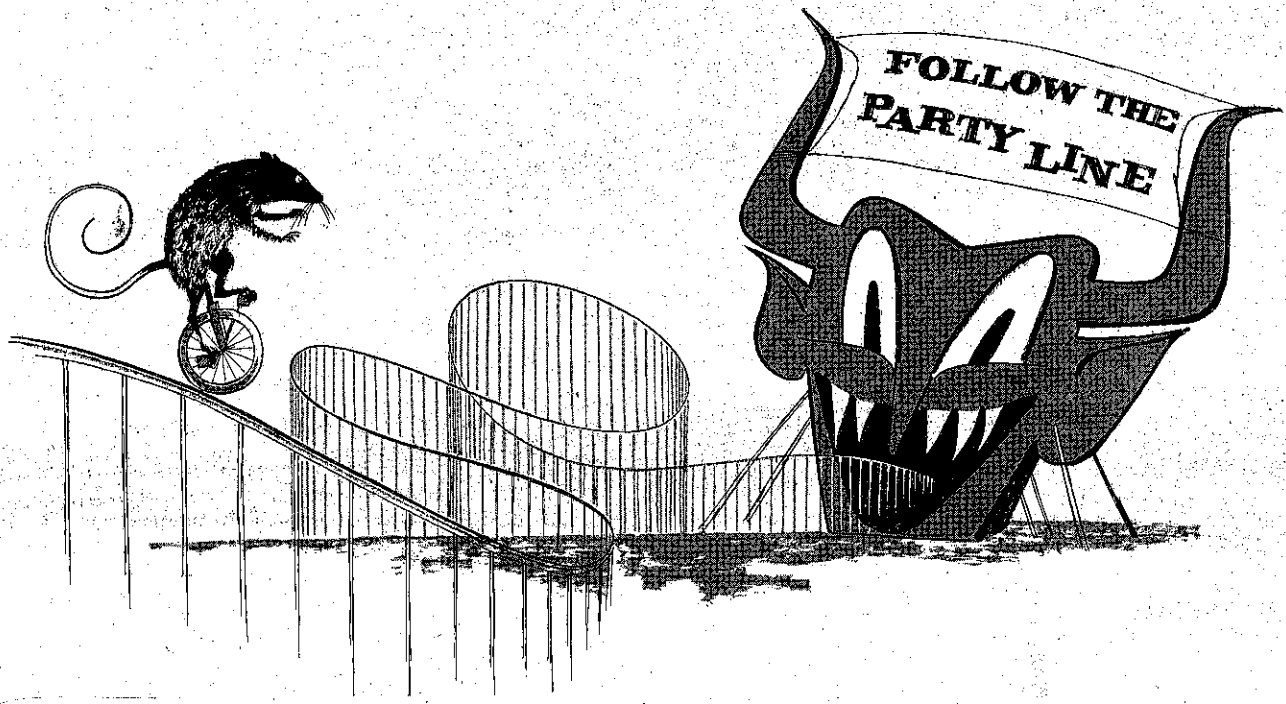
Jones Fights the Communists. Instead of quit-

ting, Jones decides to fight the Communists and force them out. The only way to do it, he knows, is to show the members what is going on—to show them that the Communists had taken over because of the indifference of rank-and-file members. Jones has to start with a very few who, like himself, have really studied communism. Each one of the little group makes an effort to bring others into it, but every time they open their mouths they are called "red-baiters." Yet they keep at it.

It would be pleasant to end this little narrative, which is history disguised as fiction, by telling how Jones and his friends showed up the Communists and made the union a legitimate, democratic organization again. But, unfortunately, the ending was neither quick nor happy. Some of the innocents who had been taken in by the Communists were brought to their senses when the Spanish and Russian Communists sold out the Spanish Republic at the end of the war. But others kept up the "popular front" with the Communists because of their fear of Hitler. Many learned their lesson when Stalin signed his pact with Hitler, but others stayed on until the Soviet Union invaded Poland and Finland. A few did not learn even then and continued to "play ball" with the Communists until the Cold War began. In fact, there are still some people today who do not understand that Communists are not liberals but devoted agents of the Soviet Union and World Communist revolution.

