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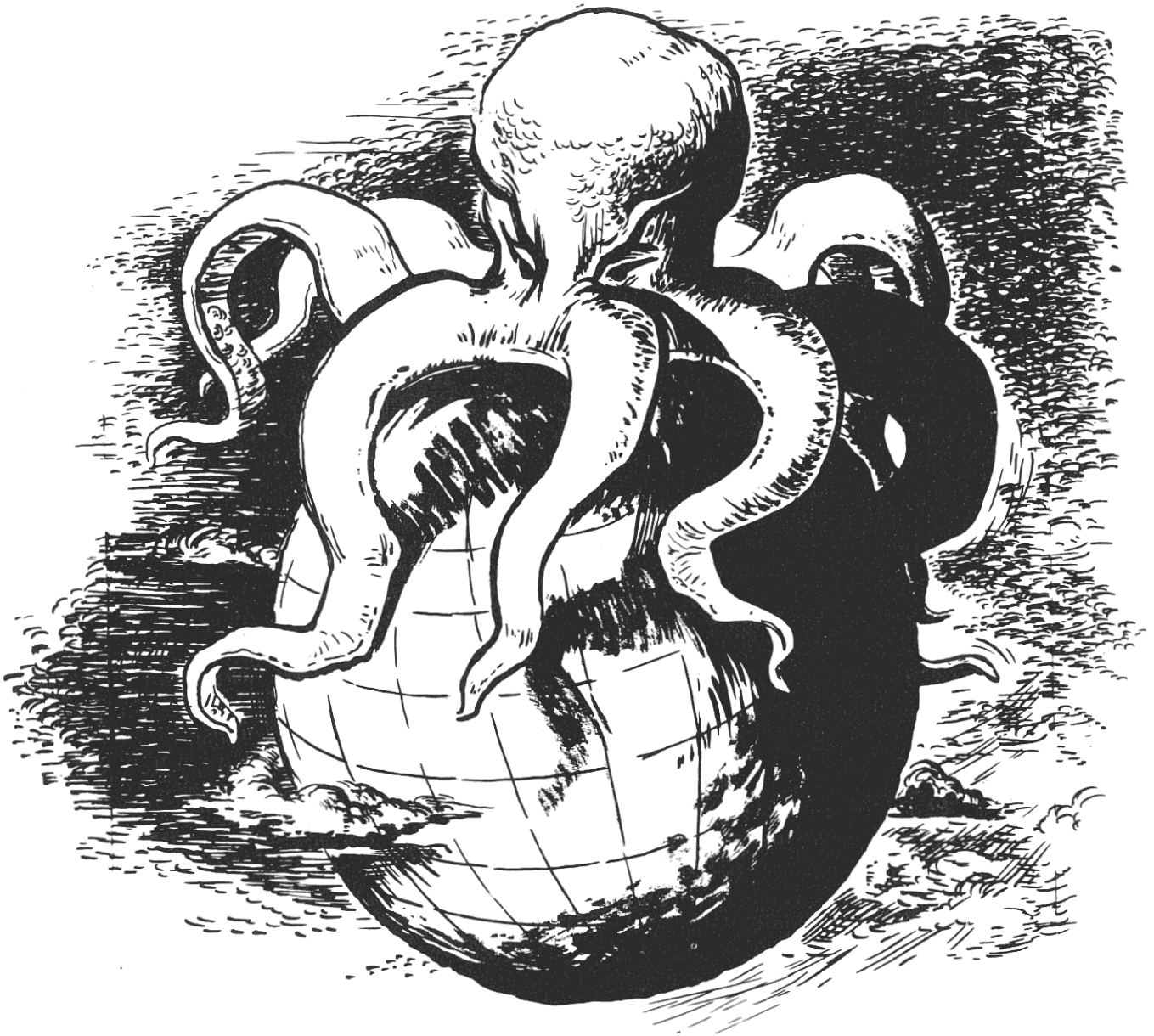
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KNOW YOUR COMMUNIST ENEMY

**INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM:
Its Teachings, Aims, and Methods**

Defense Dept

J.R.R.



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON

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C. E. Wilson

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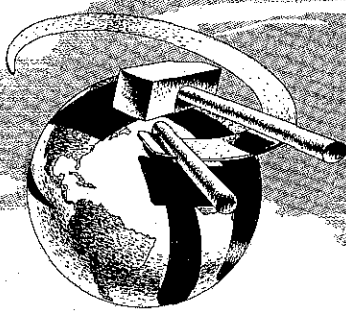
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INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM: Its Teachings, Aims, and Methods

THE BIRTH AND GROWTH OF THE COMMUNIST IDEA

Plans for changing society and government from the bottom up have always had a way of capturing some people's imagination. But they really begin to catch fire when large sections of the population are in trouble and look for a way out.

History has known many such plans, and modern communism, like all the others, began as an idea for promoting a better life for the common man. Today, as an organized international movement, its real concern is anything but that. As we shall see, the international Communist movement has one purpose: to help the rulers of the Soviet Union gain control of the world.

Unfortunately, many people have been deceived about its real purpose and have given the movement their support in the mistaken belief that it would help to make their lives better. Such, for example, was the mistake made by large numbers of poor peasants in China; the same mistake is also being made today by millions of citizens of other nations who still vote the Communist ticket.

We short-change ourselves as American citizens if we let ourselves be taken in by the same counterfeit product. So we owe it to ourselves to take a very good look at communism—its real purpose, its teachings, and its methods of influencing people. This pamphlet aims to help you do this.

The general idea of communism is much older than the world conspiracy that uses it and goes by its name today. But its modern form first took shape in the early part of the 19th century in western Europe. It caught fire at that time because the working people were suddenly faced with a new set of problems for which communism claimed to have a solution.

