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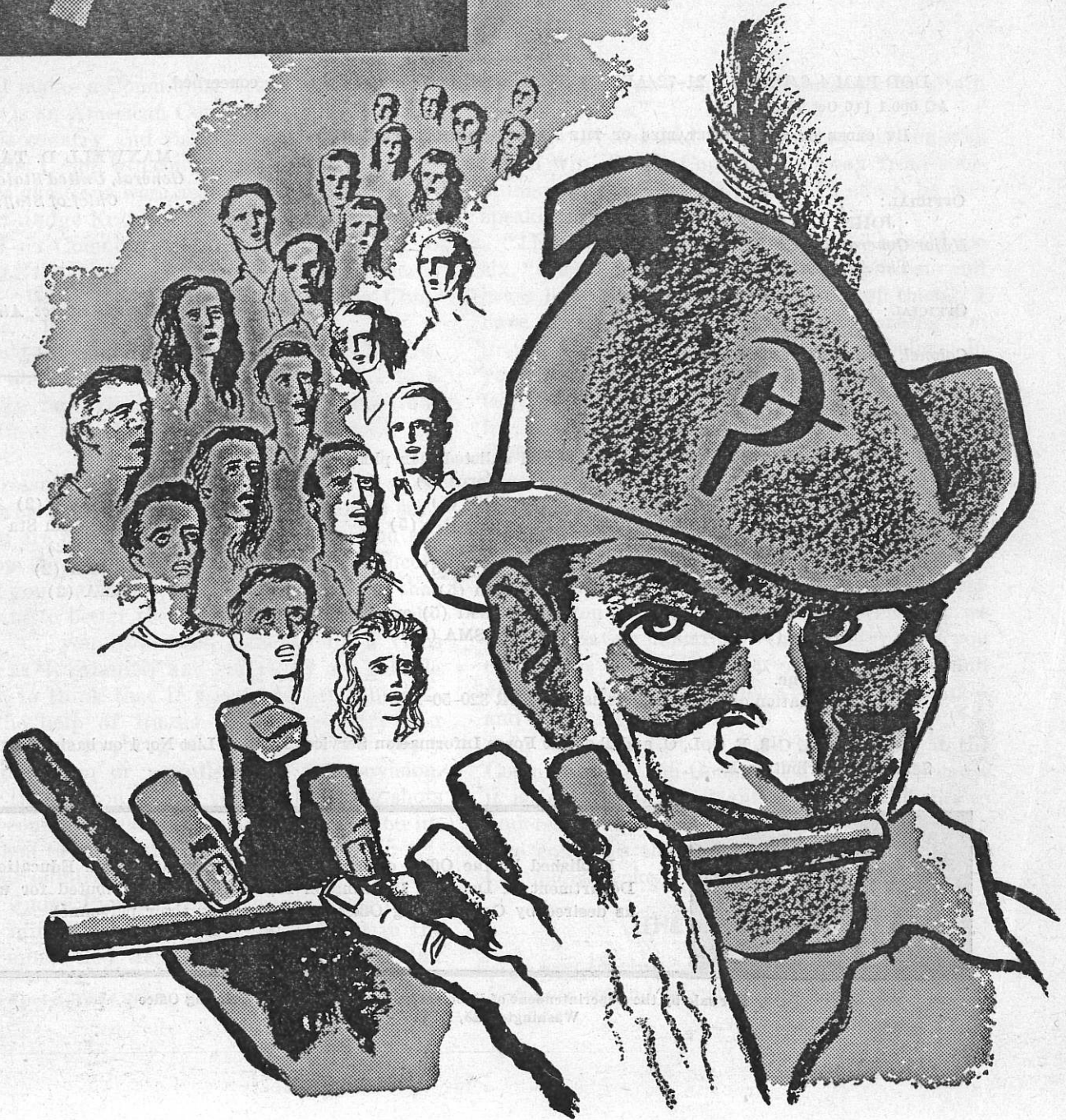
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KNOW YOUR COMMUNIST ENEMY

WHO ARE COMMUNISTS AND WHY ?



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON

8 December 1955

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

Maxwell D. Taylor



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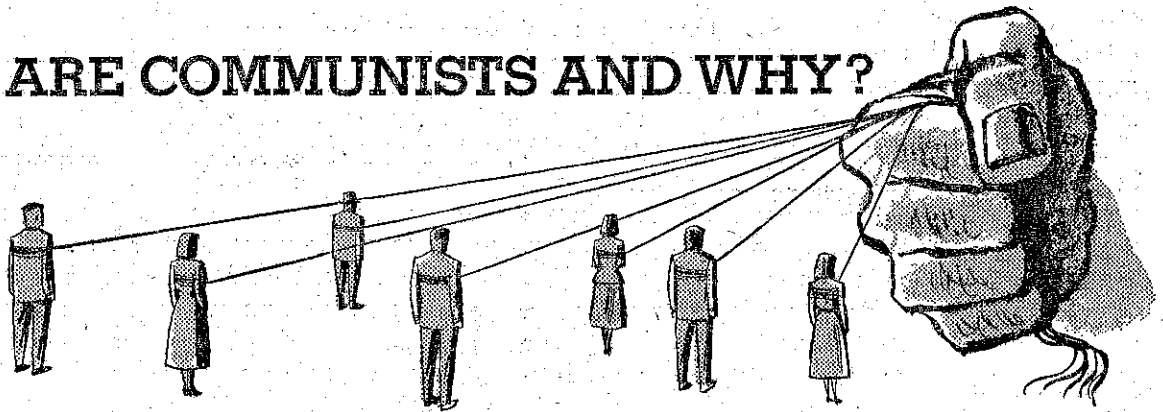
Sections C-1, C-3, F, G, L, O, and T of Air Force Information Services Mailing List No. 1 on basis of Information Services Distribution X.

**KNOW YOUR
COMMUNIST
ENEMY**

Published by the Office of Armed Forces Information and Education,
Department of Defense, Washington 25, D. C., and distributed for use
as desired by Commanding Officers in informing their personnel.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D. C. - 10 cents

WHO ARE COMMUNISTS AND WHY?



What makes a Communist tick?