The Communist tactic of infiltration that our story illustrates is always the same. In unions, in universities, in organizations of all sorts, Communists try to plant themselves as ordinary citizens interested in the organization's aims and welfare. If they do not succeed in taking it over by the means we have just seen, they will try to wreck it. Sometimes, in fact, they attempt to infiltrate and take over an organization solely for the purpose of wrecking it. But nowadays their task is far harder than it was in 1938. The Cold War and exposures of Communist activity in the United States have alerted Americans to the dangers and deceit of communism. The Korean war has brought home the lesson in American blood.

Front Organizations.—Let us turn our attention now to the other chief tactic of the Communist Party in the United States—the formation of front organizations. This is a quite different tactic from infiltration. When the Communists infiltrate they are working in an already estab-



A Red swerves along Commie curves. He must follow the Communist line, no matter where it leads. But that doesn't bother him. He doesn't have to think! He just obeys orders . . . from Moscow. You may be sure that what he is told to do will help the Soviet Union.

lished and perfectly legitimate organization. Their aim is to take it over for their own uses. But the front organization is the Communists' own creation. A *front* is an organization set up by the party to win support for the party line and—secretly—to raise money for the party. But it is made to look as though it were nothing more than an organization of volunteers who have joined together to support some decent and respectable cause. It is called a “front” because the true nature of the organization is hidden behind popular slogans and behind the names of individuals who are *known not to be* Communists (or, at least, *not known to be* Communists). The purpose of a “front” is to attract a public following, which the Communists could not hope to win if the truth were known.

The first thing we need to know about fronts is that they *always use some kind of honest and forthright appeal*. They are formed to “fight fascism,” “to eliminate Jim Crow,” to “aid Spanish democracy,” to “unite” artists, scientists, and writers for just causes, to get someone or other a “fair trial,” or to bring about “world peace.” Over the years the Communists have formed literally hundreds of such organizations—so many that nowadays we are forced to ask very search-

ing questions about any new organization that sends us an appeal, no matter how innocent it sounds.

Building a “Front.” How are these front organizations created? There are, of course, some variations, but in general the Communist technique is as follows:

The first step is a decision by the party's political committee that a certain party activity requires a front. The job of building the front is then assigned to the proper organizational section of the party. From there the assignment goes down the line until it comes to the individual cell members who are to do the work.

The next step is to land a “big fish.” This must be a man who has no public association with the Communists, and who is known to be deeply interested in causes like the one for which the front is to be formed. If, for example, the front is to deal with civil liberties, a well-known clergyman with a reputation as a crusader for justice, or a respected judge, would be an ideal front man to head the organization. Hooking this man may be the most difficult part of the job. If he is without any Communist connections or sympathies, the approach to him must be well concealed. A fairly common method is to give the assignment to a

"fellow-traveler"—a man who sympathizes with communism and with the party but is not a member. The fellow-traveler may then take up the matter of the new organization with some acquaintance who knows the clergyman or the judge well, but does not know the fellow-traveler for what he is. Thus, the first approach to the eventual front man may be made through a third or even a fourth or fifth party.

Once the "big fish" has been hooked, he may be counted on to surround himself with other good people who are as innocent of Communist connections as he is. Then the fellow-travelers, especially those who have not previously "traveled" in the field being organized, join up. Last, and *without identifying themselves*, a small number of party members will join and form a party cell.

Behind the scenes the party formulates the slogans for the front and prepares propaganda to be fed slowly into the new organization. The cell members volunteer for leg work and for "secretarial" duty, and thus quickly make themselves indispensable to the innocent leadership. If the organization shows signs of getting out of hand, they can either exert their influence from their positions of trust and administrative responsibility or, at the worst, they can try to wreck the organization. If the organization is detected and exposed before its work has been done, it can be quietly transformed and made to reappear under another name, or it can be dropped and another built up to take its place.

