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THE STRUGGLE AGAINST AGENT PROVOCATEURS AND ESPIONAGE

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THE STRUGGLE AGAINST AGENT PROVOCATEURS AND ESPIONAGE

I. THE PROVOCATEUR AS A PROVED WEAPON OF THE BOURGEOISIE

A. Some facts from the present and past of the political police

1. Agent provocateurs are not a new phenomenon. The history of the class struggle abounds with examples of the governing classes using espionage and provocateurs as a systematic weapon against the revolutionary workers class. In England, which has the best apparatus for the fight against the worker's movement, political provocation has grown the strongest roots in the history of the struggle of the governing classes against the revolutionary movement. A few years ago the English press contained a very interesting discussion of the operating methods of the English secret service, the "Intelligence Service." In the course of this discussion it was recalled that as early as the great French revolution, the English Prime Minister Pitt, who, as is well known, sought by every means to block the influx of the ideology of the French Revolution into England, established a very widespread network of spies and provocateurs, both at home and abroad. Pitt was, indeed, the founder of the traditions and working methods of the "Intelligence Service." These methods and traditions were further amplified by the experiences of the war of 1914-1918, and especially by the prolonged fight against the revolutionary liberation movement in the colonies.

2. The history of the Russian fighters for freedom is especially rich in examples of political provocation. The infamous Okhrana of Czarist Russia made ample use of this weapon. Many of the methods later used by the political police in all capitalist countries in their fight against the revolutionary movement, originated in the rich arsenal of the Czarist Okhrana.

3. Azev, a classical figure in the history of political provocation, earned international notoriety. Azev's "successful" career extended over a period of almost twenty years, and dozens of revolutionaries were betrayed to the police by him. Azev was at one and the same time a police agent and a member of the Party of Social Revolution. He was the organizer of the successful assassination of the Czar's uncle, the Grand Duke Sergius, in Moscow, and he had previously organized the bombing assault on Minister Plehve. In order to rehabilitate himself in the eyes of the Party, which had begun to entertain doubts about him, he also began to prepare for the assault on Czar Nicholas II, but he was unmasked as a police spy before he was able to carry it out.

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4. Degayev, likewise an agent provocateur of the Okhrana, belonged to an earlier period. After he had betrayed a large number of leading revolutionaries to the police, he later organized the murderous assault on Sudeykin, the chief of the Okhrana, and under whose orders he had "worked" for years. Starodvorskiy, a leading revolutionary, on whose head the Czarist government had set a price of 10,000 rubles, also participated in the murder of Sudeykin. This Starodvorskiy, who was the talk of all Europe, and even of the entire world at the time of the murder of the Okhrana's chief, was a man who became an apostle of the younger generation of the Russian revolutionary organization known as the Narodnaya Wolya. But even he was revealed to have been an agent of the Okhrana, though this was not learned until 25 years later, when the October Revolution opened the secret archives of the Okhrana.

5. We do not want to cite more examples of the bestial degradation and intellectual meanness of the Czarist Okhrana. Nevertheless, a study of the enormous volume of material which has been published since the October Revolution on the activities of the Okhrana is well worthwhile. It furnishes an insight into the bottomless abyss of dangers with which we, the Communists in capitalistic countries, are so often faced. And this is all the more true today, since the methods of political provocation and espionage greatly surpass those of the Czarist times in perfection and technique.

6. At the present time the agent provocateur plays a tremendous role in the political life of the bourgeois countries. In many countries, several groups of the bourgeoisie succeeded in recent years in bringing about a change of government suitable to them by means of political provocation. We need only recall the famous "Zinov'yev Letter" in England, a forgery which brought about the fall of the first MacDonald government. It is characteristic of the methods of the British Intelligence Service, that MacDonald's and Henderson's entire correspondence was carefully checked, even during their term of office.

7. In the fight against the international Communist movement, there recently appeared a series of masters in the art of falsification. These come mostly from the groups of Russian White Guard emigres. In general, the White Guardist emigres--those splinters of the old Russian governing classes dispersed by the October Revolution--play an important role in the field of international political provocation. They represent the vast reservoir from which the political secret service and the police recruit their agents. One can assert without exaggeration that in countries like Finland, Latvia, and Lithuania, for example, the apparatus of the political police was organized either by White Russian emigres or by former Okhrana functionaries.

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8. Comrades who have had opportunity to make involuntary acquaintance with prisons and police cells in various countries, report uniformly that time and time again Russian White Guardists came to the front in interrogations, either as higher officials or as leaders of the political police. The chief of the Bombay Police, for example, is a Pole who emigrated from Russia.

9. It is generally known that the various imperialistic cliques, in their campaign against the Soviet Union, the first workers' country in the world, again and again resort to the agent provocateur. The numerous forgeries which have cropped up in recent years in various countries concerning Soviet Russian "secret documents"; the murder of the Soviet ambassador, Vorowskiy, in Lausanne, and of Voykow in Warsaw, the uncovered bombing plot against the Soviet embassy in Warsaw; -- all aim to provoke a war with the Soviet Union. It is only because of the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union that these provocatory plans of the warmongers were foiled.

10. Some time ago a report appeared in the international press that Vanek, the secretary of the Czechoslovakian Mission in Moscow, had attempted to arrange the assassination of the Japanese Minister of the U.S.S.R. by an official of a Soviet agency whom he had enlisted. If one considers that this coincided with the march of the Japanese occupation troops toward the borders of the Soviet Union in Manchuria, it becomes obvious that this was nothing less than a provocation intended to incite an armed conflict and to motivate a new intervention against the U.S.S.R.

B. The weakness of the Communist Party in the fight against agent provocateurs

1. The provocateur is the scourge of all communist parties. Tens of thousands of political prisoners from the ranks of the Communist parties and of the revolutionary workers' movement suffer in the prisons of the various capitalistic countries at the present time. It can be assumed with certainty that a high percentage of these are the victims of spies and provocateurs. The Communist parties suffer a great part of their tremendous losses as a result of treason, provocateurs and espionage. And this is the result of our own indifference and thoughtlessness in the fight against provocation. In many countries where communist parties are illegal, as for example in Rumania, Hungary, Yugoslavia and the like, as well as in the Far East and in the colonies, where the methods of the Intelligence Service and similar organizations of the capitalistic state police are widely used, the agent provocateurs strike heavy blows at our sister parties and at the revolutionary movement. But also in Germany, and especially in countries like France and Czechoslovakia and others, provocateurs and spies against the Communist parties lie in ambush, ready to inflict great damage on our movement.

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2. Have the Communist parties fought with sufficient vigor against the provocateur up to now? It is unfortunately a fact that this battle is not waged sufficiently by the Communist parties, in spite of the enormous danger which spies and provocateurs spell for our cause. We can learn from our enemies in this respect! How skillfully the ruling bourgeoisie knows how to mobilize so-called public opinion whenever its interests demand it! A clear example of this is the imperialistic war of 1914-1918. During the World War the bourgeoisie press in all countries, the tool of capitalistic power, worked to create a general mental attitude for the fight against espionage. Let us recall here, for instance, how in the Entente countries at the outbreak of the war, German business firms and shops were devastated by enraged masses of people under the influence of this spy hunt. In the countries of the Central Powers, too, the artificially stimulated spy hunt blossomed into insanity. Naturally, we Communists cannot employ the same untruthful and hypocritical means used by the capitalistic class to incite public opinion; we shall never appeal to low, chauvinistic instincts, although the bourgeoisie does this whenever it is convenient. Instead we must appeal to the class instinct, the class consciousness of the working masses, in order to bring about the alertness of the masses in regard to the class enemy, and to awaken a storm of rage and protest against the base methods of provocation and espionage.

3. The Communist parties wage a relentless and energetic battle against all forms of opportunism, against the influx of the class-extraneous elements into the workers' movement; they wage a persistent battle against Social-Fascism. But so far we have not fought with enough energy, persistence, and consistency against provocation and espionage, against the foulest weapon which the class enemy, the bourgeoisie in league with its Fascist and Social Fascist agents, employs against our movement.

4. It is necessary to take up this battle against provocation immediately. This battle cannot be organized as a temporary action, for a period of a few weeks or months. The battle against provocation and espionage must form a permanent and normal function of all Communist organizations. As long as everyone in all Communist parties, legitimate as well as illegal, is not deeply imbued with the fact that the battle against provocateurs and spies of the class enemy is among the basic and permanent activities of every party comrade and of the entire party organization, -- so long will the destructive work of this evil in the ranks of the Communist movement remain unchecked.

5. The entire party, every party organization, every party cell, every party member must take part in this fight. The Communist parties are mass parties of the working class, and our fighting methods against provocation and espionage

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can only be the methods of the mass struggle. In this the Communist parties differ from conspiratorial groups like the anarchists or the Russian social-revolutionaries and other groups of their time. In order to mobilize the masses of party comrades, the whole working class, for the battle against this old evil, one has to speak about it publicly and call it to the attention of proletarian public opinion.

6. Many comrades object to this on the grounds that public exposure of all cases of provocateurs and spies harm the reputation of the Party. This is entirely wrong! The reputation of the Party suffers much greater harm under the brutalities of the police, its agents and spies who steal into the ranks of the revolutionaries. The reputation of the Party suffers incomparably more harm through the passivity and ineptitude of the Party in the battle against provocation. The reputation and confidence which the Party enjoys among the masses suffers much more under the systematic arrests of dozens of its best and most active members. Every Communist recognizes the disastrous significance of espionage activities in a factory, for example, where they are one of the most difficult obstacles to the establishment and strengthening of the Communist Movement. He who understands this will certainly not attempt to save the reputation of the Party by such doubtful means as the suppression of these basic mistakes. The prestige of the Party suffers much greater harm through the ability of spies and provocateurs to perform their clandestine tasks, often in the boldest of manners and for long periods of time, without encountering too much trouble on being exposed. One single case will be cited here: in 1928 a certain Jaubert was active in the French Communist Party. He knew how to gain the confidence of the party leadership and managed to get many important assignments. However, reports began to reach the Party that Jaubert was an agent of the French police. In order to check these reports, an investigation was started. But before our party comrades had completed their investigation, Jaubert, having gotten wind of it, disappeared, taking party funds and documents with him. Thus a man who was already under investigation as a suspect, still had access to party funds and documents. And since then this Jaubert has been living a life of ease in Algiers as director of a state radio station, without being bothered by anyone. The ruling classes employ the dirty methods of espionage and provocation in order to weaken and undermine the workers' revolutionary front. The Communist parties must abandon their carefree attitude toward provocation if they do not want to continue to pay for their carelessness with heavy losses.