Why is an American Communist willing to betray his country and risk his own neck to help the Soviet Union win control of our Nation?

These questions were asked frequently of U. S. District Judge Frank A. Picard after the Detroit trial of six Communist leaders for conspiring to advocate the violent overthrow of our Government. "What kind of persons are these Communists?" he was asked.¹

"You'd be surprised," said Judge Picard. "They don't have horns. They are sincere in a way. In fact, their sincerity is the thing that ruins them because it has led them beyond the law."

Addressing the six before sentencing them on 19 February 1954, Judge Picard had this to say:

"You are not ignorant people at all. You are far from stupid. . . . I think that you are sincere in that you really believe in communism and that you want to better the lot of the so-called proletariat. . . . you have been attacked by a virus known as 'Russianitis' and you really are gullible enough to think that if you could get control—with the help of Russia—of this country you would be able to shrug off Russia and then enjoy the millennium or paradise that you envision. Either that or you believe you would be big shots in this country as part of a world organization independent to some extent of Russia."

"Your admiration for Russia is so great," continued Judge Picard, "that there isn't any doubt in my mind, and there wasn't any doubt in the jury's mind, that there is nothing you wouldn't

do—lie, cheat, or even worse—in order to attain your objectives."

Judge Picard had no hope that his remarks would win the six Communists away from communism. He made this plain. In effect, he was speaking for the record.

"There were times during the trial," he told the six, "when I felt you just despised capitalists and brass hats because you weren't one of them. I have discarded that thought. This morning I'm giving you the benefit of saying you believe in your cause, but whether you do or not is immaterial, for that cause has so engulfed your thinking, so dominated your every move to the extent that five of you took the stand and lied about what you believe because you thought the end justified the means. . . . You really think you are martyrs. But you're not going to jail for your belief. . . . You're going to jail because you want to force those beliefs on others. . . . As I said to you in the charge, you can believe anything—even that we ought to have a monarch in this country—but you can't force those beliefs on others by force and violence. So you're not martyrs—you're goats—and Russian goats at that."

In this pamphlet we shall take a look at the Communists in non-Communist countries, because it is both more important and more difficult to understand why people become Communists in free countries than in those already under the Communist yoke.

THE HARD CORE

In considering what kinds of people become Communists and why they do, we must make a dis-

¹U. S. News & World Report, 19 March 1954.

inction between the "hard core" of fanatic, dedicated Communists and the rank-and-file Party members, many of whom leave the Party after a few years.

The hard core is much the same the world over. In this group are the leaders of the national Communist parties, whose names you often see in the newspapers. They are the key men of the Party. Here also are the underground Communists, whose names you never see and who are unknown even to most members, unless they are exposed or leave the Party and reveal their former membership. The underground includes espionage agents and those who keep their Party membership secret in order to join non-Communist organizations for the purpose of maneuvering the Communist Party into control of them.

The typical, professional Communist joined the Party as a young man because he was deeply dissatisfied with the world around him. He had either lost or never had a religious faith. He saw, and may have experienced, some of the injustices that exist in any imperfect human society. He read Karl Marx and Lenin and discovered a "science" that told him capitalism was the cause of all injustice. For him, it was a satisfactory "science"; he accepted its explanations of everything that had ever happened and would happen in the future. The Communist scriptures declared to him that the evils of capitalism are a basic part of the system and cannot be corrected by reforms. A revolution of the working class was necessary, according to Red doctrine, to sweep away the whole social and economic system, bring about a Communist state, and create a world of justice and peace.

The young recruit learned that to bring about this society required complete dedication to the cause, and he was thrilled by the thought of joining in a movement that involved danger and self-sacrifice, but would result in a new "heaven on earth."

Whittaker Chambers, in his book *Witness*,² describes his conversion to communism in 1925 when he was a student at Columbia University. He had been to Europe and seen the destruction and misery caused by World War I. He believed a second world war was coming. The world seemed to him to be dying. After reading Karl Marx and especially some of the works of Lenin and other

² Random House, Inc., New York, 1952.

leaders of the Russian Revolution, he concluded that communism was the only practical answer to what he called the "crisis of the 20th century." He justified to himself the use of terror and dictatorship to defend the socialist revolution. Here are his words:

"The ultimate choice I made was not for theory or party. It was . . . a choice against death and for life. I asked only the privilege of serving humbly and selflessly that force which from death could evoke life, that might save . . . what was savable in a society that had lost the will to save itself. I was willing to accept communism in whatever terms it presented itself, to follow the logic of its course wherever it might lead me, and to suffer the penalties without which nothing in life can be achieved. For it offered me what nothing else in the dying world had power to offer at the same intensity—faith and a vision, something for which to live and something for which to die. It demanded of me those things which have always stirred what is best in men—courage, poverty, self-sacrifice, discipline, intelligence, my life, and, at need, my death."

The individual who completely surrenders himself to communism, as if to a religion, soon learns to accept all of its dogmas without question. Those he doesn't understand he takes on faith. For him, the Soviet leaders are the only true interpreters of the faith. From the moment a person joins the Party, he is plunged into so much activity that he has no time to think for himself. New members who show promise through energetic carrying out of assigned tasks and acceptance of discipline rise higher in the organization.

Soon the Communist Party becomes their whole life. All their friends are Communists, and they are cut off from the outside world in spirit, if not in flesh. For they are the chosen few who are destined to lead the revolution.

Since the dedicated Communist has surrendered his power of independent judgment to his leaders, he accepts the Party dogma that the Soviet Union, as the motherland of communism, must be defended and all of its policies approved. He learns to view and judge the U. S. S. R. in a different way from other countries. He knows that all is not perfect there; but he believes that is because the U. S. S. R. is faced by hostile capitalist countries that seek to destroy it. For that reason,

every good Communist must help to strengthen the Soviet Union and do all in his power to weaken the forces opposed to it.

The wholly indoctrinated Communist has learned that there is no place in the Communist Party for pity or outside loyalties. He accepts the twists and turns of the Party line and justifies them as clever tactics planned by the all-wise leaders in the Kremlin. He judges every action coldly in the light of whether it serves the Party.