Thus the picture of Communist fronts in America is confusing to many Americans. The names and causes shift so fast and so constantly that it is very hard to keep up with them.

How to Recognize a "Front." But a real Communist front can usually be detected. Like the party itself, *its line must change when the Soviet line changes*. If the party cannot control a front well enough to change its line when need arises, the front will be destroyed. Changes in the Soviet line cannot be predicted by outsiders because it is determined by the national interests of the Soviet Union. For this reason the Communists in the United States must be prepared for rapid and illogical changes of line, not only by the party but by its fronts, too. By "illogical," of course, we mean illogical *from the American point of view*. When an innocent-seeming organization changes its line and its slogans immediately after a change in Soviet policy, we very probably are dealing

with a Communist front. And since the Soviet line changes frequently, fronts are always sooner or later detectable.

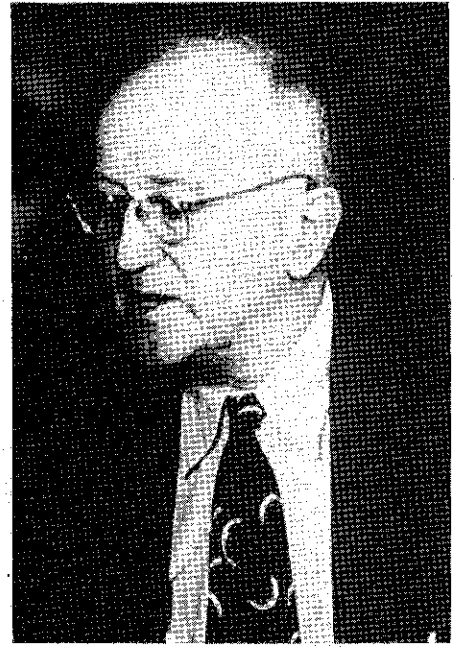
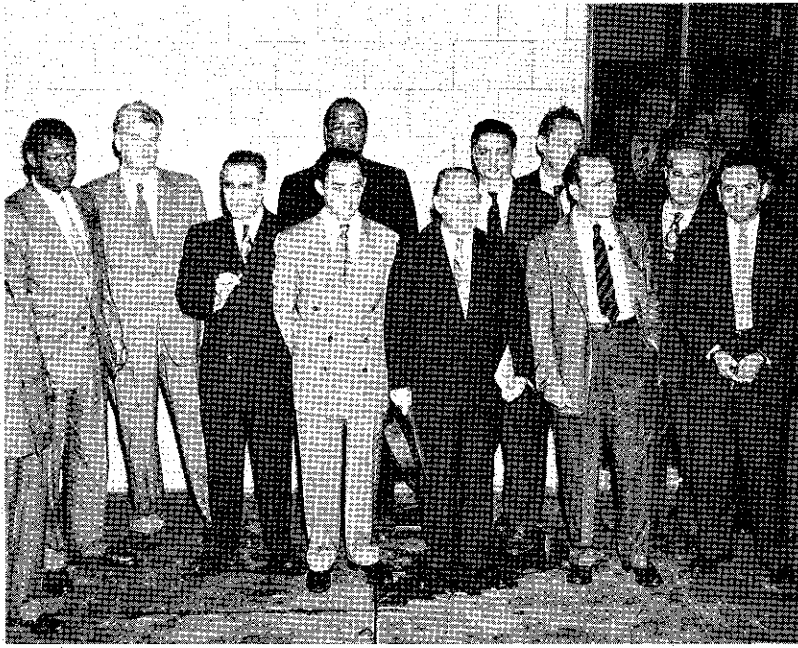
Take the American League Against War and Fascism as an example. Since most Americans are against war and fascism, at least in general terms, this front of the early 1930's flourished. What the innocents did not realize was that their money and their names were being used to attack honest democratic people in Europe. Very large numbers of Germans and other Europeans were, then as now, members of Social Democratic parties that were opposed to *both* fascism and communism. The Soviet line was to attack both the fascists and the social Democrats.