C. The conversion of bourgeois dictatorship into fascism and the increase in provocation

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1. The agent provocateur is a method of warfare used by the bourgeois state against the Communist movement. The increase of provocation is at the present time closely related to the whole system of converting the bourgeois dictatorship into Fascism. In the resolutions of the eleventh Plenary Session of the E.C.C.I. (Executive Committee of the Communist International) it is stated:
2. "Growing organically out of the so-called bourgeois democracies, as a form of hidden dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, Fascism, the naked form of the bourgeois dictatorship, intensifies all types of suppression and subjugation of the workers. These methods are peculiar to the capitalistic regime and are inseparably connected with the whole system of the bourgeois dictatorship. The Fascist regime which joins forces with the remnants of the bourgeois democracies, is predicated on, and takes definite shape with, the destruction of the proletarian organizations, the outlawing of the Communist Party, the organization of special military-terroristic, bourgeois units, whether parliamentary forms are maintained or discarded.
3. Thus Fascism has "intensified all methods of suppression and subjugation of the workers." It is therefore clear, that hand in hand with the growth of Fascism, there is also an intensified use of provocateurs and spies, who play such an important part in the "destruction of the proletarian organizations" and, above all, of the Communist Party.
4. It is highly characteristic that at the present time the whole system of political police in all the capitalistic countries is closely connected with the criminal underworld, adopting its methods of operation. In China the bands of the Choenchoe bandits (not identified) are very closely connected with the police and operate hand in glove with them. In Chicago Al Capone's infamous gang of smugglers and gangsters was for year the de facto government of the city and worked closely with the highest levels of the police department. When a legal code is applied to the political police, it soon becomes evident that not a single law remains unbroken. In the special police schools of the British Intelligence Service at Devonshire, and in all other police schools, the students are taught to open letters and correspondence invisibly, to forge documents, to break into locked rooms and safes, to commit murder quietly, and to apply all the other arts of the criminal world as skillfully as possible. But then, as we know, the legal code ceases to be in effect beyond the threshold of the police station.
5. Provocation is one of the methods of the class struggle. Any war, the class war included, requires an organization for the gathering of information from and espionage in, the enemy's camp. Moreover, it is part of the war technique to organize various sabotage and undermining activities among

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the ranks and behind the lines of the enemy. Political provocation attempts both: the organization of an espionage and information service and the committing of acts of sabotage and undermining activities. In view of the fact that a class war is much more intense than other kinds of war, this dangerous evil calls for particular attention. That class warfare is indeed more intense is attested to by the fact that prisoners of war are not killed, while the bourgeoisie seeks the physical destruction of its prisoners. This is also evident from the use of torture methods, and the like. "Democratic" prejudices are coming to the fore in the class war. The rules of class warfare are hard and relentless. Any Communist knows this and is fully aware of the possible consequences. He who loses his courage and is deterred by provocation is no Bolshevik. One must fight against provocation and not capitulate before it.

D. What obstructs the fight against provocation?

1. The systematic activities of spies and agents within the ranks of the Communist Parties represent the greatest obstacle to success in their fight against provocation. It frequently happens that one of our sister parties begins a fight against provocation only to find that it is meeting definite resistance from within. It is as if an invisible hand were obstructing their efforts. There can be only one explanation for this: the obstructions are created by those who are involved.

2. A further obstacle in the fight against provocation is an insufficient revolutionary stability and an incomplete conversion to Bolshevism within many communist parties. Communists talk much about the conversion of their parties to Bolshevism. In many countries they are indeed able to cite definite results in this regard, but a party which does not in its entirety, and on behalf of the broad masses of the working class, wage this battle against provocation, is by no means a Bolshevik party. One can argue about the subject at the top of one's voice and still do very little toward actual conversion of Bolshevism. This is, among other things, also the case when carelessness and tolerance prevail in the fight against provocation. The manner in which the Communist Party wages the battle against provocation and espionage is also an important indication of its conversion to Bolshevism.

3. A third obstacle in the fight against provocation, which may be found particularly in the Communist parties of the Latin countries, are the "small town" bourgeois prejudices and the "small town" bourgeois over-sentimentality, which are often still characteristic of some Communists. After all, how can one harbor suspicion against a friend and party comrade? Why should I hurt him so deeply? We cannot suspect each other all the time--; thus thinks many a Communist. As long as the Communist parties have not completely expelled

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these narrow minded sentimentalities and sickly sensitivities from their ranks, they will be unable to wage an effective battle against provocation. In the meantime, it is a fact that this spirit of tolerance is so widely spread in many of the Communist sister parties that sometimes even comrades who have conducted themselves unworthily before the judge or at police interrogations are again assigned to responsible positions because they are said to be valuable and irreplaceable.

4. Finally, strife between groups and factions within the parties weakens the struggle against provocation. Factional strife within the Communist parties is most welcome to the police. As a rule, the existence of factions not only serves as a kind of bulwark behind which police spies can operate, collecting information on the party, but also presents a situation which the police will often try to exploit, through its agents, to direct the political line of the Party.

5. All of these factors which make the battle against provocation difficult for the Communist parties must be taken into careful consideration. All Communist parties, without exception, must organize for the battle against provocation on the broadest possible basis. Provocation is a grave threat not only to the illegal parties, but also-for the legitimate parties in which watchfulness is sometimes greatly reduced under the influence of an illusion of legitimacy.

II. PROVOCATION AND ESPIONAGE IN RECENT TIMES

A. Intensified class warfare

There are special reasons why the battle against provocation is of unusual significance under the present circumstances.

1. The first reason is that the class struggle has been intensified the world over. The bourgeoisie is fighting with increasing viciousness and is openly discarding all democratic traditions. Whereas the political police previously pursued a long-range policy, it now operates with utmost brutality, risking all and not even hesitating to sacrifice its own people. In a pre-revolutionary period such as ours, in which the bourgeoisie, fearing a class war, is attempting with all the means at its disposal to liquidate the Communist Party, provocation is a great danger.

2. A second reason is that unemployment and the misery of the masses is increasing on all sides. Although this situation stimulates the revolutionary mood of the masses, it also provides the police with the opportunity of

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corrupting the weaker elements of the Party and to recruit them for the establishment of a widespread net of police spies, which inflicts serious damage to the Communist parties.

3. It should also be noted that while the Russian Bolsheviks had decades of experience in their illegal struggle, during which time their implacable class hatred hardened, the other Communist parties are comparatively young and often still have inexperienced leaders. This is particularly evident in the countries under the White Terror, where the entire membership of the party often changed in a period of three to ten months as a result of arrests and persecution. As a result, young and inexperienced comrades, who have not had any real Bolshevik schooling, often reach positions of leadership. These people do not know how to conduct themselves when they fall into the hands of the police. For the very reason that the leaders are often young and inexperienced, the fight against provocation must be carried out by the Communist parties as a whole in utmost seriousness.

4. The fact that the working classes, under the leadership of the Communist Party, are now approaching decisive battles, makes it our urgent duty to organize the struggle against provocation with utmost determination. We can well imagine how the police of all capitalistic countries will operate against the Communist Party in the event of the outbreak of war, for example. It is, after all, the duty of the police to prepare long before a war, gathering exact information on all Communists and to have its spies operating undetected within the organization. It is an open secret that the Communist International suffers greatly from the fact that its most active members are well known to the police.

5. For all of these reasons the fight against provocation takes on special significance at the present time. All the experiences of the German Communist Party, and of many others, in the struggle of recent years attest to the importance of this question.

B. The latest methods of the political police

In order to pursue the fight against provocation successfully, it is necessary to understand how modern police espionage and provocation operate and under which specific conditions they perform their vile work.

In the old memoirs-literature the agent provocateurs, police and other spies were painted in the most romantic colors. This was especially the case with the classical provocateurs of Czarist Russia, such as Azev, Zubatov, Gapon, and others, about whom a great number of books have been published in all languages.

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These tales often remind us of novels of adventure. But now circumstances have changed, and the operating methods of the Okhrana bear no more resemblance to present-day police methods in the capitalistic countries than the primitive workbench does to a modern assembly line. In the memoirs of old revolutionaries one can often read how they cautiously looked over their shoulder, how they fled from the police, how they hid, etc. While the espionage and provocation of the police have taken on entirely new forms, many Communist parties are still on a very primitive level in their defenses. In this respect the Communist parties have been outdistanced by their class enemy.

1. In what way have the methods of the political police changed? The prewar political police considered its primary objective to the hindering of the activities of the Communist Party, about whose plans it was well informed, and to do this by gaining complete insight into the Party. It is characteristic of the modern political police that it is not content to merely understand the objectives of the Communist Party, but rather to direct the policies of the organizations it controls through its own people. The political police attempts to change and corrupt the political line of the Party.

2. Secondly, the political police of all capitalistic countries has, in the Fascist organizations, not only welcome support, but also inexhaustible reserves of spies--volunteer espionage organizations, so to speak. This represents an enormous strengthening of the police apparatus.