He learns skill in deception, skill in manipulating unsuspecting people for Party purposes. It becomes easy for him to say one thing and mean another, to lie, and to commit treason against his country, and to become a spy for the Soviet Union.

The habit of obedience becomes second nature to him. He accepts any task, no matter how distasteful to his private feelings. He will go anywhere he is ordered to go at a moment's notice, to another city or another country. He will accept any sacrifice—persecution, imprisonment, exile, even death. Worst of all, he has accepted the corruption of his own character, of which he may or may not become aware.

This hard-core Communist has almost ceased to be a human being. Ex-Communists have told how members who moved into the inner Party became hard, ruthless, cold, and remote. Whatever idealism they had when they joined the Party became warped and twisted into something very close to cynicism. For at the top, the ideal of social justice long ago disappeared into complete subservience to the will of the Communist masters in the Kremlin.

But the deep-dyed Communist who has given his life to the Party may not admit this to himself. He lives in a closed world in which all good is within the Party, and the world outside is all evil. What promotes communism is good and is not to be judged by the moral standards of the outside world. He is in a war against that world, and in that war all means are fair that will help to defeat the enemy. If his conscience ever troubles him for the lies he tells and the deceptions he practices, he stifles it under the hard shell of faith in the leadership of the Soviet Union. This faith has become his second skin. His nakedness without it is too painful to contemplate.

It is possible that there may be some hard-core Communists who have lost their illusions about the Party but remain loyal to it because they have

COMMUNIST BREEDING GROUNDS



CHAOS AND CONFUSION RESULTING FROM WAR



DEPRESSION ... ECONOMICILLS ...



HUNGER AND MISERY

become completely corrupted and enjoy the sense of power it gives them.

Leaving the Party

Do any of these hard-core Communists ever leave the Party except by expulsion from it? The answer is, yes, some do. Of course, according to Party rules, a top member never resigns from the Party—he is kicked out, and in Communist-ruled countries he may be executed as well. But there have been a number of important Party members who, after a long period of doubt about the aims and practices of the Party, were finally disillusioned enough to get out.

Whittaker Chambers, whose conversion to communism was described earlier, was a loyal, trusted Party member for 12 years. Half of those years he spent in working to obtain secret U. S. Government documents for Soviet agents. Commenting about his moment of change, Chambers said:

"I can no longer retrace with certainty the stages of my inner earthquake or distinguish its successive shocks. I did not know what had happened to me. I denied the very existence of a soul. But I said: 'This is evil, absolute evil. Of this evil I am a part.'" And from that moment he was no longer a Communist.

Other similar "changes of heart" could be cited from countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain. However, as we would expect, there is far less defection from the Communist Party by Party leaders and underground agents than by rank-and-file members. The leaders are more thoroughly indoctrinated, and their commitment to the Party is deeper. Threats of persecution and blackmail by the Party against those who might be tempted to break away, and the difficulties of starting a new life outside, keep some in who would leave if they dared.

THE RANK-AND-FILE

Since most of us have probably never seen or known a Communist, here are a few findings that apply to Communists in general. These should help us get a perspective on the movement in relation to its rank-and-file members.

First, most members join the Party when they are young—usually in their late teens and early twenties. The Party's greatest appeal everywhere is to those young people who have not yet found meaning and direction for their lives.

Second, there is a very high turnover in Party membership, many staying in only 2 or 3 years. In the United States, for example, it has been estimated that 700,000 persons have joined and left the Communist Party since it was founded in 1919. Peak membership was 100,000; today there are less than 25,000 members. In countries like France and Italy, which have large parties, there is constant movement into and out of the Party.

Third, most members are not indoctrinated in Marxism or in the real aims of the Communist Party before they join it. Immediately after joining, the recruit is drawn into activities. Thus he is made to feel a part of the Party, even though he does not understand its inner workings or its real aims and purposes. Later he is given all kinds of slogans that are supposed to explain communism and his role in the movement. He learns to repeat these slogans. If he uses the right one, he is "on the beam." If he uses the wrong one, he is off. Thus most Party members are kept busy with activities and slogans.

Some members gradually become aware of the real purpose of the Party and accept it. They are then ready to move into the inner Party circle and join the hard core of conspirators. Or, as in the case of many rank-and-file members, they may smell a rat, be repelled by the smell of it, and start on the path of disillusionment that takes them out of the Party. Others may simply become bored and drift away from the Party, as was the case with many U. S. Party members.

Although the "fellow traveler" is not actually a member of the Communist Party, he deserves mention in passing. He is in sympathy with some, if not all, of the aims of the Communist Party. He flits around the Party as a moth does around a candle flame, and sometimes he gets burned. He may be a leader in some Communist "front" organization, or he may be active in other fields in which the Communists are interested. Regardless of his motives or intentions, he performs many acts that help the Communists.

APPEALS OF COMMUNISM

How can a movement that demands the complete surrender of one's individuality appeal to the many people who have accepted it?

The noted British historian, Arnold J. Toynbee, gives three answers to this question. He says that the Communist movement "is formidable because

it makes a powerful appeal to at least three different publics. It appeals (a) to weaklings who long for clear-cut and authoritative answers to all questions, both on matters of fact and on issues of conduct; (b) to idealists who long to devote themselves to some great supra-personal public cause which will take them out of themselves; (c) to 'natives' who long to find a short cut to catching up with the West in material efficiency and power. Of these three publics, (b) is influential out of all proportion to its numbers; (a) and (c), which overlap, include, between them, the great majority of the human race."^a

To these three categories of people may be added a fourth: poverty-stricken people in Western countries who have lost hope that social and economic conditions under their governments will improve. For many such people, the Communist Party offers an outlet for protest *against* something rather than a positive program *for* something. This explains much of the appeal of communism in France and Italy.

In analyzing the appeals of communism under these classifications, we must remember: motives that impel a person to act in a certain way are seldom simple and clear cut, but are usually mixed. For example, some of the maladjusted individuals, whom Toynbee calls weaklings, may also be idealists, and their purpose in joining the Communist Party may combine a desire to escape from their personal problems with a desire to right the world's ills. However, for our purpose, these four classifications are a useful guide in sorting out the kinds of people who become Communists.