The American League Against War and Fascism was formed in America as a front to help with *this propaganda*. But in 1935 the Soviet Union ordered a change in the line of all Communist Parties. The Soviet Union had become afraid of Hitler, and it wanted allies. Hitler's strongest enemies were precisely the Social Democrats whom the Communists had been attacking. Thus, it served the national interests of the Soviet Union to make a "united front" with the Social Democrats against Hitler, Mussolini, and fascism.

Overnight the American League Against War and Fascism became the American League for Peace and Democracy and proceeded to carry out the new line. For the Communists this was thoroughly understandable. For some of the "innocents," however, it did not make sense—so the Communists had to replace these innocents with new ones. This particular front was one of the most successful ever launched by the Communists, but all of their fronts, whether successful or not, follow much the same pattern.

Many Communist front organizations hide behind harmless sounding names designed to appeal to gullible Americans. Typical are these organizations that have officially been designated as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States: American Patriots, Inc.; Committee for the Protection of the Bill of Rights; Committee for World Youth Friendship and Cultural Exchange; Labor Research Association, Inc.; League of American Writers; National Committee for Freedom of the Press; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; and Voice of Freedom Committee.

The Communist Press. The Communists also seek to spread their ideas through books, pam-



Red leaders after conviction: L/R—Henry Winston, Eugene Dennis, Jacob Stachel, Gil Green, B. J. Davis (behind Green), J. B. Williamson, Robert Thompson, Gus Hall (rear), Irving Potash, Carl Winter, John Gates. Wm. Z. Foster, right, was ill and was not tried.

phlets, magazines, newspapers, and other publications. Among the numerous recognized Red publications aimed at the American reader are the *Daily Worker*, *Daily People's World*, *Political Affairs*, and *Masses and Mainstream*. Perhaps most familiar to most Americans is the Communist newspaper, the *Daily Worker*. Among the well-known Communists who have served as its editor are Earl Browder, Louis F. Budenz, who renounced communism in 1945, and John Gates, who was sentenced to prison along with 10 other top Communist leaders in 1949. First published in Chicago in 1924, the newspaper now has its headquarters in New York in the same building occupied by the National Committee of the Communist Party.

The *Daily Worker* was established at the order of Gregory Zinoviev, then president of the Comintern, as "an instrument for reaching the widest masses and mobilizing them . . . in securing final power." However, it has never been outstandingly successful in doing so. Between 1950 and 1952, for example, affidavits of ownership filed by the *Daily Worker* to obtain second-class mailing privileges from the Post Office Department showed that its circulation dropped from 25,000 to 11,334.

As legislative inquiries, new legislation, Smith Act prosecutions, and other actions by the U. S.

Attorney General's office have disrupted open operations of the Communist Party in the United States, the *Daily Worker* has come to be more a means of reaching isolated party members than "the widest masses." Because it unflinchingly reflects the tortuous twistings of the international "party line," it serves, in the words of Budenz, as "the telegraph agency of the Communist conspiracy" to guide the thought and action of the party faithful.

CHECKS ON COMMUNISM

This use of their publications has become increasingly important to the Reds in light of our Government's intensified drive to expose and control subversive activities of the Communists in the United States. Besides the legislation previously mentioned, Congress has passed a number of laws dealing with specific problems in curbing the Reds. For example, individuals and organizations acting on behalf of foreign powers in the United States are required to register with federal authorities. The Smith Act made it illegal to advocate overthrow of the Government by force and violence.

Congress also voted to take American citizenship away from any person convicted of conspiring to advocate violent overthrow of the Govern-

ment. Peacetime spying was made subject to the death penalty. Another law permits a federal judge to grant immunity from prosecution to a witness whose testimony is deemed vital to a national security investigation.

After World War II, the subversive activities of the Communists in this country became so brazen that a federal grand jury indicted 12 top American Communist leaders on 20 July 1948. They were charged with "conspiring knowingly and willfully to teach and advocate overthrowing or destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence, and with conspiring to organize the Communist Party of the United States of America for that purpose."