3. Thirdly, the Social Democrats through their years-long propaganda for "the unity of the people" and with their daily class treason have deeply demoralized many sections of the working class. Thus they have created the psychological basis for mass espionage in the factories and for outright police functions of the Social Democrats. While formerly the betraying of a striking worker to the management was considered one of the most serious offenses and bitter battles were fought in every factory against the so-called "scabs", today a certain type of Social Democrat functionary will denounce any Communist and have him thrown out of the plant.

4. Fourthly, there is the fact that modern police espionage in the ranks of the workers' movement can draw on the rich experience of the World War. To the same extent that the arts of war made great progress during the war and the years immediately following, espionage methods have also developed tremendously. In the book "Our Secret War" by the American warmonger Johnson, there are a number of descriptions of the various methods used by spies during the war for the transmission of messages. Everything possible was used: fruit and flower shipments, carefully wrapped in tissue paper and packed in boxes, while on the paper wrappings--and even on the flowers and leaves--important

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messages had been written in invisible ink. Newspaper reports, advertisements, and innocent marriage announcements also served to inform those for whom they were intended. Often an emblem or a woman's profile in an advertisement actually transmitted information on military positions. The manner in which postage stamps were placed on letters to neutral countries also served to transmit certain types of information and messages. An innocent-looking guest at a coffee shop played unnoticed with his tooth pick on the table cloth, leaving, actually, a chemical message for a later guest, who, by spilling a glass of wine, revealed for a moment the message. Or here is another method of transmitting a message: two guests arrive in a restaurant at different times, sit at different tables, and have nothing whatever to do with each other. But they wear identical hats, and on leaving each takes the other's hat. The transmission of the message has been accomplished. We still recall how the so-called sponsorship movement flourished in all countries during the war. These sent letters and gifts to the soldiers at the front. From German sources it was recently learned that this sponsorship movement initiated in France was not only used but actually organized by the German spy service in order to learn the condition of the various troop units at the front. Just these few examples indicate the progress made in techniques of espionage during the war. And these experiences and advances are now being used by the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary movement.

5. Finally, it must be pointed out that the police, especially those of the imperialistic countries, have acquired a great deal of experience in their fight against the national liberation movements in the colonies.

And against this trained and experienced political police, which has for decades built up its organization for the fight against the workers' revolutionary movement, which improved and expanded its techniques and experience during the war, which has the most modern technical facilities at its disposal and is supported by the whole tremendous apparatus of the capitalistic governing class--against this political police there often stand young and inexperienced Communist parties.

A fifth and very important characteristic of present-day provocation and espionage is the international cooperation of the political police of all capitalistic countries. There is literally a police international.

III. PRIMARY METHODS OF ESPIONAGE AND PROVOCATION

A. Opposition groups as a basic tool

Groups of both the right and the left in opposition to the Communist movement are usually among the most important positions penetrated for the purpose of political provocation. Frequently it is the groups not connected

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with the Communist Party that provide the police with informers and provocateurs who work at the undermining of the Communist Party. In France, for example, this role is played by the minor members of the so-called Revolutionary Labor Movement. In Brazil the police have set up their own Trotskyite groups in their fight against the Communist movement. It is significant that in Poland Trotsky's autobiography, "My Life", was published in Polish by the Warsaw political police in an effort to demoralize the Communist movement. Everywhere the writings of renegades, of both right and left, are published, not only to belabor Communism, but also to inform against individual Communists. The police officials of all countries fight over the renegades like vultures over carrion.

B. The methods of political provocation

What does the systematic work of political provocation consist of?

1. First of all in the disorganization of the movement. This objective is pursued in a variety of ways. The agent provocateur has the assignment of bringing discredit to the political line of the Party and to the Party leadership. The most divergent methods are used to this purpose. Existing discontent with the Party line is inflated and the legitimate criticism of the dissatisfied party members is combined with lies and suspicions. All sorts of rumors and slander against the party leaders and prominent party members are circulated. As a result of such undermining of party leaders who enjoy the well-earned respect of the labor movement, it becomes necessary to replace these with new, inexperienced and insufficiently tested people. At the same time the agent provocateurs try to use the same techniques of lies and slander to hold back the young people who have distinguished themselves in the revolutionary struggle and to hinder their political development.

2. Exacerbation of differences of opinion within the Party and the fomenting of factional strife wherever possible. Recently there was a violent factional struggle in the Party of one of the Balkan countries and this was the result: the police arrested one of the leading Communists. Imagine the chagrin of the arrested leader and of the police agent who had made the arrest when the chief of the political police reprimanded the agent, saying: "This man should not have been arrested. We know precisely what is going on in his faction! During a factional struggle we should not keep this man in jail."

We also experienced a characteristic example of these police methods in Hungary. In the Hungarian Communist Party a violent fight was waged for years against comrade Bela Kun. This struggle took various and unusual forms. It has now been proved beyond any doubt that it was engineered by the Hungarian police who had determined at all costs to bring comrade Bela Kun to discredit.

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3. Another common method is to accuse various comrades of being police agents and to circulate rumors that the entire Party is riddled with spies. In this way the workers will be intimidated and kept away from the Party. This method is most common in those places where the Communist Party is illegal. In India various Communist groups have for years accused each other of provocation and made each other suspect. The same thing happened in Korea, where the Japanese police were adept in the use of this technique.

4. A further objective of the systematic work of the agent provocateur, especially where the Communist Party is legal, is to lay the Party open to prosecution by the civilian authorities by perverting the Party line and program. In France there were numerous cases in which immature elements of L'Humanite wanted to publish such strongly anti-imperialistic and subversive articles that the police would have been forced to act against the central organ of the Party. It goes without saying, that these cases are not always due to the immaturity of such party members, but are often the deliberate attempts of the police to provoke the Party.

5. The spies and provocateurs also try to so pervert the political line of the Party that the movement is compromised in the eyes of the workers. In this category the anti-military agitation which will awaken the antipathy of the soldiers against the Party, etc.

6. Another method is the spreading of police fabrications about the "Hand of Moscow" in the ranks of the revolutionary movement in capitalistic countries.

7. A method political provocation often used by the police is to provoke the Communist Party, or certain individual Communists, to commit acts of terrorism. The trial on the occasion of the murder of the police spy Blau in Germany in 1919 is a well-known case. Later, however, it was revealed that the main defendant, the one who had murdered Blau, was actually an agent provocateur. In Japan the police tried, through their agents, to get the Communist Party to attempt a putsch and in this way to destroy the Party.

8. Another method of political provocation is the deliberate twisting of the organizational directives of the Communist Party with the purpose of crippling or blocking various worker's activities. An example of this can be taken from the experience of the Yugoslavian Communist Party. An agent, who had been carrying out regular orders from the police, altered the directives for a mass demonstration at the critical moment, with the result that the workers arrived at widely separated locations and at different times so that the demonstration failed.

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9. Another method used by the political police is to sabotage the efforts of the Party leaders by having its agent provocateurs delay and block the directives of the leaders under any and all pretexts. Every directive of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and of the party leadership must be delayed for as long a time as possible by the agent. The police agents carrying out these orders of the political police often do so under the cover of factional strife. This, too, can be illustrated by an example from Yugoslavia. A provocateur operating as a party functionary, had the assignment of distributing leaflets. He claimed never to have received such an assignment. Actually he had turned the entire shipment of leaflets over to the police.

10. A method of provocation used primarily in America consists of organizing activities on the part of the workers which must necessarily end in failure. In America, where industrial espionage has reached its highest development, the police have been able to place their agents in leading positions in the labor movement. These have the task of provoking poorly prepared actions on the part of the workers and thereby disorganizing the movement.

11. The method of provoking clashes between the workers and the police or the military is a widespread and well-known technique. The first shot from the mob at the police is almost always fired by an agent provocateur. The cheapest of all police methods, the provoking of fraternal strife in the working class, also belongs in this category. These methods were used on a large scale by the Pilsudski-Fascists in Poland, the police agents among the Spanish Anarchists and the Spanish Social Democrats, who worked within the working class with the help of the so-called Pistolari to unleash a civil war. This same method is also widespread in the Latin American countries.

12. The police will also often organize demonstrations, so as to be able to seize the largest possible number of active Communists at one time. With such demonstrations it can be predicted that very few active, aggressive Communists will be absent. It is then a simple matter for the police to break up the demonstration, arrest the Communists and so inflict the greatest damage on the Party.

13. An old and tested method widely used by the police in recent times is the searching of Party headquarters and the homes of leading Communists where they "find" forged documents, weapons or the like.

14. It has often happened that the slipshod application of all rules for conspiratorial work and the careless expediting of Party directives in illegal Communist parties came about as the result of police provocateurs whose plan it was to demoralize and break up the illegal party apparatus.

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C. The various forms of modern espionage

1. It is incorrect to assume that the police depend on the overt surveillance apparatus in its fight against the revolutionary movement. One often hears romantic stories of how cleverly a comrade was able to cover his tracks, how he evaded the probing eye of the police and sent them off on a false scent, and the like. Naturally no revolutionist may overlook these simple precautions. He must always see to it that no police agent is following him; he must always look around carefully on leaving his home or a station to be sure that he is not being shadowed, etc. Such precautions are not to be overlooked, naturally, but one should bear in mind that the greatest danger does not lie in these obvious spies. The real danger lies in the spies within the Party. The open surveillance service plays a minor role! To use a military figure of speech, it is like the light cavalry, while the spy and provocateur inside the organization is the heavy tank of the modern political police. The overt observer is no more than an auxiliary of the provocateur, and usually only appears just before the arrest is to be made, when the police have just a few details left to establish. The intervention of the overt observer often has the sole purpose of establishing an alibi for the provocateur, to persuade the arrested comrade and the Party that police gathered its evidence by outside surveillance.