The Maladjusted

The Communist Party in the United States offers the best example of communism's appeal to what one writer on the subject calls "damaged souls."

This is in part because the U. S. Party never became the working-class Party it tried to become in its early years. Some of its leaders came from the ranks of labor, and the Communists did gain control of some labor unions, but in so doing they never won the allegiance of rank-and-file union members to communism. In some unions, there were thorough housecleanings when the members finally realized what had happened. In others,

^a "Toynbee Answers Ten Basic Questions," *New York Times Magazine*, 20 February 1955.

where Communist control was stronger, loyal members dropped out. Any way you look at it, communism made comparatively few converts among the workers of the United States. The Communist appeal to class hatred has little meaning in the United States. An energetic worker can, and often does, become a capitalist himself. A capitalist may lose everything he has and begin again as a worker. The great majority of workers in this country have believed—and proved—that they could achieve their goals of improved economic and social status within our democratic, capitalistic system.

During the 1930's the Party did attract a number of members from the white-collar and professional occupations. Probably most of them joined for idealistic reasons, which will be discussed in the next section. But a number were socially maladjusted persons, failures of one sort or another, for whom the Party seemed to be the answer to their personal problems.

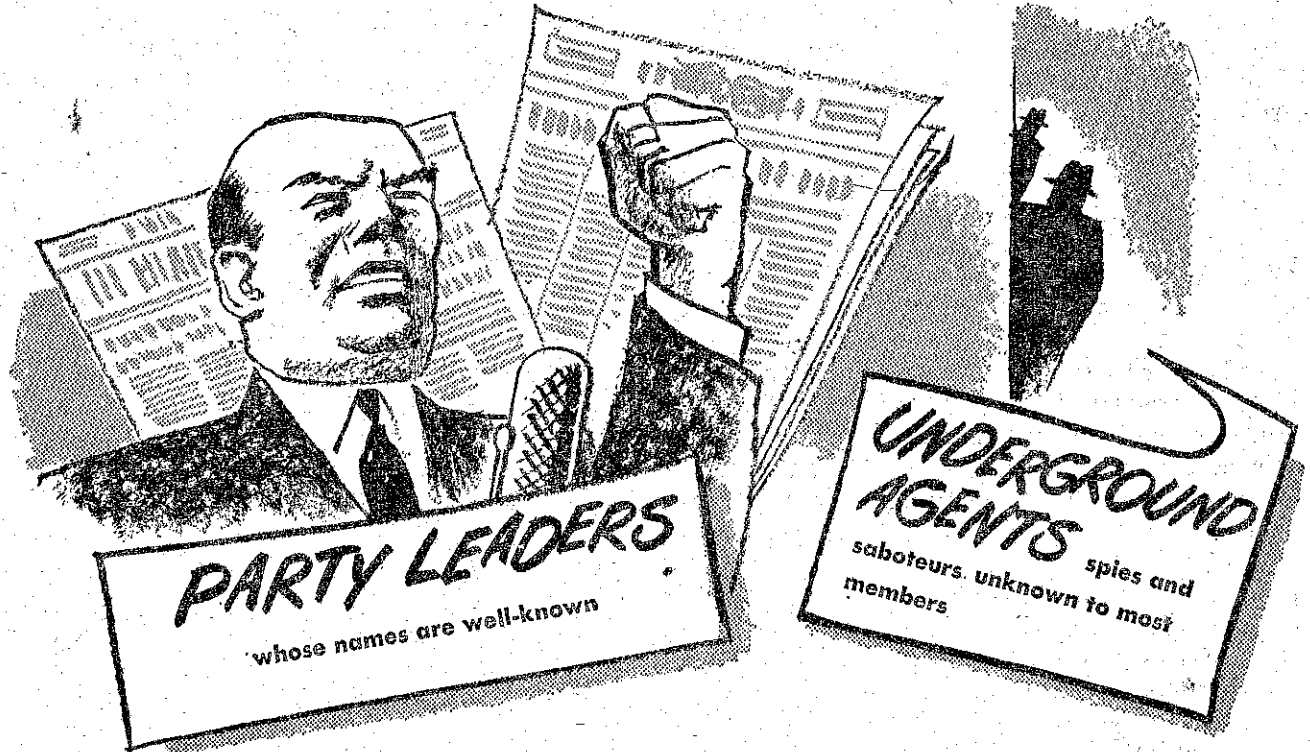
Some U. S. Party members have been first-generation Americans who found it difficult to become assimilated into American life. Often they were in conflict with the traditions and culture of their foreign-born parents. Some belonged to minority groups who felt discriminated against. Their feelings of insecurity and rejection might be expressed in a hostile, resentful attitude toward society. So they joined the Communist Party, which also had a hostile, destructive attitude toward society. The Party, which was an outcast in American life, was a natural haven for some individuals who felt themselves to be outcasts.

The Communist Party has attracted lonely frustrated young people who have difficulty making friends. Usually unattractive, unpopular, and lacking humor, they have found comradeship in the Party. It helps to raise their self-esteem, and they enjoy feeling superior to the outside non-Communist world where they were so unhappy. The Party welcomes them and makes them feel needed.

Studies of the family backgrounds of nearly 300 American ex-Communists have revealed a larger than average number of suicides, desertions, and divorces. In some of these cases the Communist Party seemed to offer stability and roots that were lacking in the family.

Studies have also revealed that many Communists are weak, submissive, dependent persons,

The HARD CORE COMMUNISTS include:



who want to be told what to do and what to think. The dictatorial character of the Communist Party appeals to them. It relieves them of personal responsibility for their thoughts and actions. The Party has all the answers, it gives orders, and they are happy to obey, asking no questions, but feeling useful and important in doing humble tasks.

What does the Communist Party give to these maladjusted souls that they could not find in another organization? Although many of them came from religious homes, they have become indifferent to religion. Yet they need to believe in something. For these, the Communist Party has replaced the church. It gives them a faith, a doctrine, and a discipline.