Problems of the Industrial Revolution

These new problems were largely the result of the Industrial Revolution, which began in England about 200 years ago and later spread to western Europe and the United States. Very soon large numbers of people in Europe who formerly lived as farmers found themselves earning their living in factories and mines.

All this was brought about largely through the efforts of private businessmen—investors, industrialists, inventors, and the like—who had capital to invest in new business ventures that promised a profit. Over a run of some 150 years, this system of private enterprise—sometimes called capitalism—managed to achieve something of an economic miracle. It yielded the profit for which private businessmen exerted themselves, and in doing so it also raised the standard of living for the majority of people far beyond anything previously known in history.

The application of science to industry, the harnessing of new forms of power, the increased know-how of labor, more and new raw materials, and new forms of transport and communication—all these made it possible to feed, clothe, and house millions more people and provide them with leisure and opportunities that no previous economic system had ever made possible.

All this was a *long-run* achievement. But people live in the *short run*; and in the *short run* the new system of industrial capitalism at times seemed to bring more injury than benefit to the workers who earned their living by it. Few of them, especially in the first half of the 19th century, could have guessed how thoroughly it would prove its worth, and fewer still would have cared. They were concerned with the here and now;

therefore, they saw only the temporary evil effects of the system.

For one thing, it had a habit of breaking down from time to time, throwing thousands out of work during long periods of depression. Few workers could save enough for a rainy day. When a depression came, it meant great hardship for them and their families, a general letdown in morale, and a widespread feeling of bitterness.

Today, workers are protected by minimum-wage laws, by a social security system, by government legislation, by more enlightened management, and many of them get added protection as members of a trade union. But in those days such things were almost unknown. Wages were very low, hours long, and working conditions almost intolerable. Often, women and children had to work to supplement the incomes of their families. Slums, industrial accidents, and new diseases were also among the many evils that made life so bitter for most workers in those days.

Finally, the expansion of industry brought advances in the technology of war. Wars became more destructive than ever, taking their toll of human life not primarily among professional soldiers as in the past, but among the workers and farmers who also were called to arms. Many persons came to believe that it was the system of industrial capitalism itself that caused such wars by creating keener competition for markets between the industries of different nations.

Industrial Revolution Accepted Today

Today we know that many of these evils were temporary and disappeared as capitalism grew up. Workers in the United States today, for example, know little of the harsh working conditions of the earlier days of industry. They enjoy high wages and other benefits and have become sharers in the general benefits of the system. In part, this is because, as citizens in a democracy, they can act through the power of their vote and through trade unions to promote programs or issues that concern them. Partly, too, it is because management has learned by experience that all elements of the population must be happy and prosperous if our economy is to grow and flourish.

Many problems remain, the principal ones being war and the economic cycle. But efforts have been made and are still being made to bring the economic cycle under control. War itself, we have come to realize, is not caused by any one factor,

and all of its causes must be dealt with. We are doing what we can to prevent it through the United Nations and by other means.

We know all this today because we have had some 150 years of experience with capitalism. But years ago some people, who did not have this experience, concluded that capitalism was their great enemy. So it was only to be expected that they should look for a scheme that would do away with the evils blamed on capitalism without sacrificing the benefits of its industry and technology. The scheme that made the greatest headway in western Europe in the 19th century was the idea of socialism.

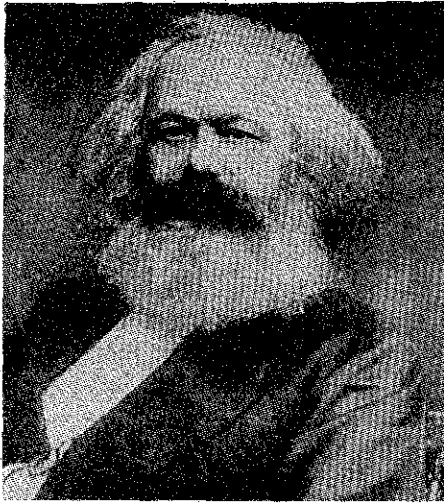
Karl Marx Calls for a New Economic System

Socialism does not mean the same thing to everyone. At the beginning of the 19th century it took many forms, and it still does today. However, the most famous of these, and the one from which the modern Communists borrow most of their arguments, was the work of two German thinkers, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

According to these authors, capitalism is not the right way of running economic affairs. Their reasons for believing this, and their solution to the problem, were spelled out in a great many books, pamphlets, and articles. They were joint authors of *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), while Marx wrote *Capital* (1867-1894). The *Communist Manifesto* sets forth the philosophy and the demands of the Communist League, of which the authors were the chief spokesmen. *Capital*, on the other hand, is a huge work on economics that tries to show what is wrong with capitalism and to prove that, in the end, these faults of the system would paralyze it.

Both works, like all the other writings of Marx and Engels, are regarded by Communists today as their basic guide and one of their most important sources of propaganda ammunition. They insist that it is they alone who follow Marx's teachings, together with those of Lenin and Stalin. They say that those Socialists who also claim to follow Marx really "betray" his teachings. Marxian Socialists, on the other hand, charge that it is the Communists who falsify Marx's teachings for their own purposes.

Be that as it may, it is important to remember that many people today who call themselves Marxists are also anti-Communists. Also, we must recognize that many socialists are not Marxists in any



Karl Marx, left, author of the doctrine of communism. Right: A group of workers stand in the muddy street of a Russian village of a generation ago.

sense. The British Labor Party, for example, has a socialist program that favors public ownership of major industries, but few of its members or supporters are Marxists. Briefly, we can say that both the Communist and anti-Communist followers of Marx agree on what Marx thought was wrong with capitalism; they disagree as to what should be done about it, and how.