Those indicted were:

William Z. Foster, then national chairman of the Communist Party, U. S. A., and former presidential candidate of the Communists.

Eugene Dennis, general secretary and actual operating head of the Communist Party, U. S. A.

Jacob Stachel, national chairman of agitation, propaganda, and education of the Communist Party, U. S. A.

Benjamin Jefferson Davis, Jr., who twice served as a Communist member of the New York City Council.

John Gates, editor of the *Daily Worker*.

Gil Green, district chairman of the Communist Party in Illinois.

Gus Hall, chairman of the Communist Party in Ohio.

Robert Thompson, chairman of the Communist Party in New York State.

John Beattie Williamson, national labor secretary of the Communist Party, U. S. A.

Henry Winston, organizational secretary of the Communist Party, U. S. A.

Irving Potash, labor union official.

Carl Winter, chairman of the Michigan State Committee of the Communist Party.

All 12 were members of the National Board of the Communist Party, U. S. A., and thus shared in making top-level decisions of the party.

Because of illness Foster has never been brought to trial. However, the other 11 men were tried, and their trial was in decided contrast to the spectacles staged in Communist countries where a "brain-washed" defendant "confesses" whatever the prosecutor wants him to confess. The 11 de-

fendants were represented by attorneys of their own choice, and the trial ran just 3 days short of 9 months. More than 5 million words were included in the court record of 21,326 pages.

Budenz, the first Government witness, who once served as managing editor of the *Daily Worker*, broke with the Communist Party in 1945 because "it aims to establish tyranny over the human spirit." Other witnesses included six men and one girl, who reported to the FBI while they posed as Communists for periods of from 2 to 9 years.

Finally, on 14 October 1949, the defendants were found guilty, and on 21 October they were sentenced. Thompson got off with a fine of \$10,000 and a three-year prison sentence. The other 10 defendants were each fined \$10,000 and sentenced to five years imprisonment. In a 7-2 decision, the Supreme Court upheld the convictions on 4 June 1951.

THE COMMUNIST REWARD

How do the Communists reward a comrade for faithful service when he has outlived his usefulness to them? The answer can be found in the story of Gerhart Eisler, who first joined the Communist Party in Austria in 1918.

Eisler had two "tours of duty" for Stalin in the United States. The first was in the 1930's. On his second tour, in the 1940's, he lived in New York City, where he posed as an impoverished, soft-spoken little clerk. Then, in 1946, he was exposed by Budenz as the Kremlin's top agent in the United States.

For refusing to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee Eisler was sentenced to 1 year in prison. For falsifying the record when he asked for a passport to leave the United States, he was sentenced to 3 years. He was out on bail when he fled to East Germany in 1949.

The Red carpet was rolled out for Eisler, and he was made minister of information. In turn, he directed a venomous "Hate-America" campaign. His triumph was short-lived, however. In December 1952 he lost his job and was criticized for "unsatisfactory work." In 1953 he was reported as having fled to West Berlin to escape arrest by the Communists, and later it was reported that he was writing memoirs of his years as a Communist underground agent in the United States.

So the Communists reward their faithful!

THE "PHONY" PEACE OFFENSIVE

Ever since the Soviet Union betrayed the great alliance of World War II and began the Cold War, the task of the Communists everywhere in the world has been to undermine resistance to the Soviet Union and Red China through propaganda for "peace." The point is to persuade the free nations to disarm, to destroy confidence of the people in their leadership, and to set the free nations against each other.

For this reason the Communist Party in the United States has devoted the greatest part of its effort in recent years to what is called the "peace offensive." By April 1951, when Congress issued its most recent complete report on this type of Red activity in this country, the Communists had already launched at least 10 front organizations supposed to be devoted to peace. Since then many more such fronts have appeared, while some of the earlier ones have been exposed and dropped. We do not have space here to discuss these fronts. But this need not matter, since in every case they have been organized and developed in precisely the same manner we have been considering.