2. What is the function of the surveillant? The surveillant has to study his "Client" thoroughly and to watch his every step. He reports everything he sees, usually on a daily basis. In these reports the person under surveillance is usually referred to under an alias, which is often well-chosen. The police surveillants are trained for their work in special schools, and they often work under the cover of a respectable, bourgeois occupation. One should not be so naive as to think that these surveillants are people who tail their victims obtrusively and at all times. Quite often these police agents appear as street vendors, porters, newsstand proprietors, and the like, all having their place of business in good observation posts. In the instructions of the Czarist Okhrana, surveillants were ordered to operate as letter carriers and cab men. More in keeping with the times, modern surveillants are ordered to appear as taxi drivers and motorcycleists rather than postmen. On the basis of such sleuthing the central office is often able to draw a graphic picture of all the places visited by a "client" during a given period of time. Important party connections are often discovered in this way.

It goes without saying that the police will establish a special surveillance service to cover Party meeting places and the like. For this purpose, rooms are rented next to or opposite these places. Our party organizations must always bear this in mind.

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These outside surveillance services are one of the oldest forms of espionage.

3. Another form of espionage service is made up of a widespread net of informers recruited from all walks of life. The police make convenient use of the reports gathered from this extensive net of people "not directly involved. No one can refuse to cooperate with the all-powerful police. The police find their informers in the most varied walks of life: lawyers, teachers, members of parliament, city councilmen, storekeepers, porters, messengers, prostitutes, etc. The police often recruit their spies from among gangsters and criminals. This is highly characteristic of America. It is well-known that in one of the large American cities the district headquarters of the Communist Party was located in a building one floor below the headquarters of a notorious gang of bootleggers, burglars, counterfeiters, etc. The district office of the Party paid no attention to these neighbors, until it became clear that the police campaign against the Party was based on evidence gathered by the tenants upstairs.

4. The journalists of the bourgeois press also play an important role as spies. These always work as spies under their cover of their press cards. In the illegal parties, special emphasis must be laid on waitresses and chamber maids. These solicitous people are often in the pay of the police to whom they are especially solicitous in performing invaluable services.

5. The police also employ the following method to gather information on the revolutionaries:

A certain revolutionary was constantly surrounded by a circle of acquaintances, who in every conceivable "innocent" way involved him in political discussions. In such cases the police generally try to work on the psychology of the constantly pursued and hunted person. Further, it frequently happens that revolutionaries, especially in "illegal countries," begin to feel, after years of pursuit, a deep need for domesticity and conversations with good friends, and the like. Such moods are simply the reaction of weak characters to the necessarily restless existence. The police recognizes such psychological needs on the part of certain party members and tries to use them for police purposes.

6. The police also make as much use as they can of so-called "sympathizers" and others close to the Party for its espionage. In many cases they use bourgeois lawyers called upon to defend arrested comrades. Such lawyers are able to win the confidence of the arrested comrade by performing a number of small services, and are then able to learn various details of Party organization, which are of especial importance to the police.

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7. The fact that the police have cars everywhere, ready to pick up the careless talk of party functionaries, is attested to by the bitter experiences of many comrades. We must fight this tendency toward unnecessary bragging and babbling with all our strength on all levels of the Party. There are many organizations where this has taken on evil and terrifying proportions. Many Communist parties have had to suffer greatly as a result of this unforgivable carelessness on the part of numerous Party members.

8. At this point we must also take note of the danger in so-called "police cafes." In such cafes one can sometimes find the entire Party leadership present. It goes without saying that the police are not only aware of the addresses of such cafes, but also know the habits, acquaintances, and the hobbies of all the patrons, and that everything said in such a cafe is quickly reported to the police.

D. The various types of provocateurs

1. The army of police agents and provocateurs is recruited from the most diverse elements in many different ways and carries out a great variety of assignments. The first type is the so-called "accidental provocateur." He is one of those who have at one time or another fallen into the clutches of the police and have given ingenuous testimony at the police hearings. Such loose talk before the police commissioner or the examining magistrate forms the first steps toward betrayal and provocation for such a person. The immediate consequence of this is the carrying out of police instructions, first on a small, then on a larger scale. The following sequence of events, which has been observed more than once in recent times, is typical: such a newly recruited agent from the ranks of the Party comes to the Party leaders with the story that the police have tortured him and he has been released only on promise of his cooperation. He has given his word to cooperate only in order to gain his release, he says, but now regrets that promise and comes to the Party with his full confession. Communist Party leaders often show a thoughtless, and really criminal tolerance and trust of such people, and it often happens that such "truly repentant" persons are entrusted with really responsible party activities. There then follows a months- or even years-long informing to the police by such people who, under the cloak of their "sincere repentance", misuse the all too generous trust of the party.

2. Another type of agent provocateur is the information agent. A small spy of this type keeps the police informed on all phases of the Party known to him. Frequently such a spy becomes an important figure in the police intelligence network, keeping the police informed on all the most inner workings of the Party. Such a member is completely ignored by the police, who do everything possible to keep the shadow of suspicion far away from him. This, then, is the most dangerous type of provocateur. He is an unusually good Party member, unconditionally carries out all Party directives, fights energetically against all types of deviationists, and is in all respects the

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very model of courage and self-sacrifice. In truth, however, he delivers the threads of the Party's activities into the hands of the police day in and day out, year in and year out, betraying not only individual Communists but also whole organizations.

3. A special type is the theoretician in the service of the police. He is frequently not a Party member, but a fellow-traveling journalist or writer or the like, who regularly prepares reports for the police on the condition of the revolutionary movement and makes various suggestions as to how the "enemies of the state" may be combatted. The secret files of the Okhrana opened by the October Revolution showed that the well-known publicist, Brzosowski, prominent in revolutionary and literary circles of his time, played such a role. Brzosowski was an exceptional speaker and talented writer, whose articles and writings had a great effect on the younger generation. Later it was revealed that he was an information agent of the Okhrana, and that, for a monthly salary of 150 rubles, he prepared regular reports on the revolutionary movement for the police, and, so to speak, provided for the correct political instruction of the Okhrana.

4. Finally there is another, most dangerous type of agent provocateur - the politician. He has the task of deliberately falsifying and distorting the political line of the Party. This type of political spy is unfortunately widespread in the ranks of the Party.

E. The recruiting methods of the police

1. What methods do the police use in recruiting their agents and spies? A very common method is the recruiting of political prisoners under the threat of death, torture, or the like. In China, where the police confront each arrested Communist with the most horrible torture and terrorism, the victims are given the simple choice of service in the secret police or death. In most of the capitalistic countries of Europe -- Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, the border countries Poland, Hungary, etc. -- the police use corporal punishment and torture to gather their information from people of weak character, who frequently reveal the most important and detailed information. Freely giving information to the police is the first step toward betrayal. Anyone who has once started down this road can almost never return.

2. There are many examples in the past of people who have participated in the revolutionary movement with greatest self-sacrifice, later fell into the clutches of the police and then began to betray the Party. Rysakov, one of the most active participants in the bombing attack on Czar Alexander II in 1881, who freely risked his own life as bomb thrower, 12 hours later gave the police a complete accounting and betrayed a number of his co-conspirators. Karakosov, another revolutionary, who had made an attempt on the life of

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Alexander II with a revolver, gave the police a complete statement on the third day of his arrest. It is well known that the Decembrists, the leaders of the officers' conspiracy against Czar Nicholas I in 1825, made a lamentable showing in court -- with the possible exception of Pestel'.

3. Another method used to recruit provocateurs is to threaten the family of political prisoners with violence and terrorism. Members of the family are beaten and tortured in the presence of the prisoner so as to break down his resistance. The following recently occurred in Rumania: when a comrade from the Youth Movement was arrested, the police brought in his aged mother and beat the mother in the presence of the son and the son in the presence of the mother. But the old woman remained firm. She spat in the face of the gendarmes and cried "I am a simple working woman and understand nothing of politics, but when you treat people in this way, I know that you are my enemies!" However, the matter often runs a different course, and threats against the family and children of the prisoner becomes a successful police method for recruiting agents and provocateurs. The wives of the arrested comrades frequently play a fatal role. It has happened that the wives, in an effort to gain their husband's freedom have informed the police which organizations and persons he was involved with. Naturally enough, the man is not helped by this, while a number of his comrades have also been delivered into the hands of the police.

4. Threats always play a decisive role in the recruiting of agents for the espionage service. Once the police have been able to get their victim to compromise the Party by means of threats or compromise and concessions, then the victim is in the clutches of the police and cannot easily escape again. The threat to reveal him to the Party as an informer hangs over his head like a sword of Damocles, and gives the police a welcome means of forcing him to continue his betrayal. Such a person is lost to the Revolutionary Movement once and for all. This method is very widespread, and is especially preferred by the English Intelligence Service. The Intelligence Service usually places its agents in circles of dubious repute. Frequently the political police chooses its agents from among persons who have at some time in the past committed a punishable act, as for example, deserters, etc. The political police produces the evidence for the benefit of their chosen candidate and explains: "As long as you work for us, these documents will be held by us and will not become publicly known."

5. Those paragraphs of the law which in various countries provide for the release of prisoners before completion of sentence and for the suspension of sentence as a reward for exemplary conduct, are often used by the police for the recruiting of co-workers. Often no more is required of an arrested Communist than his signature on a paper declaring that in the future he will avoid all further political activities. But this statement in the hands of the police serves as a lever to threaten and coerce the signer.

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6. During its long experience the political police have also developed their own private methods for obtaining public statements and confessions without recourse to blows or torture. To this end they use the method of "sympathetic", "friendly", "liberal" interrogation. A master of this technique, as we have already indicated, was Zubatov, the leader of the Czarist Okhrana, who often spent entire days and nights with the political prisoners discussing political questions. It is also known that at a much earlier date Czar Nicholas I had made use of the same method. During the hearing of the Decembrists, which he personally conducted, he explained with tears in his eyes that he himself was very much sympathetic with their philosophy of freedom and he personally kissed them on taking leave, only to instigate more arrests and executions after the prisoners had been led away.