Finally, many of the emotionally maladjusted persons who have joined the Communist Party are running away from facing the problem of what is wrong in themselves by attacking what they think is wrong in society. The Party gives them a fine opportunity to attack society. The Party

is always belligerent, always attacking something, always defying established authority. Hatred is a dominant emotion in communism. And in the eyes of Party members it has moral reasons for hate. Through the Party, the maladjusted individual who is inwardly rebellious and antagonistic toward society can vent his pent-up resentments without feeling guilty.

The Idealists

In his book, *Where We Came Out*,⁴ Granville Hicks, author and former teacher, has explained why a number of American intellectuals became Communists in the 1930's. The group for which he speaks was not composed of the social misfits and failures. By and large, he says, "they were men and women who were doing well in their professions and seemed to be as stable and as happy in their personal lives as the average non-Communist."

⁴ Viking Press, New York, 1954.

Most of this group joined the Party after 1935 when the Communists promoted the Popular Front against fascism, and the Party reached its highest membership—100,000. Before this, however, there were some factors in American life and in the world situation that inclined some young, educated Americans to take a sympathetic view of the Soviet experiment with communism.

First, some were disillusioned with events that followed World War I, which the United States had entered "to make the world safe for democracy." Many Americans viewed the Versailles Peace Treaty and the failure of the United States to join the League of Nations as a betrayal of that ideal. Some of our young men and women became ardent pacifists. Some were highly critical of a political and economic system that they thought produced wars.

Second, during the prosperous 1920's, a few young idealists were alienated from what, to them, seemed primarily a "big business" civilization. They felt that there were more important things in life than making money.

Then came the financial crash of 1929, followed by a severe depression, with millions thrown out of work. These young critics became convinced that capitalism had broken down, and, like Humpty Dumpty, couldn't be put together again. They had been attracted to socialism in the twenties because its advocacy of state ownership of the means of production, to be achieved by democratic methods, seemed reasonable to them. But the socialist program no longer seemed adequate. To quote Hicks: "A socialism of deeds, not of words, was what we were looking for, and it was true that the Communists were active in every strike and every unemployment demonstration and that they were being beaten and jailed and sometimes killed. By comparison the Socialists seemed tame and ineffectual."

At this time, about all that these sympathizers with communism knew about the Soviet Union was that the Communists had taken over the Government and socialized the means of production. They knew that the U. S. S. R. was not a paradise, but thought it was doing very well. What impressed them most was the Soviet claim that there was no unemployment in the U. S. S. R. What impressed them about American Communists was "their absolute devotion to the cause." Even though, as Hicks says, "we didn't like them

very well . . . they did get results." So the young radicals read Marx and Engels and Lenin, and were convinced that they had the key to history.

It was the big switch in the Party line in 1935 that brought many Communist sympathizers, including Mr. Hicks, into the Party. Hitler's rise to power and growing threat produced a change in Soviet tactics, which was embodied in the concept of the Popular Front. Communists were told to cooperate with any group that was fighting fascism. The U. S. Party took in anyone who wanted to join. It dropped its revolutionary propaganda for nationalist propaganda. One of its slogans was "Communism is 20th-century Americanism." Communist leaders quoted the Declaration of Independence and said communism was in the tradition of the American Revolution.

Hicks says, "It never occurred to me at the time that the new line was really a trick, a device for strengthening Soviet foreign policy. When I joined the Party, it was not because I wanted to help Russia, though I had friendly feelings toward the Soviet Union both as an example of working socialism and as the chief enemy of fascism. Nor was it because I desired the overthrow of the Government of the United States. . . . I joined the Party because, as a convinced Marxist, I was in agreement with what I believed to be its ultimate aim—the socialization of the means of production—and especially because it seemed to be leading the struggle against fascism." He had no knowledge, he says, of Communist espionage while he was in the Party, though, as he and all of us learned later, some American Communists were at that time spying for the Soviet Union in our Government.

It was the Nazi-Soviet nonaggression pact of 1939 that opened the eyes of thousands of Party members (including Hicks), here and abroad. The Party leaders in every country waited to get the new line from Moscow, then immediately made a right-about-face and called a halt to the anti-Fascist crusade. This was an awful shock to the idealists who had accepted the mask of the Party for its real face. It was now clear, even to them, that the national Communist parties were completely under the domination of Moscow and that it was their primary duty to serve the interests of

the Soviet Union. The idealists had been played for suckers, and most of them knew it.

"The great evil of communism," says Hicks now, "is not that it uses vicious persons, as it sometimes does, but that it corrupts good ones. . . . Most of them, fortunately, got out of the Party before they were wholly corrupted, but not all."

Communism never again had much of an appeal to American intellectuals, even during the period of the Soviet-American alliance in World War II. Postwar Soviet policy has reduced its appeal practically to the vanishing point.

This story, with individual variations, is the story of many former Communists in many countries. But there remain in the Party everywhere some sincere but perverted idealists who are unable, or refuse, to face the truth about communism. The longer they stay in the Party, the stronger their faith grows because it has become their only reason for living.

People in a Hurry To Catch Up

In Asia, where millions of people live in great poverty and illiteracy, communism has made some headway among those who are looking for a shortcut to more food, better living conditions, and industrial development. Asians are anxious to catch up with the West, and some of them are impatient. These don't want to wait for results from the slow ways of democracy. They are fooled by the Communist promise of results tomorrow—not a week from tomorrow.

These "people in a hurry" see in the Soviet Union the example of a once-backward country that became a strong industrial country in a comparatively short time. They are impressed, too, with Communist China's vigorous efforts in that direction. The totally planned economy of these two countries appeals to some Asians as the only efficient way to achieve rapid material progress.

Most Asians know little or nothing of actual conditions in the U. S. S. R.—its low standard of living after 38 years of communism, and the brutal exploitation of the people by which industrialization was accomplished. They don't know about the forced labor camps. Nor do they know how little freedom the ordinary Soviet worker has who is told where he must work, how many hours, and how much pay he will receive. He has been forced to give most of his labor to building up heavy industry and producing a huge array of arma-

ments. There has been very little production of the things needed to make life better for the ordinary citizen. And he can't afford them anyway. The masses of Asians are unaware of these facts. Nor do they realize that Red China is industrializing in the same way.