According to Marx, the basic fault with the capitalism of his day was that "the means of production and exchange"—that is, mines, factories, stores, raw materials, etc.—were the private property of capitalists who used them for their own profit. The capitalists owned these means of production because factories and machines, unlike the cheap and simple tools of the past, required the investment of very large sums of capital far beyond the means of the workers who operated them.

Class Struggle Leading to Revolution

From this simple proposition Marx drew a number of conclusions, which he presented in great detail in his big work, *Capital*. One of these was that people under capitalism are sharply divided—and likely to become more so—into two classes, the capitalists and the wage earners (or the "bourgeoisie" and the "proletariat," as Marx called them). Marx argued that the capitalists are the privileged few under capitalism. He also held that the capitalists, as owners of most of the tools of production, live by "exploiting" the wage earners because wages they pay to their workers are always lower than the value of the product these

workers turn out. The difference or "surplus value" (again a Marxian term) is pocketed by the capitalists and used mostly to finance new and larger capital investments from year to year. Therefore, according to Marx, the prosperity of the capitalists depends on their ability to keep wages low and "surplus value" (profits) high.

So, in the final analysis, it came to this: the workers must unite as a class to wage a continuous struggle against their employers for their own share of the total product of industry. Eventually, Marx thought, the struggle would turn out to be a contest between a handful of capitalists and the rest of the population, who had all become wage earners. The reason for this was that in the competition of modern industry the advantage belonged to the bigger capitalists, who would squeeze out all small and medium businessmen and force them to become wage earners. Marx believed that some form of class struggle had existed in all earlier human societies. But capitalism, he thought, would simplify matters in the end by drawing a single line of battle between workers and capitalists.

He had no doubt about its outcome. In the *Communist Manifesto* (and in other books) he and Engels, looking into the future, predicted final victory for the workers. Depressions would become increasingly severe, and the workers would suffer greater and greater exploitation. To put an end to all this, the system would have to be overhauled from top to bottom. Private owner-

ship of industry would have to be replaced by socialism; the "means of production" would have to become public property, managed by workers for their own benefit through a government of their own choosing.

Sooner or later the workers would become aware of all this and take action to get what they wanted, first through trade unions and then by organizing their own political parties. The important thing to Marx was that workers should act as a united group. In essence the *Communist Manifesto* makes this appeal: *Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain.*

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Government, Marx thought, was merely a puppet in the hands of the capitalists. So were the armed forces, the police, schools, newspapers—in fact, anything that could be used to influence people or push them around. To get what they wanted, then, the workers had to take control of the government and replace the "dictatorship of the bourgeoisie" by a "dictatorship of the proletariat." Once this was done, they could proceed to nationalize the most important industries and, in this way, put an end to the class divisions and class conflicts of modern society.

The society of the future, then, would be without classes and special privileges. Since Marx considered the state merely a tool by which the privileged class kept all others under its thumb, the state, too, would "wither away" eventually

because it would serve no useful purpose. All people would cooperate freely with one another to carry out their common tasks.

The "Classless Society"

Enough has been written for and against these ideas of Marx and Engels to fill libraries. We are interested here only in the dangers of the Communist *movement*, which takes its cue from the writings of Marx and Engels. So it is useful to take a close look at one of their many arguments, which provided the Communists with an opening wedge for one of the most oppressive dictatorships in history, imposed in the name of human freedom.

Their argument was this: *when industry is transferred from private ownership to the state or other public bodies, the result will be a "classless society."*

It takes only a little thought to knock down this argument. Under any system of production, some particular person or group of persons must bear the responsibility for the actual work of management; someone must decide what and how much to produce, and must enforce these decisions, and so on. Under a capitalist system these decisions are made by owners or managers or both. Any one manager's decision may be good or bad, but in any case it is the decision of a *private citizen*: another manager is free to decide differently.

Under a Socialist system, such decisions would still have to be made: but they would be made by a small group of people *appointed by the state* for that purpose. Therefore, these decision makers



Nikolai Lenin, left, "Father of the Russian Revolution" and first "temporary" dictator of the proletariat. Right: Workers and Red Army soldiers march past the Kremlin during the 1917 revolution.



The Communists take over in Russia.



Left: Red guards arrest a man suspected of counterrevolutionary plots. Right: Slave laborers work on a canal.

would be backed by the police power of the state as well as the economic power and management authority, which under communism are also possessed by the state. Hence, they would wield far greater power than any private capitalist, and it would be extremely hard for the workers to resist their decisions.

Obviously the safeguards needed to prevent the abuse of this combined economic and political power under Socialism would have to be far stronger than those needed under capitalism. If Socialist planners become sufficiently powerful, they can and do, allot themselves an unduly large share of the goods and services produced by the state. Moreover, they can make their own selections for positions of authority and responsibility. In any case, it is clear that public ownership is not an automatic guarantee against special class privilege.

This danger was seen by the Socialist parties that were organized in western Europe in the last quarter of the 19th century. Whether or not they took their cue from Marx, they all insisted that democracy was essential to Socialism. Therefore, they have opposed communism in all its forms. Communists, for their part, have returned the compliment by attacking the Socialists. The cleavage between the two groups, each claiming to speak for the industrial workers, is basic and dates back to the very beginning of our century, when Lenin began to build the Communist movement.

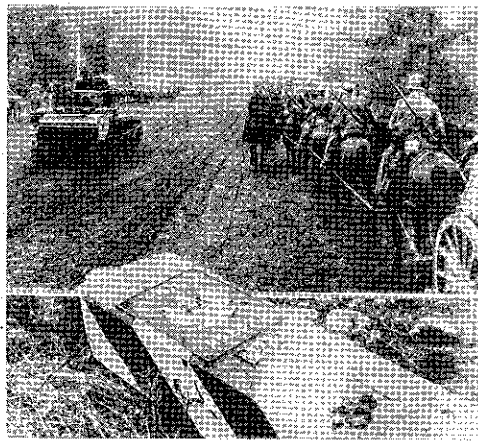
The Dictatorship of the "All-Wise Party"

It is a favorite trick of the Communists to confuse an issue by misusing familiar terms. Thus,

for example, they refer to the Soviet Union as "the most advanced type of democracy in the world." More recently, since World War II, they have used the term "People's democracies" to describe the Communist party dictatorships in China and the Red satellite states of Eastern Europe.