7. In using these methods the police attempt to work on the most intimate emotions and on the psychology of the prisoner. The effect is easy to imagine. There is recourse to the most terrible forms of torture and terror everywhere. The prisoner expects to be tortured and tormented during the interrogation and now he finds instead courtesy, friendliness and even cordiality. It makes a deep impression on the inexperienced young revolutionist that he is not tortured, but instead led into political debates. He is received with a broad, liberal gesture by the dyed-in-the-wool police commissioner or interrogator, who says: "I want to have a cordial talk with you, man to man. Granted there is a wide gulf between us, but we will have to speak out. Perhaps we can find a few points of understanding."

8. During the Kukkala case in Finland, the examining magistrate struck up a conversation with a party member of great integrity which went something like this: "Naturally you can't give any information. I would not have expected otherwise of you. I understand your attitude completely. I have the greatest respect for the reasoning behind your movement and I do not want to coerce you. But I should think that we could talk about such general things as are to be read in the papers every day, couldn't we?" And so there began a "friendly" conversation, during the course of which the prisoner talked not only about well-known news, but also mentioned things which had not yet appeared in the papers!

9. In these attempts to coax forth important statements, a large part is played by discussions on "general philosophy", a method often used by refined, higher police executioners. Police officials often succeed in luring a younger comrade into the trap by assuring him that if he tells them the truth "We will give our word of honor that we will not harm a hair on the head of any of your friends. On the contrary, you can spare your friends a great deal of grief. We lack only a few details to complete our report." If the accused falls for this, it does in fact happen that he and a few others are released. But anyone who has ever informed to the police will always be at their disposal.

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10. In order to dupe the prisoner the police will often express sympathy and decency toward his family, perform numerous services for the accused and his family, allow visits from relatives and friends, and the like. Often attempts are made to work on the national or personal pride of the prisoner. He is told: "You are an unusually intelligent and capable person, but the party leadership is conspiring against you to keep you from assuming your proper place." Various factional differences are used for the same purpose. Attempts are often made to set arrested workers against the party leadership: "You have been made pawns while the big shots who put you up to this and who are the really guilty ones, get off scot-free or escape with little loss."

11. A favorite and frequently used trick of the political police is to create in the mind of the accused the impression that everything has already been confessed by someone else. For the bluffed and inexperienced comrade the police serve up a number of tricks which can only be seen through by the experienced. These demoralize the accused who then proceeds to spill all. This "all-knowing" pose of the police has led many astray. Often use is made of forged documents and of so-called confessions of co-defendants. The secret police, naturally, employs expert forgers with whom it is a small matter to reproduce a masterful copy of a given signature. A "personally-signed" document can easily confuse anyone.

A revolutionist must therefore strictly follow the rule: If you fall into the clutches of the police, give no credence to false hopes or beliefs, do not become panicky, do not allow yourself to be bluffed, do not become demoralized, and always remain on your guard.

F. How the police mask their provocateurs

1. One of the greatest difficulties in the fight against provocateurs lies in the skill with which the police mask their handiwork. It is far from easy to expose an agent provocateur or even to detect him. One often hears the following argument: this man cannot be suspected of espionage! Why, he has been in jail for many years himself! Or: this man cannot be in contact with the police. Why, for years he has had full knowledge of all kinds of illegal activities and the police has never yet intervened in any way! Neither of these two arguments is watertight. The police are often able to recruit a man for their service by granting him a reduction in a long sentence.

2. Another example of masking a provocateur is to arrange a successful jail break or to allow a number of genuine comrades to be released or to have their sentences reduced together with the agent.

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To show just how skillfully the police can provide cover for their provocateurs we will take another example from the history of Czarist Russia. Dageyev, the notorious spy of the Okhrana mentioned before, once met Vera Figner in Kharkov. During the course of the conversation he learned where she lived and at what times she was accustomed to go out. He asked her if she felt safe from the police, and she answered "As long as I do not see that informer Merkulov, the police will not discover me." Two weeks later Vera Figner did meet the notorious Merkulov on the street as she was leaving her house and was quickly arrested. For a long time the Party was firmly convinced that Merkulov had betrayed Figner. Not until much later was it learned that the meeting with Merkulov had been arranged by the police in order not to reveal that Dageyev was a provocateur.

3. One frequently hears a comrade arguing as follows: "The police know nothing of my activities, or they would have arrested me long ago." This is completely false! The police do not resort to arrest immediately they learn something, but only when it best suits their purpose. Churchill describes a characteristic episode of this type in military intelligence in his memoirs. The British secret service was aware of all details of the German military espionage network in England for years prior to the war. In spite of this not one of the spies was arrested, for the simple reason that it is easier to check on the activities of a known spy than to first locate a new spy. Further, it was then possible to arrest the entire network in one swoop, which is exactly what happened just before the outbreak of the war, when the German high command was in no position to build up another espionage system quickly. One should not forget that the police will not resort to arrests until the entire matter has been uncovered and it has all the threads in hand. This takes a great deal of time.

4. It is very important to know how the provocateur escaped from jail. He is released together with other political prisoners, as we stated previously, or the police stage a successful jail break. It is very naive to accept without question every successful jail break. The bourgeoisie does not build its jails so that one can escape from them. In Yugoslavia a provocateur "escaped" from a jail three times at great risk. At the third break there was even shooting. For a long time he was accepted in the Party as a good and genuine comrade. And yet he was a spy of the worst sort! Instructions found in the secret files of the Okhrana advise against allowing provocateurs "to escape" because this method had become too well known and no one believed the jail breaks any more. One should therefore not accept all escapes at face value, but should investigate the incident thoroughly to make sure that it was not engineered with the help of the secret police.

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5. The old method of giving a political prisoner a provocateur for a cellmate is well known. In addition the police use the prison doctor, the prison chaplain, etc., who will try to steer the prisoner into political discussions. For the same reason the prison guard will often play the part of a radical, freedom-loving good fellow. In many cases this same prison guard, who with great "amiability" arranges for the correspondence of the comrade with the outside, first brings these letters to the prison director or to the political police. All of these things must be kept in mind.

6. One must also remember that a modest and simple manner of living is no sufficient reason for assuming that the party concerned is not a spy. Even the instructions to the Czarist Okhrana include a detailed rule that no agent provocateur should make the slightest change in his manner of living after entering on service with the police. It happens, naturally, that a spy may err in this respect and so be easier to recognize. But this does not happen in the case of the experienced, trained and careful provocateur. The provocateur is usually in contact with a police official, whom he meets from time to time in a secret place. He does not work under his real name, but under an alias which is not even known to his collaborators among the police. Usually spies working under the same police division and in the same organization do not know each other. Thus it often happens that one spy will defend some provocative plan or other, while a second spy is quietly pleased to have a confederate in the Party.

7. In order to protect its agents against discovery the police will often circulate rumors to the effect that this or that honorable party member is in contact with the police. The Social Fascists play a particularly mean role in this respect. In very recent times the Social Fascist party leadership in one of the "democratic" countries of Europe tried to demoralize one of our sister parties by starting a whispering campaign against various party leaders. This technique of making the most trusted party functionaries suspect is used very frequently. Even the memory of deceased comrades is slandered for the same purpose. After the murder of the Yugoslav Communists, Djuro Djakovic and Niko Hecimovic, the police spread the rumor that these comrades had told all under torture. That this was a vicious slander, has now been proved. After the murder of the secretary of our Chinese sister party, too, the Nanking police spread the lie that he had revealed many important things.

8. The police will also calmly sacrifice minor agents, when necessary, in order to protect those agent provocateurs who are more valuable to them. For example, when there have been a large number of arrests, and the Party is frantically searching for the traitor, the police will often so arrange matters that one of their minor, less important agents is exposed. It is like a game of

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chess: one sacrifices a pawn in order to save the queen. Quite often the police will carry this matter of "exposing" even to their spies, who then play the role of a repentant police agent, or one who has been sympathetic toward the Communist Party. And still, many comrades are misled by such maneuvers of the police.

9. In illegal parties the police will often arrest one party functionary after another in order to free the way for one of their spies--or even a whole group of spies--to the Central Committee.

10. During mass arrests the police will often let several comrades among the leaders at large, in order to keep a close check on the further operations of the organization. At the same time, this method serves to conceal their provocateur.

11. A spectacular type of political provocation is the so-called "provocative diversion". This plays an important part in the fight of the bourgeoisie against the workers' movement. For this purpose a revolutionary movement of several persons is formed as a nucleus for others. There was a policemen's strike in England in 1920, a movement against pay cuts, as well as the seaman's strike in Invergordon in September 1931. The British government was no little concerned over such actions by its 100-percent-loyal police force. But the Intelligence Service had a solution. A new, radical policemen's union was formed. In a short time the Intelligence Service was able to launch a second strike in which only the radical elements participated. The strike was crushed and the participants were forced out of the police service.

12. Another frequently used method is to continue sending correspondence to overseas representatives in the name of a committee for months after the committee has been dissolved or moved. Such deceptive maneuvers are well known from the time of the world war. For example, British Naval Intelligence sent out messages in code, knowing that the Germans had cracked the code being used. Naturally, these orders were not genuine, but the German naval command at first thought they were. Such falsified radio messages also played an important part in the battle at the Skagerak. On the other side of the picture, the Germans captured 20 French spies proceeding to Germany by way of Switzerland, learned all their secret channels of communication, and for months continued to send "espionage reports" in their names.