The appeal of communism in Asia is strengthened by feelings of resentment and distrust toward the West on the part of many Asians. These feelings have grown out of the years when most of the countries of Asia were colonies in empires ruled by Western capitalist powers. Most of these former Asian colonies became independent nations after World War II. But the old suspicions linger, and today some Asians express fear that the world's strongest capitalist nation—the United States—would like to dominate the Far East economically. As they see it, colonialism and capitalism are two names for the same thing: *exploitation*.

Asians who hold such fears do not understand that the interest of the United States in aiding underdeveloped countries is based, not on a desire to exploit them, but on a desire to help them "catch up with the West" as truly free and independent nations. By strengthening freedom in the rest of the world, we help maintain our own freedom.

Along with distrust of the West goes an intense nationalism, which is natural for people who have so recently become independent. The Communist movement in Indochina gained momentum by taking up the cause of national independence. France refused to grant complete independence to the three Indochinese states immediately after World War II. The Communists of Vietnam, led by Ho Chi Minh, seized the opportunity to whip up a war against the French and non-Communist Vietnamese.

He won a following among the Vietnamese "in a hurry," not because they wanted communism—most of them didn't know what communism was—but because he seemed to be the only effective fighter for independence. He concealed from them the knowledge that, if he won, they would be under a cruel dictatorship that took orders from Peiping and Moscow. Now that he has taken over the northern half of the country, more than a half-million Vietnamese have fled to the south to escape the harsh rule of the Communists.

It is important to remember that the Asian Communist parties are all "national" parties in the

The RANK and FILE

MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY



sense that the leaders and members are Asians. There is no outward sign of foreign control.

But there, as in the West, the hard core of Communist leadership consists of persons trained in Moscow. They are indoctrinated Marxists, trained in the techniques of revolution by military action and by infiltration and subversion. Many of them were educated in Western universities. While admiring and envying the superior technology of the West, these Communists are filled with blind hatred for the West. They play on the popular theme of "Asia for the Asians," and pour out endless propaganda against "U. S. imperialism" and their own governments.

At the same time, the Communists make rosy promises to give the people all that they yearn for—land to the landless, more food, more schools, lower prices, higher wages, lower salaries for officials, complete equality—all this through drastic reforms by nationalizing the land and industries.

In India, the Communist Party has an estimated membership of 40,000. The members are largely

city workers and young people who struggled hard for an education and can't find jobs suited to their training and abilities. Away from the traditional security of village life and the family system, these uprooted young folk find another kind of security in the Communist Party. It offers them a stable organization and group activities, as well as dramatic promises for a better future.

In the villages of India, too, the Communists have won some followers among the peasants who have not yet received any of the benefits of the Government's vast land development program. Where it has been put into effect, this program has considerable success to its credit. But the difficulties are enormous in a country as large as India, where poverty is so deep and so widespread. The Government is making progress, through democratic methods and with the aid of private capital and foreign assistance, in improving the lot of the Indian people. But progress is gradual, and miracles are not in the program. The Communists promise miracles. For the Indian who sees no prospect for better conditions in his life-

time, the Communists' promise may be like the proverbial straw grasped by a drowning man.

With local variations, the situation just described is the usual story of communism's appeal in other underdeveloped areas of the world. The new power and prestige of Red China in Asia is attracting, as well as alarming, some of the fence-sitters—particularly among the 10 to 12 million overseas Chinese who live in Southeast Asia.

Protesters Against the Way Things Are

There are only two countries in the free world where the Communists have been able to build effective mass political parties. They are France and Italy.

In national elections, the French Communist Party polls more votes than any other single political party. It is kept out of power only by a coalition of several other parties and by the unwillingness of still other parties to join it in forming a government.

The Italian Communist Party is the largest Communist Party in the free world, with a membership estimated at 1,700,000. In voting strength, it is second only to the Christian Democratic Party.

In both countries the Communists control the largest trade-union federations and hold many positions of power in local, particularly city, governments. Their strength comes largely from the ranks of labor. To understand this, one must know something about the political and economic situation in those countries.

Capitalism has not developed in France and Italy as it has in the United States where our economy is freer, and—as it has expanded and prospered—the workers have received an increasing share of the Nation's wealth. The American workingman has a big stake in our economic system, which he helped to create and which has done well by him.

Workers in France and Italy have not done so well. The economies of these war-ravaged countries were on the verge of collapse after World War II. With a transfusion of U. S. economic aid, their industries were helped back on their feet and today are producing more than ever. But wages have remained very low, while the cost of living has soared. In Paris in 1954, there were workers who still received as little as 30 to 35 cents an hour, or about \$60 a month. In Italy, poverty

is even greater, and unemployment is a serious problem.

There are a number of people in both countries who have never believed in democracy and have opposed much needed economic and social reforms. Class distinctions, which scarcely exist in this country, are still a reality in France and Italy. Consequently, the "class struggle" of Marxist theory is accepted by many French and Italian workers as the only means by which they will win their place in the sun.

The labor movement in France before World War II, and in Italy before the Fascists came to power, was predominantly Socialist and, to a much less degree, Communist. The Communist Party in both countries emerged from the war with considerable popularity and prestige because of its militant activity in underground resistance movements against the Germans in France and against the Fascists and Germans in Italy. The Party was well organized and had a program of action. In the confusion, misery, and despair of the first postwar years, the Communist Party won its largest membership. Although membership has been declining every year since then, the unsolved problem of poverty has kept the Communist vote high.

In France and Italy the Communist Party is a mass organization, with a large number of indoctrinated, unassimilated members. Most of them are Communists out of *protest against the way things are* rather than out of a positive belief in communism. This is the reason why many non-Communists vote for Communist candidates. They are not concerned with the long-range goals of communism, which they would disapprove if they understood them, but with their own long-standing grievances. They have lost hope, and some of them are ready to give communism a chance to prove its boasts that it can do better.

Unfortunately, wide disagreement among the various non-Communist parties of France and Italy about what should be done has hindered the development of strong, effective democratic governments. Coalitions of several parties govern both countries, and government by coalition always means constant compromise to keep the coalition from flying apart.