There are, however, 2 points about this so-called "peace offensive" that we should thoroughly understand. The first is that *by this means the Communists are doing their best to enlist the support of any and all Americans who are sincerely devoted to the hope of a peaceful world.* Some loyal Americans have profound conscientious objections to war, and some of the churches teach that all war is sinful. Our laws and customs give freedom to these people as a part of our fundamental civil liberties. But the phony Communist "peace" propaganda, if it were successful, might lead us to think that anyone who talks peace is a Communist or a "fellow-traveler." Thus neighbors could be set against neighbors and the Communist objective of creating dissension and distrust would be achieved. We have an obligation, therefore, to be more careful than ever to respect the opinions of others, and to understand how the Communist tactics work so that we can tell the phony from the genuine.

As the Director of the FBI has explained, we can tell a true, conscientious pacifist from a Communist by simply watching Soviet foreign policy. The sincere opponent of war pays no heed to the Soviet Union. His position never changes, because it is a matter of conscience. But the Communist must, and does, blow with the wind of

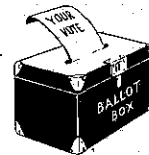
YOU CAN HELP TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

Use these weapons



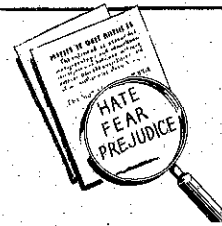
1 INFORMATION

Keep well abreast
of current affairs!



2 DEMOCRACY

Take an interest in
our government . . .
use your vote!



3 ALERTNESS

Recognize propaganda
Do not support Com-
munist causes!

Soviet policy. We have already seen how, for 22 months after Stalin signed a non-aggression pact with Hitler in August 1939, American Communists violently opposed all our actions to assist the Allied war efforts. But when Germany attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, they changed their tune overnight. Communists in the United States, as well as in other non-Axis nations, began to support Allied war policies. Their purpose, of course, was to channel Allied assistance to the hard-pressed Soviet Union. So it is plain that, in defending ourselves against Communist infiltration and Communist fronts, *we must be alert to identify and expose the real enemy and not attack each other.*

The second point about the "peace offensive" is that *it is intended to undermine our confidence in our own leadership.* We are told every day in a thousand different ways, by Radio Moscow and Russian Communists in the United Nations, that all our present and former officials—from ex-President Truman and former Secretary of State Acheson to President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles—are warmongers, and that their policy is "imperialism." The slogan is always "bring the boys home." The Communist fronts

for "peace" here in the United States, as well as the Communist Party itself, parrot this line with sickening regularity. We are told that the American *people* want peace, but the *Government* is for war. In this way the Communists hope to create dissension by confusing us and by playing upon our hatred of bloodshed. In short, just as national unity is absolutely necessary if we are to withstand Communist aggression, so the chief aim of Communists in this Nation is to prevent us from achieving national unity.

TO SUM UP . . .

In this pamphlet we have looked in some detail at three aspects of communism in the United States: 1) the organization and structure of the party, in which we emphasized the importance of discipline and showed how both his beliefs and his discipline disqualify a Communist for democracy; 2) the tactic of *infiltration*, by which the Communists seek to enter and gain control of legitimate democratic organizations in order either to pervert them to their own purposes or to destroy them; and 3) the tactic of the *front organization*, by which the Communists hope to fool well-meaning people into supporting them without realizing what they are doing.

We have seen how vital it is to keep up the fight against Communist espionage and conspiracy. We may conclude by reminding ourselves that in fighting communism, there is no substitute for knowledge, understanding, alertness, and willingness to work.

Guide to Detecting Communists

by J. Edgar Hoover, Director, FBI

1. Does the group espouse the cause of Americanism or the cause of Soviet Russia?
2. Does the organization feature as speakers at

its meetings known Communists, sympathizers, or fellow-travelers?