13. Some years ago the Japanese police almost completely eliminated a revolutionary organization in that country, but for a long time was able to continue contact with the overseas representatives of the organization in its

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name. As soon as the Japanese police were satisfied that they could learn no more from these overseas agents, they lured them back into the country where they were arrested the minute they stepped over the border.

All these are useful examples of provocative diversion as used by our class enemies.

G. Industrial espionage.

1. Espionage in industrial plants is one of the sharpest weapons in the hands of the bourgeoisie at the present stage of the proletarian class war. Factory espionage finds its most fertile ground for growth and development in: the deprivation of the worker's rights in the capitalistic industrial plant, the increasing misery of the masses in capitalistic society, the demoralization of the workers through social democracy. The weakness of the red workers' councils, the weaknesses of the Communist industrial movement in general, make it easy for the enemy to set his bands of spies on the revolutionary workers.

2. Against the growing revolutionary mood of the workers and the increasing influence of the Communist factory cells, the bourgeoisie mounts, among other things, a widespread net of factory spies. Hand in hand with the police, the industrialists often form complete espionage cells in each branch of the factory. This is the common method in fascist Italy. Chiang Kai-shek has done the same in China. In Italy the entire fascist workers' union movement is nothing more than a vast organ for industrial espionage. The bourgeoisie uses special care, of course, to give this kind of protection to its war industry, the chemical industry, the railroads, etc., against Communist contamination.

3. We will discuss here only the most frequent forms of industrial espionage. The first of these is the open police surveillance. The so-called "plant police" are organized in the factory with the purpose of checking on the workers in every way. Even the fire protection service in the factory is often given the sideline of spying on the workers.

4. Next we have the spies at the service of the owner or manager. The whole administrative apparatus of directors, division supervisors, bosses, etc., are generally made a part of the factory spy system. In the Rumanian oil fields, which are the property of American capitalists, the spy services are under the direction of reliable American bosses, to state just one example.

5. The apparatuses of the reformist trade unions and of the Social Fascist Party play tremendous role in this type of factory espionage. The reformist factory council is like "a child at home" in the offices of the factory

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management. It is as important to the reformists as it is to the managers to repress the revolutionary movement. In intimate consultation with management they work out the methods to be used in countering the revolutionary mood of the workers.

6. The young, proletarian author Willi Bredel graphically portrays the espionage operating methods of the reformist factory council in his novel "Maschinenfabrik H.u.K.". The chairman and an active member of the factory council act as spies under the direct supervision of the factory management. One of these makes systematic reports on the revolutionary workers. Willi Bredel presents the following characteristic fact in his novel: the hero of the story, a communist, notes on the first day of his arrival in the factory that the social democratic functionaries in the shops deliberately start political discussions with the Communists so that, in the course of the discussion they can, through loud talk and comments about "agents of Moscow", make the supervisors aware of the Communists.

7. Just how openly the social fascists pursue their espionage could be observed during the Prussian plebescite of August 1931. In order to determine which social democratic workers were following the appeal of the Communist Party in opposing the social democratic bureaucracy, the social democrats set up observation posts outside of the polls to observe the "untrustworthy" elements.

8. It is a fact that in many communist parties the most confidential party decisions during times of stress within the party will come to the attention of the social democrats and will often appear in their press. There can only be one explanation for this: these bits of information find their way to renegades, in contact with some Communist Party member. Often, when small groups of renegades leave the Party, they will leave one or more of their members behind in the ranks of the Party, so that they will have sources of information and also a means of undermining from within. The Lovestone group in the United States made a tremendous effort in this direction.

9. The so-called private detective offices play an important part in industrial espionage. This has reached its highest development in the United States, the country which has become the classical example of industrial espionage. In America many of these detective firms have taken over surveillance in many large industrial complexes, becoming in effect large commercial trusts with branch offices in many places. Large espionage firms such as Pinkerton's, Sherman Burns and the like have their own press and publications, have their own staff of writers in their service and direct an army of agents which is

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conservatively estimated at 135,000 men. Their advertisements frequently cover an entire page of newspapers like the New York Times. They report a taxable income of 50 million dollars a year and pay a quarter of a million dollars in taxes. The detective bureau does anything and takes on all conceivable assignments. From the industrial they will accept assignments for the disorganization and breaking of strikes while at the same time they accept assignments from trade unions for the protection of "scabs." (sic) From the insurance companies, with whom the industrialists have policies for protection against losses through strikes, the detective agencies accept assignments for the prevention of strikes in the factories concerned. But it can also happen that a manufacturer, during a business slump, would just as soon collect for strike losses from his insurance company, and at such a time he merely orders a strike from such a detective agency! It has been revealed little by little that the largest American corporations, such as United States Steel, etc., make use of the services of these detective agencies.

a. These espionage firms do not always call themselves detective agencies. They send thousands of copies of their circulars to the factory managers, circulars in which they appear under a great variety of titles: "Special Office for Personnel Services", "Association for the Education of Workers in the Spirit of Americanism", "Organization for Industrial Peace", "Bureau for Rational Management", and many others.

b. Here is a typical quotation from a circular in which one of these firms offers its services:

"We commit ourselves to: 1. Organize a union in your plant and guarantee thereby that no strike will occur. 2. If a union is established, in your business, we undertake to make this union incapable of striking within 60 days by undermining it with factional strife and personal intrigues."

c. The working methods of the espionage firms are all pretty much alike. The functions of these agencies are described in more or less veiled newspaper ads. The agent selected then gets orders to take a job in the particular company which has "placed an order" for the firm's services, or perhaps in a company that has been selected by the detective agency to be the victim of its next extortion. The agents are given highly detailed instructions on how they can gain the confidence of the workers and how they can penetrate leading positions in the local labor unions. Generally several agents will be working in the same plant without knowing each other. They are required to make daily reports at some cover address concerning their conversations and related matters such as new acquaintances and contacts. In these reports, naturally, they do not sign themselves with the name used in the factory, but with some appropriate alias.

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10. Any weakness on the part of the Communists in the factories is the source of the most serious danger. This is especially true now that the bourgeoisie is trying by all means at its disposal to drive the Communists out of the factories and to isolate them. The primary tool in this campaign is the factory spy. It is therefore of the greatest importance that the Communist Party develop techniques for the unmasking of spies in the factory and to combat industrial espionage. It will not be possible for us to maintain, strengthen and broaden our Communist cells in the factories unless we can recruit mass support for the combatting of industrial espionage.

11. Communists still have to learn how to organize their activities in the factories. Many Communists, in countries where our movement is legal, maintain that they have no right to conduct illegal activities in the factories. This is beside the point, since it is not necessary to openly declare that one is the leader of a Communist party cell. A member of our French sister party, who had been ordered to take cover to avoid arrest, proudly declared: "I am no coward and I will not hide from the police!"

12. Here is another example of the thoughtlessness and rashness prevailing in the attitude of many Communist circles. In one of our legal fraternal parties, the central organ of the party published New Year's wishes to all of the party cells over a complete and accurate list of the names and addresses of all party members, so that the police acquired a complete list of all party cells.

13. The first duty of Communists in the struggle against factory espionage, therefore, is the careful organization of all illegal activities. In many legal parties--to say nothing of the illegal parties--the membership varies greatly. Large numbers of new people come into the party. Before the police send a novice into action, they give him intensive training and even have their own schools to teach the strategy and tactics of the opponent. After all, when an 18 or 19 year old worker comes into the Party, how can he proceed properly to avoid mistakes without proper training?

14. The Communists must therefore instruct their members and organize courses on the organization of illegal work in the factories. Every case of espionage which is discovered must be described to our factory comrades in great detail so that they may avoid the same mistake and to protect our factory cells from arrest. Every failure must be examined closely to make sure that no element of espionage entered in. We must circulate special, highly appealing publications describing factory espionage. The most effective measure against industrial espionage, of course, is and remains the organization of a great mass movement in industry, a movement which unfortunately has not yet been achieved by the Communist Party. When we Communists

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succeed in mobilizing factory opinion against spies and informers, a mood which has been weakened in recent times as a result of the demoralizing influence of the social democrats, and to base this feeling on a well organized mass movement, then we shall have dealt industrial espionage a heavy blow.

IV. COMBATTING PROVOCATION

Many Communists imagine the struggle against provocation and espionage to be exclusively, or primarily, a repression of individual informers or spies. Such a concept is completely wrong. A large number of preventative measures are necessary to make the development of treachery or espionage impossible. Our attention must be focussed on these in our struggle against provocation.

A. The preventive measures used in combatting provocation must take three forms:

1. First: The proper combination of legal and illegal activities. The proper groundwork in organizing party work makes the penetration and development of provocation difficult from the outset.

2. Secondly: The setting up and faithful adherence to conspiratorial methods, in order to assure secrecy of confidential decisions and documents, of subversive members and addresses, etc.

3. Thirdly: Detailed instruction for the behavior of comrades when arrested concerning their attitude toward judges and the police.

4. The foremost and most important means of combatting provocation is a genuinely popular character in the revolutionary movement. A successful fight against provocation and espionage is best founded on the following principles: a genuine participation of all party members in the political activity of the party; a well considered decision on all party resolutions; the development of self-criticism regarding errors committed on the part of those committing them; the political criticism of each member, his operating methods and the results of his efforts throughout the entire organization; the development of a collective attitude in the party concerning the capabilities, courage and revolutionary trustworthiness of every party member as well as of the party functionaries; the constant promotion of initiative in party life. But in those parties, where, on the other hand, a purely mechanical carrying out of party directives is allowed to suffice, where all initiative is lacking, where the "clique" psychology prevails, and where political judgement of party members is

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expressed in such terms as "a good friend" or "a good fellow", in these places the ground is ripe for blind acceptance, uncritical assumptions, the mutual covering of mistakes and neglect. In the unhealthy atmosphere of such a just-between-us attitude there grew up in the Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party such classical examples of provocation as the previously mentioned Azev, who managed to betray countless comrades to the police. The revolutionary organizations must combat espionage and provocation through an effective and tireless mass struggle, mobilizing the working masses in opposition to the fighting methods of the class enemy, and applying all past experience and improvements in this defense.