From the time of the French Revolution and the First Republic, the idea of a strong central government has not appealed to the majority of

the French people. In the new constitution, written after World War II, they saw to it that the executive power of the Premier was kept weak, so that he could easily be turned out of office by the National Assembly. The result has been a rapid turnover of governments, none of which could count on staying in power long enough to carry out vigorous reforms.

In Italy, government of the Center parties, led by the Christian Democrats, is hampered by strong opposition from the leftwing Socialists and Communists on the extreme Left, and from the ultraconservative Monarchist and Fascist-type parties on the extreme Right.

As a consequence, the Communist Party in both countries has had considerable success in convincing the workers that it is the only party capable of solving their problems.

In addition, the Communist Party backs the popular cause of "peaceful coexistence" with the Soviet Union. It expresses and fosters the anti-U. S. sentiments of those French and Italians who oppose the costly rearmament program and fear that American leadership in foreign affairs may take them into a war against the Soviet Union.

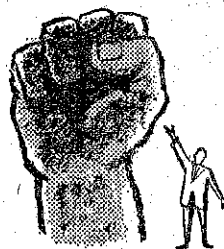
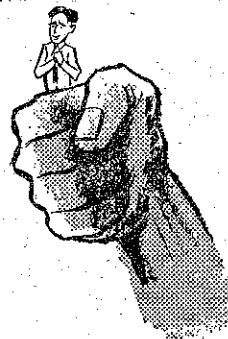
The French Communist Party has the largest core of dedicated, fully indoctrinated Communists who are members of long standing. Although membership has dropped from a peak of about 800,000 in 1946 to about 450,000 today, the Party's influence is greater than its numbers indicate, as the voting record shows.

Even so, much of the Communist vote remains a vote of protest rather than a belief in communism. The great majority of French people are ardent lovers of freedom. The basic reason for the instability of their Government is their fear of giving too much power to one man. There is no doubt that a continuing campaign of objective truth about Communist tyranny and, above all, vigorous action to put an end to poverty and slums, would win support for the party that took such action, and greatly reduce Communist strength in France.

In Italy, where there is even greater poverty, the Communist Party has a broader base of mass support than in France. This support comes chiefly from the workers of the industrial cities in the North and from the impoverished peasants in the agricultural areas of the South.

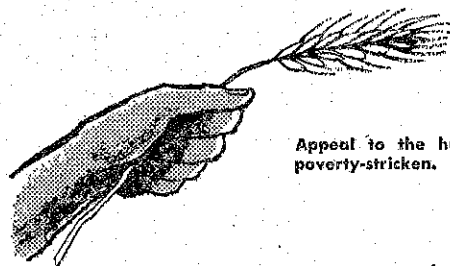
The APPEALS of COMMUNISM

Appeal to weaklings who want to be told the answers to all questions.



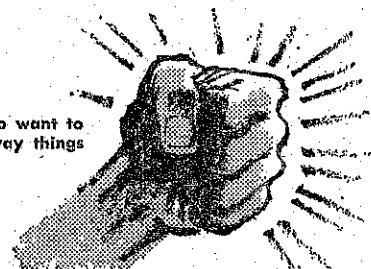
Appeal to idealists who want a "cause" that demands their complete devotion.

Appeal to people in underdeveloped countries in a hurry to "catch up."



Appeal to the hungry and poverty-stricken.

Appeal to people who want to protest against the way things are.



Italy is plagued by two chronic ills: overpopulation and lack of natural resources. Approximately 2 million, or 10 percent of the working population, are unemployed. Another 2 million, most of them in southern Italy, are only partially employed.

The Italian Communist Party is well organized and has plenty of money (some of it obtained by "liberating" Italian banks in the final days of World War II). It is led by educated, capable, and dangerous men. Control of the General Confederation of Labor gives them a position from which they can exercise great influence.

Probably no more than 100,000 of the estimated 1,700,000 Party members are genuine Communists in the sense that: (1) they are fully committed to the Communist cause; (2) they understand it; or (3) could be counted on to support it in a show-down for the control of Italy.

But the Party shrewdly exploits the conditions in which millions of Italians live and has convinced a great many of them that it is the only party that really cares about bettering their lot.

However, there are some indications that Italian industrial workers are becoming disillusioned with the Communist Party. In the spring of 1955, about two dozen unions voted the Communists out of control for the first time. The union in the Fiat automobile works, one of Italy's biggest industries, was one of them.

The Communists have made their most recent gains in the depressed agricultural areas of southern Italy, where the peasants have suffered for centuries from a feudal land-tenure system. It is here that the Government has made its greatest effort, through an enlightened land-reform program, to improve the lot of the peasants. The program is steadily progressing and showing results, but the Communist Party tries to take credit for it by telling the peasants the program is being carried out only because the Party pushed it.

Ten years of democratic government in Italy have produced a change for the better. But Italy's grave problems cannot be cured overnight. In trying to achieve reforms, the Government has been obstructed by extremists of both Right and Left. If it can hold the line against both, and

continue to show economic and social progress, there is good reason to believe that in time most Italians who now support the Communists will be won over to democracy.

TO SUM UP . . .

In searching for answers to the questions of who are Communists and why they are Communists, we have learned that communism attracts most of its followers when they are young. Among the kinds of young people it attracts are: (1) mal-adjusted individuals and weaklings who cannot stand on their own feet; to these the Communist Party offers an escape from personal problems and direction for their lives; (2) idealists who want a great cause to devote their lives to and who are ignorant of the real nature of communism; (3) impatient folk in underdeveloped countries who are in a hurry to catch up with the West in material progress and who believe that communism is the shortest path; (4) workers in advanced countries, such as France and Italy, who vote Communist largely as a protest against their lot.

People who are attracted to communism in non-Communist countries are all, for one reason or another, deeply dissatisfied with life as they know it. Communism is pictured to them as the great cure-all, and they accept the picture for the real article. At the time of joining the Party, most members are ignorant of the true nature of the Communist conspiracy, of its ultimate goals, and of the means by which those goals are to be achieved.

Sooner or later, most of the rank-and-file members discover the truth, or enough of the truth to become disillusioned with communism and get out of the Party. Some merely become bored. In the United States and Western Europe the Party has been steadily losing members in recent years.