3. Does the organization shift when the party line shifts?
4. Does the organization sponsor causes, campaigns, literature, petitions, or other activities sponsored by the party or other front organizations?
5. Is the organization used as a sounding board by, or is it endorsed by, Communist-controlled labor unions?
6. Does its literature follow the Communist line or is it printed by the Communist press?
7. Does the organization receive consistent favorable mention in Communist publications?
8. Does the organization present itself to be non-partisan yet engage in political activities and consistently advocate causes favored by the Communists?
9. Does the organization denounce American and British foreign policy while always lauding Soviet policy?
10. Does the organization utilize Communist "double talk" by referring to Soviet-dominated countries as democratic, complaining that the United States is imperialistic and constantly denouncing monopoly-capital?
11. Have outstanding leaders in public life openly renounced affiliation with the organization?
12. Does the organization, if espousing liberal progressive causes, attract well-known, honest, patriotic liberals or does it denounce well-known liberals?
13. Does the organization have a consistent record of supporting the American viewpoint over the years?
14. Does the organization consider matters not directly related to its avowed purpose and objectives?

Summary...

I. INTRODUCTION

A. The Communist is loyal to the Soviet Union.

B. Development of the Communist Party.

1. Highly disciplined Russian party sparked formation of Comintern.

2. Communist Party of United States formed as section of Comintern (1919).

a. Called Workers' Party until 1929; thereafter, Communist Party.

b. Small size of party is no indication of its threat to national security.

II. STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

A. Operates under a constitution modeled after the constitution of the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R.

B. The highest party authority is the National Convention, held every 2 years.

1. The National Committee exercises power and makes decisions between conventions.

2. The National Board, elected by the National Committee, carries out the Committee's decisions and work between Committee sessions.

3. The party districts are set up by the Committee.

4. State organization parallels national.

5. Local units are known as clubs.

6. Cells are the small, working units of the party.

III. PARTY DISCIPLINE

A. Party policy and platform are decided by top leaders.

B. Rank-and-file members must accept decisions without question.

C. Dissenters are punished, in extreme cases by expulsion.

IV. WHAT MUST A COMMUNIST DO?

A. To avoid penalties for violations of party discipline, party members have several obligations.

1. They must obey party superiors without question.

2. They must give complete loyalty to the party.

3. They must believe fully in the teachings of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin.

4. They must be loyal to the Soviet Union under all circumstances.

V. HOW THE PARTY OPERATES

A. The party operations have two parts—strategy and tactics.

1. Strategy refers to the long-range program.

a. It aims to make Communist seizure of power possible.

b. It also aims to destroy the effectiveness of the United States as an opponent of communism and the Soviet Union.

2. Tactics means the short-range, day-to-day operations.

a. Infiltration (story of the factory union).

b. The formation of front organizations (American League against War and Fascism).

c. Publications to spread Communist ideas.