5. Unfortunately, the provocation of Bia-Torbagy in Hungary, which led to the establishment of special courts, did not lead to a popular opposition on the part of the Communist Party. In this case, too, it was the duty of the Communists to mobilize not only the proletariat, but all working groups against the provocation. Every similar case of provocation should be the starting point for an increasingly broad and popular propaganda effort to promote a mass hate of the class enemy and his vile methods.

In this struggle against provocation and espionage it is essential to achieve the proper balance between legal and extra-legal work. A good combination of legal and illegal methods makes the work of the provocateur more difficult and facilitates his unmasking.

6. "In many countries, including the most advanced," wrote Lenin in his Childhood Diseases, "the bourgeoisie plants its provocateurs in the Communist Party, and it will continue to do so in the future. One of the means of combatting this is the proper combination of legal and illegal activities."

Concerning one of the greatest provocateurs in the Bolshevik party, Malinovskiy, Lenin wrote:

"He betrayed dozens and dozens of the best and most dedicated comrades. The fact that he did not succeed in doing even more was due to the fact that we had a proper balance between legal and extra-legal activities. In order to win our trust, Malinovskiy was forced to assist in the publication of our legal newspaper. This paper was able to combat the opportunism of the Mensheviks by teaching the elements of Bolshevism, with the concurrence of the Czarist police...At the same time he was betraying dozens of our best people to the police, Malinovskiy was forced to cooperate in the recruiting of thousands of new Bolsheviks through the legal press."

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7. An important necessity for success is the avoidance of an excessive centralization in illegal party work. This is particularly true of the countries of the "White Terror". It frequently happens that a large number of illegal activities, such as the operation of a printing press, contacts with larger organizations, and the like, are in the hands of a single comrade. A strict separation of functions is an absolute necessity in illegal party work, so that the arrest of one person does not result in the crippling of party activities in various sectors. A comrade who directs the party's efforts in a certain field must not at the same time know all about the entire illegal apparatus.

8. Further, a thorough checking of all members must be set up. Such a thorough check must be undertaken especially if the comrade is to hold a responsible position, a position which will bring him in contact with various fields of illegal activity, such as illegal publications, printing presses, code keys, and the like. The same holds for comrades who are to be active in colonial, anti-military, and similar work. Any personal feeling, stemming from a superficial or friendly feeling in the selection of people for such work must be rejected as bourgeois and unproletarian. Every such investigation must include a thorough study of his strength of character, a testing in combat, his personal courage, a study of his living habits, of his friends and acquaintances, his family, etc., etc. A member who has not yet been in the Party long enough to be well known, of whom one is not yet certain, should rather be assigned legal, or semi-legal activities than sent somewhere where he could endanger the entire plan as a result of a false step.

10. This, of course, is all the more true of those lands where the White Terror is strongest, such as Yugoslavia, China, and the like. The communist parties must subject all of their leading personalities to the closest kind of examination in the light of the foregoing points. One must bear in mind in this connection, that the communist parties also have, in addition to the old, tested cadre of functionaries, a cadre which has begun to thin under the blows of the police, a cadre of very young functionaries. Under the conditions of sharpened class warfare and terror to which the communist parties are now exposed, the make-up of the active party cadre changes very fast. Young party members can often rise to leading positions within a year, and not all persons whom the party gives great responsibility are as thoroughly investigated as our goal requires.

11. Under present circumstances, the communist parties must make caution a general rule in respect to certain comrades whenever a more or less serious case of suspicion arises, even when there is no direct evidence to support such a suspicion. Circumstances are seldom so favorable that a party

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can gather all the necessary evidence to make a case against a provocateur. Without these precautions the communist parties will continue to experience unpleasant surprises and the police will find their work easier. The history of the revolutionary movement in Czarist Russia is full of cases where certain party functionaries were suspected of being provocateurs and party commissions, after long interrogation, investigation, hearings, etc., still came to the conclusion that there was insufficient evidence against the accused and that the charges were groundless. But later, when the archives of the Okhrana were opened by the October Revolution, it was revealed that a great number of those previously accused had indeed been in the service of the police. We should learn from this, that each case wherein a seemingly trustworthy and tested party member is accused, requires the most careful handling and a thorough-going investigation.

13. It is also necessary that an especially established board should investigate all aspects of every arrest. In this respect it is necessary to get in contact with the arrested person as quickly as possible to establish whether or not he can recall any suspicious circumstances. An investigation of the family and other persons in the neighborhood of the arrested comrade can often reveal important links in the circumstances leading to the arrest. It is unfortunately a fact that too many comrades still consider such arrests with an almost fatalistic air. It must become an inviolate rule in all revolutionary organizations that every such arrest be thoroughly investigated in all directions so that no unexplained detail remains.

14. In each case of an arrest the leaders of the Party must be informed as quickly as possible of the intervention of the police. In this way further arrests, house searches, and other police traps can be avoided. It will then also be possible to avoid the arrest of comrades still at liberty in the case of ill considered testimony on the part of the arrested person. Penetration of the class enemy into the ranks of the Party can be localized by changing living quarters, meeting places and other addresses.

15. The most important rules for combatting provocation, rules which must be carried out systematically, can be summed up as follows:

a. A thorough analysis of all arrests, investigation and comparison of all events and circumstances connected with the arrests.

b. A detailed analysis and checking of the activities of all party functionaries as to correctness of the political and organizational line. Increased vigilance in all cases of distortion and perversion of the party line.

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c. Careful analysis of the activities and formal suggestions initiated by the person under suspicion during a given period of time.

d. Extreme caution vis-a-vis persons exhibiting an abnormal curiosity, who try to push themselves into positions of responsibility, who want to know all the details of the Party's illegal activities.

e. Special attention and extraordinary caution in all cases of non-communist behavior on the part of certain Communists in their personal life (drunkenness, peculation, dissipation, sexual deviation, and the like).

f. A continuing and strict accounting of all money spent by the Party. Where there is an unsystematic and careless handling of funds, there will be a fertile ground for the penetration of moral deviation and provocation.

g. The party schools must conduct courses on the fight against provocation and on the most elementary techniques of illegal activity. These courses should be based not only on the long experience of the Russian Bolsheviks, but also on the more recent experiences of our sister parties in the various capitalistic countries and in the colonies. In this connection there should be a distribution of descriptive and agitational mass literature on the methods and cunning of the police, together with concrete examples of how provocation is to be combatted. Brochures describing typical cases of unexpected arrests, betrayals, and provocation should be circulated.

h. The fight against provocation should also be waged in the press with the most widespread distribution possible of the pictures of unmasked provocateurs, together with personal descriptions of known spies, just as is now being done by the German Communist Party.

i. In the fight against industrial espionage it is very important to mobilize the sentiments of the workers against the tricks of the factory spy. A mass action on the part of all the workers in a factory, of a given section of the plant, and the forceable ejection of the spy from the plant is not a bad idea. Nor is a mass boycott of the spy. By these means it is often possible to make the spy quit, in addition to which, the fact that all the workers avoid him will make his efforts much more difficult and far less productive. Further, he will feel uncomfortable in the factory and will soon choose to leave. In any case the organization of the masses will form a decisive link in the fight against factory espionage.

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j. No Communist party can neglect making careful preparations against the possibility of being forced to go underground on short notice, and to anticipate a sudden attack by the state or by the police.

Another group of rules applies to the matter of improved techniques for illegal activities and of practical organization. We will illustrate this with an example of military espionage from the imperialistic world war. A famous espionage school, which the German high command had set up in Antwerp during their occupation, gave the students the following instructions as to how they were to conduct themselves in their "work".

"Do not show too much curiosity while collecting information.

"Practice facial expressions which will give you an air of indifference and unimportance.

"Do not discuss confidential matters on trains or in cafes.

"Do not reveal your knowledge of foreign languages. This simplifies eavesdropping on conversations.

"Never let papers, envelopes, newspapers, hotel and business receipts and the like lie around. Don't put them in waste baskets either, even if they are torn into small pieces.

"Always organize meetings with people you must contact at a great distance from your own and from his living quarters. If possible, a train ride of several hours duration should be required. With fatigue, and especially after a night ride, the client will have less resistance and will often reveal a great deal.

"It is better to learn five or six facts, even though they are small and unimportant, than a hundred opinions." And so forth.

16. The revolutionary, too, must follow certain rules, the more so in these times. The revolutionary of today works and lives under the threat of police terror and of capitalistic class justice, of provocation and of espionage. He must always be on guard, must avoid loose talk, cannot be careless, must exercise self-discipline and know how to restrain himself.

In the carrying out of confidential, conspiratorial work he must proceed with caution, deliberation and care, always being guided by the revolutionary goal. He must constantly be on guard against distraction,

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loose talk and curiosity. He must develop a number of strict rules in regard to his daily life and in his contacts with persons and things. These rules include the following:

- a. Only tell those who must know and not those who merely want to know. This is especially necessary for the underground, since not all will be able to resist talking under duress.
- b. A revolutionist must not talk loosely, must not speak unnecessarily. Avoid speaking about Party matters in public, where many people are present, such as in cafes, on trains, on the streets, etc.
- c. Only ask about things that concern you, about what you must know.
- d. Use caution in writing letters, speaking over the telephone. Letters are read, telephone wires are tapped.
- e. Carry nothing unnecessary on your person.
- f. Look around you. Notice who is following you, observing you.
- g. Avoid affectation! Do not act with conspicuous secretiveness, but be natural in everything you do.
- h. Avoid careless and thoughtless acts. Every deed, every step should be well thought out.
- i. Adapt your manner of living to the environment in which you are operating. And so forth.