Available evidence convinces us that there is no democracy in these countries. Anyway, it is no secret that the basic teachings of Lenin, the founder of the Communist movement, are anything but democratic. His doctrine takes it for granted that the full truth is known only to a small group of all-wise leaders (the "vanguard," as Communists call them) organized as a closed party and prepared to take any and all steps they think necessary to put their view of this truth into effect.

The Communist belief that it is possible for a single group (their own party) to possess a monopoly of "the truth" cannot be squared with the rules of the game in a democracy. Under a democratic form of government no single group, however large, can claim that it alone knows "the truth." Democracy is a method of government which recognizes that each individual in society has his own aspirations and opinions, and which tries to discover periodically (by elections, for example) which of these ideas has a majority of the people behind it. In other words, it is a method of trial, error, and compromise, which makes it possible for many groups with different ideas to live together in peace, without permitting any one group to impose its views permanently on the rest. Democracy means a *competition* of ideas, not a



J. V. Stalin, left, second "temporary" dictator of the proletariat (1926-1953). Red imperialism in action: Center—Soviet troops invade Poland (1939); Right—the Communists seize power in Czechoslovakia.

monopoly of "the truth." Communism means the very opposite of this: it has always insisted that the full truth about society is known only to members of the Communist Party.

What Lenin Said

Indeed, we can date the beginning of modern communism from Lenin's statement of this anti-democratic faith in his pamphlet *What Is To Be Done?* (1902). In this pamphlet Lenin rejected the idea that ordinary workers could really know what was best for them. He said that ordinary workers were too shortsighted to desire socialism. They were concerned only with winning petty concessions from their employers in matters of pay, hours of work, etc. What was needed, therefore, was not a large workers' party taking its cue from what workers most desired, but a closed party of professional, full-time revolutionaries who "knew" what was best for workers. Such a party, Lenin believed, could be recruited mainly from educated groups and perhaps some self-educated workers. Its program and policies were to be decided on the basis of a superior knowledge of "the truth," which few workers could understand, and then imposed on all workers by propaganda and strong leadership.

Lenin never abandoned this teaching either before or after the revolution of 1917. It became one of the central ideas, if not *the* central idea, of the Russian Communist Party, which Lenin himself organized, and of all the Communist parties since organized in every other country.

Equally important as an indication of Communist thinking was the pamphlet *State and Revolution*, which Lenin himself wrote on the eve of the Communist revolution in Russia in 1917. He insisted in this publication that political democracy was a capitalist hoax to conceal the fact that the government was actually a capitalist dictatorship, which would not hesitate to take open action against workers once the chips were down. He therefore called for the armed overthrow of the state, to be followed by a "proletarian dictatorship" that would promptly suppress all opposing parties and opinions as attempts to restore the "capitalist" state. After a long period of socialism, this "proletarian dictatorship" would "wither away," but not until it had done its job of crushing out all possibility of opposition or criticism by any non-Communists. This, like the doctrine of a "vanguard party," is one of the basic teachings of every Communist Party. For tactical reasons, Communist parties have played it down from time to time or found some substitute formula to conceal their ultimate plans, but *State and Revolution* remains one of their sacred texts, and its teachings have never been repudiated. However, they have been modified and changed as required by changing problems.

The third doctrine that Lenin made the basis of the Communist movement has to do with international relations. In his pamphlet, *Imperialism* (1916), he repeated the usual Marxist argument that capitalist countries must seize and exploit colonies in order to find markets and outlets for their surplus capital. This, he maintained, had

caused World War I and would continue to cause wars in the future. He went on, in other writings, to point out that since the world had become a unit, almost all countries, weak and strong alike, would become involved in such wars. The first countries to crack under the strain would not necessarily be the strong "capitalist" states, but the countries with weak governments and a multitude of internal conflicts. The strategic implications for the Communist movement were clear: it could concentrate on backward areas with an equal, if not a better, chance of success than in "capitalist" countries.

COMMUNISM IN ACTION THROUGHOUT THE WORLD (1917-54)