VI. CHECKS ON COMMUNISM

A. Congress has passed several laws to curb Communists.

B. Communist leaders have been tried and convicted.

VII. THE COMMUNIST REWARD

A. Reds discard men no longer useful.

VIII. THE "PHONY" PEACE OFFENSIVE

A. It follows the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

B. The campaign attempts to undermine our confidence in our leaders.

IX. SUMMARY

A. Communist Party discipline is anti-democratic.

B. The Communist Party uses infiltration to control or destroy legitimate organizations.

C. The Party uses front organizations to gain the support of unwary people.

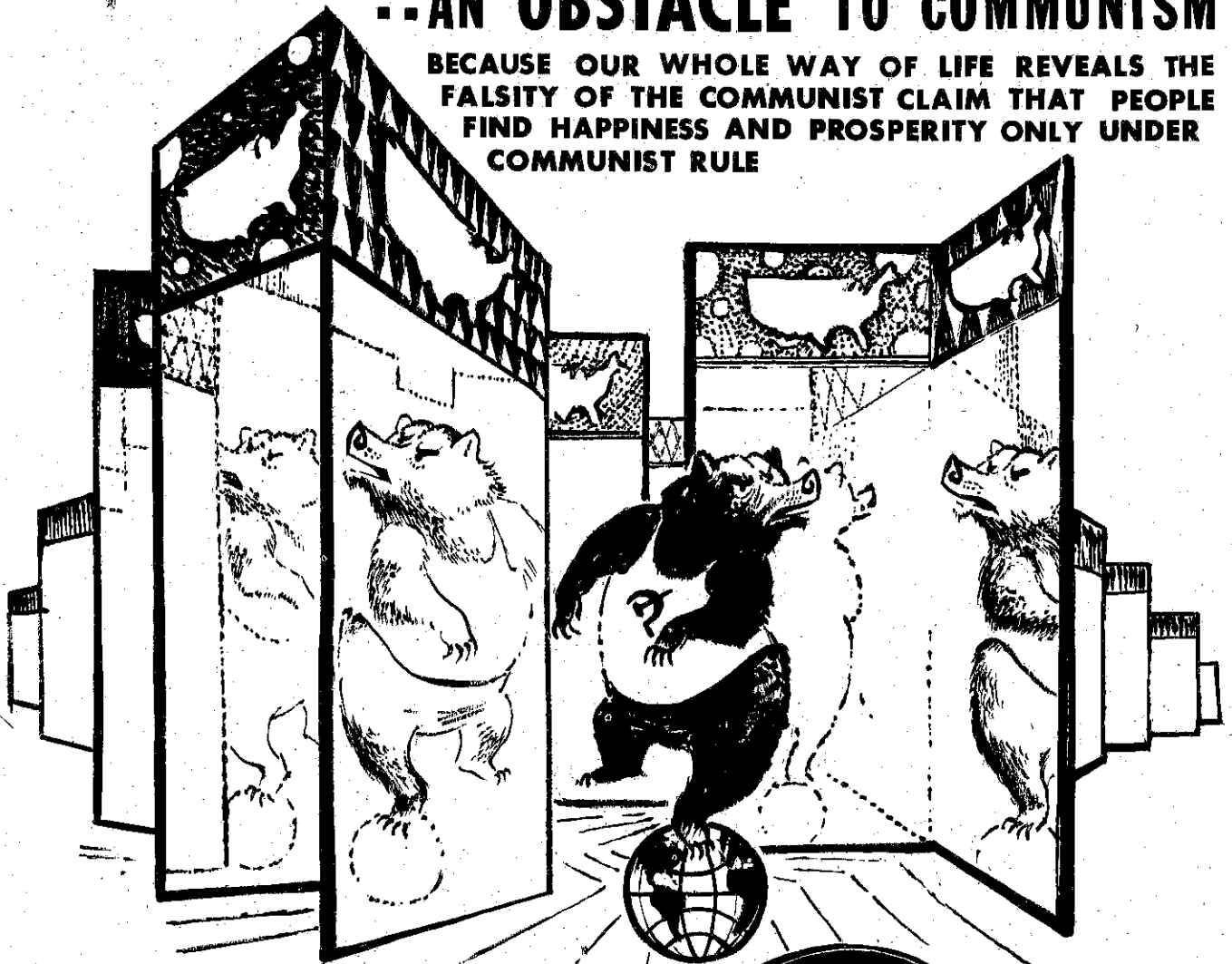
X. GUIDE FOR DETECTING COMMUNISTS

A. Questions posed by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

THE UNITED STATES IS BOTH . . .

..AN OBSTACLE TO COMMUNISM

**BECAUSE OUR WHOLE WAY OF LIFE REVEALS THE
FALSITY OF THE COMMUNIST CLAIM THAT PEOPLE
FIND HAPPINESS AND PROSPERITY ONLY UNDER
COMMUNIST RULE**



..AND A TARGET FOR IT

**BECAUSE OUR ECONOMIC AND
INDUSTRIAL STRENGTH IS BUILT
UPON FREE INSTITUTIONS
WHICH COMMUNIST THEORY
CONDEMNS AS UNWORKABLE
AND DOOMED TO FAILURE**