B. Our attitude toward the police and judges

Finally, something on our attitude toward the police and toward judges.

1. Every Communist party, every conspiratorial organization must work out regulations on how one is to act toward the police and toward judges, especially for the training of its young members. The general rule for any Communist is: say nothing. This, naturally, does not mean that one should answer each and every question with "I refuse to answer." Tactics under interrogation must be much more elastic. But the general rule remains: no statement on comrades, no new names, no addresses, no single fact which

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could be used against the Party, its organs, or certain members of its organizations. In no case should there be any clarification or information. One should categorically deny all knowledge, even in face to face encounters with the agent provocateur or the police spy. Anyone, who in the slightest respect breaks these necessary rules, must be put out of the Party.

2. Thus, if the police have material proof against you that you are a member of the Party, you may not give any additional information. In this respect one must not allow himself to be led into discussions, not even on such seemingly harmless matters as political philosophy and the like. Only in those cases where the police have no material proof that you are a member of the Party, and they accuse you of being a Communist, may you make some logical, explanatory statement to turn aside the accusation--but even then it may only concern yourself alone.

3. There is a second rule which one must bear in mind: if you should be arrested, maintain a firm and serene demeanor, but do not become belligerent. Do not brag or talk big. During the war it frequently happened that captured, "heroic" officers, full of excessive patriotism boastfully told their interrogators: "Wait. You have yet to make the acquaintance of our superior weapons! You will be hit in such and such a place!", etc. This kind of misguided patriotism often gives the enemy valuable information, which can do the hero's "dear fatherland" untold damage. There are Communists, too, who feel that one will consider him a coward if he does not brag about the revolutionary activities. This is an absolutely erroneous and dangerous attitude. We must always conceal our plans and methods of operation from the class enemy. We must be guided only by political objectives.

4. The attitude of Communists at public hearings deserves special attention. The police do not use the courts only to cut short the activities of those revolutionaries which have fallen into their hands, not only to publicize atrocities and so to terrorize the revolutionary masses, but also to compromise party functionaries in the eyes of the masses. The Communist must make use of the court trial to further the revolutionary struggle. Our tactic in public trials is not defense but offense. The Communist must not be bound by legal formalities, but must make use of the trial to accuse the ruling capitalistic system, to courageously publicize the position of the Party. The assistance of lawyers who would minimize the role and importance of the Party in their plea must be rejected.

5. Many Communists who are not very experienced in the revolutionary struggle may be shocked on reading what is written here and ask: "If the author of this pamphlet is not exaggerating, it is completely impossible to

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distinguish between a provocateur and an honest revolutionary." If anyone conducts a ceaseless and underhanded fight against the Comintern, it is reasonably certain that he can be unmasked as a class enemy. The author points out, however, that a person who is outwardly as loyal as possible toward the Comintern and the Party can also be revealed as a provocateur, because in this case his loyalty is only a screen behind which he carries on his betrayal. If a person has carried on conspiratorial work for years without having been apprehended by the police, he can be taken for a provocateur. The writer wishes to point out, however, that the police could easily arrest a provocateur who has fallen under the suspicion of the Party and so mask his provocative activities. Nor can one put any trust in jail breaks, since the escapes are often arranged by the police. If a person is living high, then one can assume that he has a secret source of income. The author does admit, however, that provocateurs have specific instructions not to change their standard of living. If a person manifests unusual curiosity, he will automatically attract the suspicion of his comrades. The author points out, however, that even in cases where there are no superficial reasons to arouse suspicion, there is still no assurance that the person is an honest revolutionary. On the contrary, we may be faced with a particularly adept and dangerous provocateur. Whom can one trust, after all this? How is it possible to avoid falling into a spy mania, in which one sees a bourgeois agent in every party member? Will this not result in a splitting up of the Party?

6. It is true, that a spy mania will lead to the breakup of the Party. It is the duty of every Bolshevik to combat this attitude relentlessly. Even at the risk of having such an attitude rise in the minds of certain characterless Communists under the influence of what has been said in this brochure, we must nevertheless declare that everything we have said is a true--if naturally an incomplete--reflection of the actual state of affairs in the world. It is high time we recognize that the ruling class has access to the most diverse methods and means for repressing the revolutionary movement, and for weakening it, ranging from the open method of fascist terrorism to the most refined demoralization and for leading various groups, levels and sectors of the working class down the garden path. Is it surprising, therefore, that the bourgeoisie, which is fighting like a wild beast to preserve its dominance, should grasp at each and every method, should shrink from the use of no vile means, should use every possible means? If we did not have such a sly, stealthy, brutal and bloodthirsty enemy, our struggle would be far smoother and the road to victory much shorter.

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7. This being the case, would it be a worthy policy if we Bolsheviks were to hesitate in laying bare this threat of espionage and provocation, simply because there may be people who have no clear idea of the dangers to the Communist Party and the revolutionary movement, and who would then become afraid and run for cover? On the contrary, it is our duty to reveal this matter in all its clarity. Only hopeless opportunists, only weak liberals are afraid to look truth in the eyes.

8. What methods are there, then, for combatting this virulence? What chances are there for rooting it out?

The methods for combatting the evil were described in the previous chapter. We will devote a few words to the chances for rooting it out.

Can provocation be rooted out? When one considers what we have already said, namely that provocation is a technique, one of the most tested methods, in the class war of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, and further, that the technique is of the utmost importance now that the survival of capitalism is at stake, it becomes clear that the ruling class will use the techniques of espionage and provocation as long as the class war continues. One need hardly put the question in this way to see that provocation will not be conquered until the capitalistic system and the supremacy of the bourgeoisie have been eliminated. It also follows that this victory over provocation can not fail, that it will disappear together with the dominion of the bourgeoisie

The bourgeoisie is still strong. Only fools would deny this fact. But the bourgeoisie is not invincible. On the contrary, its downfall is inevitable.

The bourgeoisie still has access to the most effective methods for the economic and political repression of the masses, and for misleading them. Since there are repressive means in the arsenal of the bourgeoisie for use against the proletariat, such as the torture chambers in the cellars of the police, such as the gallows erected by the fascist Pilsudski regime in Poland or the execution of thousands of nameless heroes in the Chinese revolution--are such means of class repression sufficient to shake the faith of a Bolshevik in the eventual victory of the proletariat?

9. On 27 January 1919, shortly after the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, Lenin wrote in his letter To the Workers of Europe and America:

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"The strength of the exploiters is still great enough to murder and lynch the best leaders of the proletarian world revolution... But the strength of the exploiters of the entire world is no longer great enough to prevent the victory of the proletariat, who are bringing humanity freedom from the yoke of capital..."

The position of the bourgeoisie is hopeless. The verdict of history, the verdict of the working class has been given. No means still at the disposal of the bourgeoisie can save it now.

The power of the bourgeoisie will not collapse of itself. It has to be toppled. In order to bring about its collapse one must see clearly all the methods that the bourgeoisie can use in the fight against the proletariat.

10. There are not provocateurs everywhere; but they can be everywhere, since we cannot know how this or that provocateur might have penetrated the Party. Now, this possibility need not lead to a panic, it should not have the effect of confusing the possibility with reality. On the contrary, the result should be a cold and sober vigilance.

Remember that the enemy can be everywhere, remember this constantly. And therefore be on your guard, hold fast to the rules of conspiratorial activity, be careful, check yourself and others. Learn to distinguish between the enemy behind his mask and the friend. This is not easy. It requires a great deal of practice. It must be learned stubbornly and systematically. To learn to do this requires that the matter be studied seriously.

11. It must not be forgotten, that besides the unmasking of this or that provocateur our attention must be focussed--as we have stressed in this thesis--on preventive methods, on the struggle against provocation as a system, as a weapon and method in the fight of the doomed class against the revolutionary proletariat.

12. What is required is to publicize the methods of the class enemy in all ranks of the Party and among the masses, to stimulate their vigilance constantly, to bring the matter to the attention of each and every party cell. To unleash a mass resistance, class struggle against provocation as a system, to increase the activity of the masses in this fight--that is the task of the Communist Party, that is the task of the vanguard of the proletariat.

13. The fight against provocation as a system is a most important component of the common class struggle to free the working masses from the yoke of capital. It is high time that an end were made to the indifference,

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the forbearance, the passivity, the helplessness which until now have characterized this sector of the class war. It is high time that a new course were set in this respect.

14. The communist parties, which are growing into a great class-power and are marching at the fore of the revolutionary movement the world over, will bring about this change.

15. The class war is growing ever harder and sharper. This is our war. The class enemy has at its disposal all the power of the state. Fascism and social fascism, terror and betrayal, provocation and espionage--all this is being brought to bear against the revolutionary masses. But ours is the victory, the future is ours. Under the blows of the October Revolution the bourgeoisie of Russia and their political police were crushed; the revolution crushed all those who had put their service and trust in this rallying point of meanness and deceit. The same fate awaits all police lackeys, executioners, and provocateurs the world over. They will disappear without a trace into the fire of hate and contempt which the broad masses of the workers will bring to bear against them. The memories of the revolutionaries, the memories of the best fighters for the liberation of humanity from the yoke of capitalism will live on in the hearts of the millions, in the banner of the revolution, as a rallying cry in struggle and indignation. The names of the revolutionaries who perished in battle, the long list from Spartakus to Karl Liebknecht and others, will shine on through the centuries.

16. Communists are fighting against the economic system of crisis and war, of hunger, want, and mass misery. They fight against the position that humanity can no longer rise but must go down hill. They are fighting for the revolutionary escape from the great economic crisis which holds the entire capitalistic world in its clutches. They do not fight apart from, but together with the broad masses, at the head of the mass movement. Communism has already triumphed on one-sixth of the globe. Our victory over the rest of the world awaits us.

(Translated from a foreign document)

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