Those who remain in the party are the real Communists—the hard core. Whether they have kept their original faith in communism as an ideal or whether they have become cynical seekers after power makes no difference. They are all corrupt. They have sold out their own countries and their own souls to help spread the tyranny of Soviet communism over the whole world.

Summary...

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Judge Picard's address to six convicted Communists.

II. THE HARD CORE

A. Communist leaders and underground agents whose only loyalty is to Communist Party and Soviet Union.

B. They have surrendered right to independent judgment and action and are willing to do anything to promote Soviet policies.

III. THE RANK-AND-FILE

A. Most members join Party when young.

B. Many get out of Party after a few years.

C. Most are not indoctrinated in real aims of Party before joining it.

D. Those who become indoctrinated may join hard core or become disgusted and leave Party.

IV. APPEALS OF COMMUNISM

A. Appeal to weaklings and maladjusted persons who want to be told what to do or to escape from personal problems.

1. U. S. Communist Party attracted some of these.

2. For some, Party is substitute for church.

3. For some, Party is outlet for resentments against society.

B. Appeal to idealists who want a "cause" and who accept propaganda picture of communism for real thing.

1. Communist stand against fascism in 1930's fooled some idealists into joining Party.

2. Most idealists left Party after 1939 Nazi-Soviet pact.

3. Some blind idealists remain in Party.

C. Appeal to people in underdeveloped countries who want a short cut to Western efficiency and power.

1. Some are impatient with slowness of democratic methods.

2. They are impressed by U. S. S. R.'s rapid industrialization and start made by Red China.

3. Communism's appeal is aided by distrust of former colonial powers and intense nationalism.

4. Communists promise miracles.

D. Appeal to poverty-stricken people who have lost hope for improved economic and social conditions.

1. France and Italy have largest Communist parties in free world.

2. Most members are Communists out of protest against the way things are.

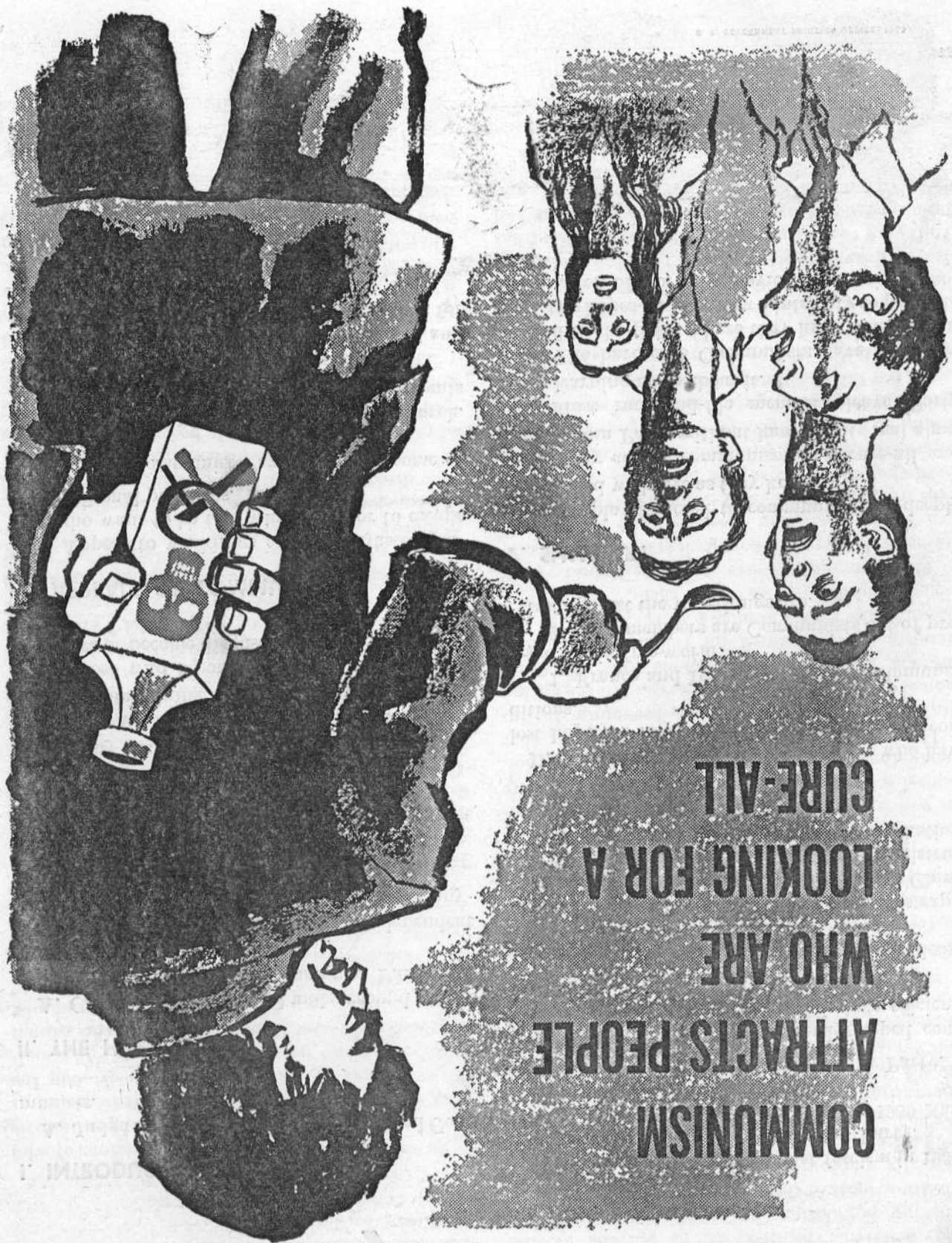
V. SUMMARY

A. People attracted to communism are deeply dissatisfied with life as they know it.

B. They accept communism as a cure-all and usually join Party without knowing its real aims.

C. Most rank-and-file members leave Party after learning more about it.

D. The hard-core Communists have been corrupted to the point where they have sold out humanity's hopes and their own integrity to promote domination of world by Soviet communism.



COMMUNISM
ATTRACTS PEOPLE
WHO ARE
LOOKING FOR A
CURE-ALL

...YIPPIEUS