Communism Takes Over in Russia

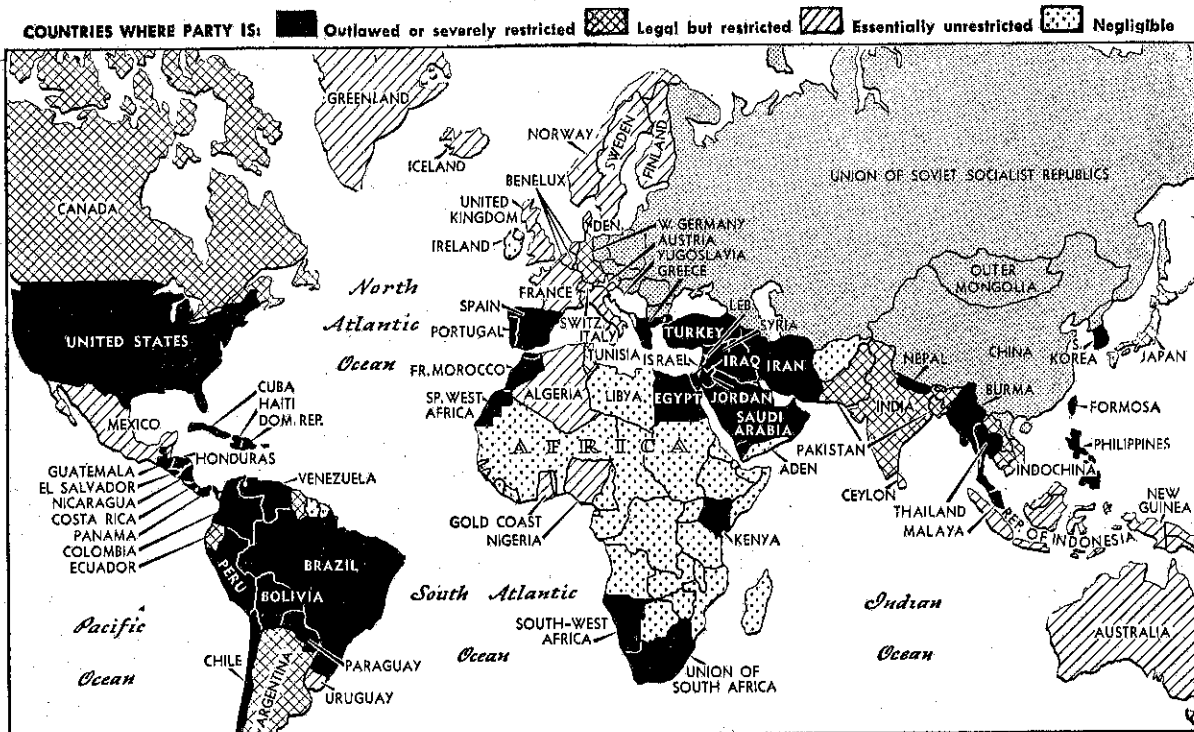
Until 1917, Communists in Russia were a very small party. Then, taking advantage of the chaos following the revolution against the Czar in March of that year, they organized a second rebellion in November which brought them to power. They quickly proceeded to put an end to all pretense of democracy. An assembly elected before the Communist uprising to write a constitution for Russia

was disbanded by force when it turned out that the Communists had polled a minority of the votes. In quick succession, all rival parties were "liquidated," non-Communist publications suppressed, and a vast system of secret police was organized to terrorize opponents.

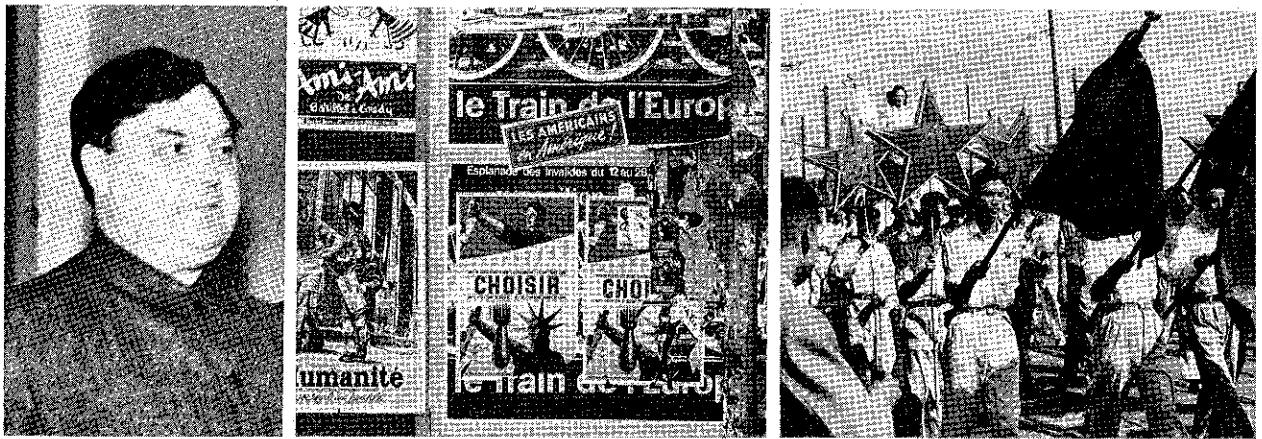
Despite the changes that have taken place since then, the Communist regime has remained true to the original model: a one-party dictatorship in which a small fraction of the population (the party numbers about 7 million today out of a population of more than 210 million) lords it over the rest of the people in all aspects of life from the cradle to the grave.

The details of what communism has done to Russia since 1917 are not the main subject of this pamphlet. But it is worth noting that the Communist regime in Russia has produced all the evils that can be detected in the Communist doctrine itself. By giving a single group a complete and permanent monopoly of power over the political, economic, and social life of the people, the regime has made life very hard for most Russians. The idea of a classless society, which communism was supposed to put into effect, is today a grim joke in the Soviet Union. In actual practice, the select

STATUS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OUTSIDE SOVIET BLOC



Courtesy New York Times



Georgi Malenkov, left, who became Soviet premier after Stalin's death. Communism at work: Center—Anti-American Communist propaganda in France; Right—A Communist youth parade in Shanghai.

few who belong to the Party constitute a privileged class that enjoys vastly higher money incomes and more of the other benefits of life than the rest of the population.

Communist Imperialism: Aims and Methods

Our main concern here, however, is not the Communist system in Russia but the international Communist movement. This movement is vitally important to all people in the free world because it represents the most dangerous and cunning form of aggressive imperialism in history. It has won successes to date—especially in Asia—mainly because its ideology has been backed up with military force, secret police, subversion, and propaganda.

In their imperialistic drive the Communist rulers of the Soviet Union have both a long-range and an immediate set of objectives. The long-range goal calls for nothing short of establishing a Communist system throughout the world. They aim at this because they are convinced that the Communist regime in the Soviet Union cannot continue to exist as long as there are hostile "capitalist" countries. Lenin, Stalin, and many other Communist leaders have repeatedly stated that sooner or later a clash between the two systems was bound to come. And this gives them their more immediate goal: to weaken other countries so as to give the Soviet Government the advantage in its dealings with them or their allies. The international Communist movement has been one of the principal levers used to achieve this purpose.

Imperialism has usually involved the use of

military force, directly or indirectly, and the Soviet Union has never hesitated to use its armies for that purpose when it thought force would succeed. Today, for example, the men of the Kremlin are the real rulers of the countries of Eastern Europe (except for Yugoslavia and Greece)—largely because the Soviet armies that occupied the key countries of this region after the defeat of Germany protected the installation in power of Communist parties faithful to the rulers of the Soviet Union.

Boring From Within: the Communist Parties Abroad

But military power is not the only weapon of Soviet imperialism. In fact, for the first 20 years of its existence, the Communist regime was too weak to use its armed forces for that purpose, except in a few minor cases. Soviet imperialism, like Nazi imperialism, employed a new technique of aggression: instead of attacking other countries from without, it proceeded to undermine them from within by using the power of ideas. Specifically, the Soviet regime organized, supported, and controlled or guided, in Europe, Asia, and in our hemisphere, Communist parties that pretended to be champions of the hopes and demands of the common people in each country.

In most countries of the world, these Communist parties found some opening wedge for their propaganda. Most of the people of the world—especially in underdeveloped areas like China, Southern Asia, etc.—were living in grinding poverty, which they refused to accept as their lot.

Even where the standard of living was higher, as in the industrial countries, there were numerous factors at work to cause unrest—depressions, low wages, and other economic hardships. Another source of dissatisfaction was the sense of injustice that workers and peasants felt when they saw great differences of wealth in their communities.

Finding this unrest readymade for them, Communists have followed a simple strategic rule: they present themselves as a purely domestic party, concerned solely with the immediate grievances and desires of the people. Most people, they realize, have little or no interest in abstract theories or in plans for the wholesale reconstruction of society; but most people do have specific and urgent grievances to which Communist propaganda can appeal.

Poor peasants in China, for example, want land of their own, lower taxes, and so forth; workers in France want higher wages—the list is almost endless. So Communists concentrate most of their energies in appealing to these grievances felt by the people. If, by doing this, they can win enough of a following to bring them to power, they can then proceed with their Communist program whether people favor it or not.

Thus the Chinese Communists succeeded, in the 1930's, in selling to the peasants in China and to many people elsewhere the idea that they were really "agrarian reformers" concerned mainly with improving the lot of the common peasant. While the Communists thus won many followers, armed might was actually needed to establish a Communist regime in China.

This strategy also has another important purpose, even when it does not bring Communists to power. If it helps them to become popular with a large section of public opinion, as is the case today in France and Italy, they can then use their influence to support any policies of their own governments that are favored by the Soviet Union, or they can try to obstruct any policies to which the Soviet Government is opposed. In doing this they are careful not to reveal their real purpose; their arguments and slogans always try to persuade their audience that this or that policy is either good or bad for their own country. But nothing is more certain than the fact that Communists everywhere have always used only one test in judging the foreign policy of their own governments: does it suit the policies of the Soviet Union? And even this has never been left to

their own judgment. The general "line" has always been proclaimed in Moscow first, and directed from the Kremlin, with the Communists all over the world taking their cue from it as quickly as they could.

Yugoslavia offers an exception to this rule. There the Communist Party has broken away from Soviet domination. Some observers believe also that the Chinese Communists enjoy a measure of independence that is not allowed Communist parties in other nations.

Generally, though, Communist parties are not domestic political parties in any sense of the word. They are merely local branches of a worldwide organization controlled by Moscow with the sole purpose of serving the interests of the Soviet Union. This is the lesson driven home, time and time again, by the history of Communist activities since the establishment of the Soviet regime in Russia.

Once the Communists were firmly in control of Russia, they proceeded in 1919 to organize the Communist International (Comintern) for precisely this purpose. Its membership consisted of Communist parties wherever they could be organized, and it was made clear from the outset that their first loyalty was to the "Communist fatherland." To make sure that this loyalty would always be observed, the rules of the Comintern required all parties seeking admission to accept without question the discipline of the International. Since the latter was really under the thumb of its Russian "section," membership in the Comintern was, of itself, an admission that a Communist party was an agent controlled and directed by the rulers of Russia.

But this was not all. In the following years, especially after Stalin established himself as the real ruler of Russia, a systematic campaign was launched to "purge" the various Communist parties throughout the world of any doubters and critics and to choose national leaders of unquestionable loyalty to Stalin. By the early 1930's this "purge" had been completed: the various national "sections" had been thoroughly "Bolshevized," to use the Communist term for full acceptance of Moscow's discipline in all matters of leadership and policy.

The result was precisely what one would expect. Without exception, the various Communist parties throughout the world faithfully echoed the "line" as proclaimed in Moscow, even when that

"line" was quite clearly a menace to the interests of their own countries. The formal organization of the Comintern was disbanded in 1943, during the war, but automatic adherence to the policies of the Soviet Union has continued to be the first duty of all Communist parties today as in the past. The Cominform—established on a smaller scale than the Comintern in 1947—is one of the chief mouthpieces through which the Kremlin today makes its wishes known to these Communist parties.

A Look at History

The real nature and purpose of these Communist parties as agents of the Soviet Union is best revealed in their history during the last 30 years. During the first few years (1919–24), Lenin and other leaders in the Soviet Union believed that the rest of Europe would soon follow the Russian example. Therefore, they proclaimed "revolutionary action" as the order of the day, and the other Communist parties fell into line, even actually organizing armed uprisings in Germany. These were quickly suppressed.

Moscow then shifted to a new policy of moderation, and again the other "sections" of the Comintern readjusted themselves to the new "line." From 1924 to 1928 they busied themselves with consolidating their organizations and trying to recruit a larger following in trade unions and other organizations. The cue from Moscow changed for a third time in 1928 in favor of a return to "militant action." This was because the Communist leaders expected that economic depression would drive people to despair and violence. Again all Communist parties changed their own "line" accordingly, and in China armed uprisings were actually undertaken, though without success.

After 1933, when it became clear that the rise of the Nazis in Germany and the Japanese aggression in China might present a military threat to the Soviet Union, the line changed again. In 1935 the Comintern proclaimed the need for a "united front" in which all parties and other groups opposed to fascism should join forces to oppose its further progress. Again, Communists everywhere changed their policy with lightning speed and, dropping the more extreme aspects of their program, declared themselves ready to cooperate with all other anti-Fascist groups. In

France, they formed a "united front" with their chief rivals of former days, the Socialists; in China they entered a similar arrangement with the Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek, and even made a show of suspending their own guerrilla operations; in the United States they supported the domestic reforms and the then-current foreign policy which they had previously denounced as frauds.

So it went throughout the world until 1939. Then, without prior warning, the Soviet Government suddenly signed a nonaggression pact with Germany, giving the latter the green light for its attack on Poland and the Second World War, which followed a few days later. Soon the Soviets also invaded Poland from the east. Poland, quickly beaten, was divided between Germany and the U. S. S. R. Then the Soviets attacked Finland, taking land and forcing other concessions from the Finns.

As was to be expected, the Communist line changed throughout the world. Reds everywhere were now denouncing the struggle against Germany as an "imperialist war" and were sabotaging the war effort in all allied countries. But this line lasted less than 2 years. When the Nazis invaded the U. S. S. R. in June 1941, it shifted overnight. The "imperialist war" became a "people's war," a "war of national liberation," etc. In all the allied countries, Communists suddenly became patriots. Where they had been sabotaging the war effort, now they were intent on "seeing it through" to victory.

The wartime version of "united front" lasted only as long as the interests of the U. S. S. R. demanded. Post-World War II Russian policy was openly directed against their western wartime allies in an attempt to gain for Russia control of major parts of Europe and Asia. The line changed again for all Communist parties. Since 1947, the line has echoed each and every propaganda tune sounded in Moscow. The Western powers are now represented as plotters of a new war against the Soviet Union and the "people's democracies." Moscow decreed that the chief objective of the Communist parties was to mobilize public opinion in the countries of the West against any and all policies that would make these countries able to resist Soviet aggression.

The Communist Bag of Tricks

It goes without saying that through all these

zigzags of policy none of the Communist slogans was ever presented to their audiences as exclusively, or even primarily, on behalf of the Soviet Union. On the contrary, the attempt is always to persuade the people of each country that its Communist Party seeks only to support the interests of the majority of its people. The success of such attempts has varied from time to time and from country to country, but it would be a dangerous mistake to judge the capabilities of a Communist Party solely by its membership or by the size of the vote it obtains during elections.

Communist Parties: Agents of the Soviet Union

Communist parties, being agents of the Soviet Union, do not confine themselves to the work of ordinary political parties. In addition to spreading general propaganda of the type described above, they also perform a number of functions that are either downright illegal or contrary to the rules of political fair play and open dealing.

The most notorious of illegal Communist activities is espionage. As citizens of their countries, native Communists may be in a position to acquire information not normally available to the Soviet Union. If Communists work in defense plants, or live in the vicinity of military installations, or occupy key positions in government agencies, they can, by concealing their political affiliations, sometimes come into possession of vital secrets. When they transmit these secrets to agents of the Soviet Union, they not only seriously weaken the defensive capacity of their own country, they are traitors. In the period since World War II sensational instances of such espionage have come to light, indicating that this is not merely an occasional thing but a systematic and continuous activity, as important to Communists as their open political propaganda.

Planning and Conducting Armed Uprisings

The other form of illegal activity that Communists follow, when conditions permit, is the preparation and conduct of armed uprisings. The most famous and successful instance of this is, of course, the seizure of power by the Chinese Communists in 1949, after 20 years of guerrilla operations against the existing government. In the chaos and unrest of the postwar period, local Communists used the same method in Indochina.

COMMUNIST MEMBERSHIP OUTSIDE THE SOVIET BLOC

ITALY	1,700,000
FRANCE	450,000
W. GERMANY & BERLIN	195,000
JAPAN	80,000
AUSTRIA	60,000
BRAZIL	60,000
ARGENTINA	*30,000
CHILE	*50,000
INDIA	40,000
UNITED KINGDOM	*34,801
NETHERLANDS	33,000
BELGIUM	30,000
CUBA	*30,000
FINLAND	30,000
SWEDEN	30,000
UNITED STATES	25,000
GREECE	20,000
VENEZUELA	*27,000
ALGERIA	15,000
INDONESIA	15,000

*Claimed by Communist Party

SOURCE: "Strength of the International Communist Movement," issued by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, May 1954.

They are still following this strategy in Burma, Malaya, and other areas of Southeast Asia.

Communist Fronts

Finally, Communists have made a fine art of one method of political propaganda intended to attract sincere but unwary non-Communists. It is the old stratagem of selling a bill of goods under a false label. Communists know that large numbers of people will not support a program or an organization if they know that it is Communist. To get around this obstacle, a skillful Communist leader can organize a special organization—under a new and attractive label, but with a pro-Communist line. The key positions are held, of course, by Communists or Communist sympathizers, and outsiders famous in their own occupations are often duped into endorsing its activities. The number of such “front” organizations has always been legion,* and their result has been to increase support of the Communist movement far beyond the number of actual Communists. Generally, the Communists form such “front” organizations to appeal to special groups in the population—workers, women, students, or professional people—and they fit their programs to the needs of each of these groups. The World Federation of Trade Unions is one of the most important of such “front” organizations operating internationally; another is the World Federation of Democratic Youth, and still another is the Partisans of Peace. All three have grown up since World War II and have spearheaded Communist propaganda throughout the world.

Where, for any reason, this method is not successful, Communists frequently use another variation of the same trick: they “infiltrate” non-Communist organizations. They join these organizations as individuals and attempt, by skillful

*For a listing of these in the United States today, see *Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications* (H. Doc. 137, 82d Cong., 1st sess.), Washington, 1951.

planning and maneuvering, to capture the key positions. They can then line up such organizations behind Communist drives, especially when the non-Communist members are unaware of Communist plans or indifferent to the welfare of their own organizations. Trade unions have been a special target for this technique of “infiltration,” but it has also been used effectively in other types of organization.

To Sum Up . . .

Soviet imperialism depends, as we have seen, on two principal elements for its strength. These are—

1. Its own military strength and that of its satellites.
2. Communist parties that do the bidding of Moscow.

Whenever conditions seem favorable, Communists are ready to use their military might to conquer other areas. They demonstrated this in Korea and Indochina. To combat such open and direct aggression, our Government has built up its armed defensive strength and has joined with other countries of the free world to help them do the same. In the final analysis, this explains why you, as a member of our Armed Forces, are an important part of America’s resistance to Soviet communism.

At the same time, we face the threat of communism in the free nations, with the Communist parties doing just what Moscow dictates. Through these parties, Soviet communism conspires against the countries in which they are established. These parties engage in espionage and sabotage; they spread propaganda; they establish fake front organizations and infiltrate established groups, hoping to capture control and use them for Communist ends. In short, Soviet communism uses every kind of “dirty dealing” in its attempts to overthrow your Government and set up its own dictatorship.

Summary...

I. INTRODUCTION

A. The basic aim of international communism is to enable Soviet rulers to control the world.

II. BIRTH AND GROWTH OF COMMUNISM

A. The idea of communism goes far back into history.

B. Modern communism was born in the early 1800's, when Western Europe was shifting from an agricultural to an industrial economy.

III. INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION ACCEPTED TODAY

A. The system of free enterprise known as capitalism was produced by the Industrial Revolution.

B. This system has enabled workers to attain a high standard of living.

C. There are still such urgent problems as war and economic cycles.

IV. KARL MARX CALLS FOR A NEW ECONOMIC SYSTEM

A. Communist doctrine is outlined in the *Communist Manifesto* (1847) and *Capital* (1867).

B. Marx believed the basic fault of capitalism was capitalists' ownership and use of "means of production and exchange" for their own profit.

V. THE "CLASS STRUGGLE" LEADING TO REVOLUTION

A. Marx predicted a continuous struggle between capitalists and wage earners with final victory for the workers.

B. He believed that capitalist government would be replaced by a "dictatorship of the proletariat."

C. Under this system, state ownership would replace private ownership.

VI. THE "CLASSLESS" SOCIETY

A. The "dictatorship" would continue to exist until the state is no longer needed and a "classless" society has been achieved.

B. Socialists oppose communism in principle.

VII. DICTATORSHIP OF THE "ALL-WISE" PARTY

A. Communist rule is the opposite of democracy.

B. Communists believe truth is known only to a small group of all-wise leaders.

VIII. WHAT LENIN SAID

A. According to Lenin, ordinary workers are too shortsighted to desire Communism.

B. The answer, he believed, is a relatively small, closed party of full-time revolutionaries.

C. Lenin called for the armed overthrow of capitalism.

IX. COMMUNISM TAKES OVER IN RUSSIA

A. A Communist dictatorship was set up by force in 1917.

X. COMMUNIST IMPERIALISM

A. Its long-range goal: a Communist system all over the world.

B. Its immediate aim: to weaken other countries and their allies to the advantage of the U. S. S. R.

C. Communist parties pretend to be domestic political parties supporting local issues and reforms.

D. Actually, they serve Soviet interests.

XI. A LOOK AT HISTORY

A. From 1919 to 1924 the Communists followed a policy of "revolutionary action."

B. Moderation, organization, and recruitment were emphasized from 1924 to 1928.

C. The depression of the 1930's brought a return to "militant action."

D. During World War II, the Communists sponsored "united fronts" and cooperation with anti-Fascists.

XII. THE COMMUNIST BAG OF TRICKS

A. Communists always seize on local issues as a coverup for their true intentions.

B. Communist parties are agents of the Soviet Union, engaging in nonpolitical and illegal activities.

C. Most important of these is systematic espionage for the Soviet Union.

D. Communists are constantly ready to conduct armed uprisings when conditions permit.

E. Communists create "front" organizations with innocent-sounding names to trap the unwary.

F. They frequently "infiltrate" non-Communist organizations and maneuver to capture key positions.

A PATTERN OF AGGRESSION

IN EVERY EUROPEAN NATION TAKEN OVER BY COMMUNISTS

1 THE PRESENCE OF SOVIET TROOPS WAS A THREAT TO EXISTING GOVERNMENT

2 THE COMMUNIST PARTY REPRESENTED A MINORITY OF THE PEOPLE

3 COMMUNISTS TOOK POWER WITHOUT ELECTIONS, OR THROUGH "RIGGED" ELECTIONS

4 THE NEW GOVERNMENTS WERE DOMINATED BY THE U. S. S. R. - BROKE TIES WITH NON-COMMUNIST NEIGHBORS

5 NEW GOVERNMENTS ADOPTED AND ECHOED SOVIET PROPAGANDA AGAINST WESTERN DEMOCRACIES

6 THE NEW GOVERNMENTS FEATURED LEADERS TRAINED IN THE U.S.S.R.

