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2d Session }

SENATE

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THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

What It Is
How It Works

A HANDBOOK FOR AMERICANS

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL
SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS OF THE COMMITTEE
ON THE JUDICIARY, UNITED STATES
SENATE



UNITED STATES
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SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

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WILLIAM E. JENNER, Indiana
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HERMAN WELKER, Idaho
JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER, Maryland

J. G. SOURWINE, *Chief Counsel*

RICHARD ARENS and ALVA C. CARPENTER, *Associate Counsel*
BENJAMIN MANDEL, *Director of Research*

II

S. Con. Res. 62

Agreed to April 23, 1956

**EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA**

AT THE SECOND SESSION

*Begun and held at the City of Washington on Tuesday, the third day of
January, one thousand nine hundred and fifty-six*

Concurrent Resolution

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring),
That the pamphlet entitled "A Handbook for Americans", prepared
for the use of the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Senate
Committee on the Judiciary, be printed as a Senate document.*

SEC. 2. There shall be printed seventy-five thousand additional
copies of such Senate document for the use of the Subcommittee on
Internal Security of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary.

Attest:

FELTON M. JOHNSTON,
Secretary of the Senate.

Attest:

RALPH R. ROBERTS,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

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FOREWORD

The average American is unaware of the amount of misinformation about the Communist Party, USA, which appears in the public press, in books and in the utterances of public speakers. In part, this misinformation is consciously planted by members of the party using ways and means calculated to have the greatest effect in poisoning the channels of American public opinion. In part, it is due to our ignorance of the problem—the problem of the existence in our midst of a mass conspiratorial organization controlled by a foreign power. The Communist problem is unique in our history.

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee presents this study of The Communist Party, USA—What It Is—How It Works as a convenient handbook for Americans in an effort to counteract current misinformation regarding the Communist movement. This study seeks only to touch the high spots without going into a detailed analysis of Communist activity in the labor movement, among Negroes, women, youth, foreign language groups, and in front organizations. It endeavors to differentiate the Communist Party from bona fide political parties in the United States. We earnestly believe that, given a more accurate knowledge of the Communist conspiracy, fewer Americans will fall victim to its wiles.

VII

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

What It Is—How It Works

Founded in September 1919, the Communist Party of the United States of America is an organization unique in American history. It is not a true political party and differs fundamentally from all political parties in this country. It is in fact a Russian-inspired, Moscow-dominated anti-American, quasi-military conspiracy against our Government, our ideals, and our freedoms.

MOSCOW INSPIRED AND DOMINATED

After testimony running over a period of more than 1 year from numerous qualified witnesses, the Subversive Activities Control Board found, on April 20, 1953, that the Communist Party of the United States is "substantially directed, dominated, and controlled by the Soviet Union." This finding was based upon the evidence before the Subversive Activities Control Board. It was undergirded by the report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities on The Communist Party of the United States as an agent of a Foreign Power, published in 1947. The counts supporting this finding follow:

1. The Communist Party, USA, traces its origin to two conventions, held simultaneously in Chicago from September 1 to 7, 1919, of the Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party. Both conventions were held in response to an invitation issued by Gregory Zinoviev, then president of the executive committee of the Communist International with headquarters in Moscow, and first published in this country on July 7, 1919, in the Novy Mir, a Russian newspaper published in New York City. Zinoviev was, at that time, a member of the executive body of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet. In obedience to instructions from Zinoviev, the two parties he had called into convention merged into the United Communist Party of America in May 1921.

2. Among the "twenty-one points" of admission to the Communist International, adopted in 1920 and accepted by the American party, was No. 14 to the effect that—

Each party desirous of affiliating with the Communist International should be obliged to render every possible assistance to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against all counterrevolutionary forces. The Communist parties should carry on a precise and definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport any kind of military equipment intended for fighting against the Soviet Republics, and should also by legal and illegal means carry on a propaganda amongst the troops sent against the workers republics. * * *

Since that time, paramount allegiance to the Soviet Union has been a fundamental tenet of the Communist Party, USA, as shown by the

books recommended for party study such as: Problems of Leninism and Foundations of Leninism, both by Joseph Stalin; History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; Lenin's Works, and by party oaths of loyalty such as the following of 1935 for new members:

"I pledge myself to rally the masses to defend the Soviet Union, the land of victorious socialism. I pledge myself to remain at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the party, the only line that insures the triumph of Soviet Power in the United States" (The Communist Party—A Manual on Organization, by J. Peters).

At the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International held in the summer of 1935, attended by Earl Browder, William Z. Foster, Gil Green, John Williamson, Jack Stachel, William Schneiderman, James W. Ford, Robert Minor, Samuel Darcy and Martha Stone, all topflight American Communist leaders at the time, an oath was taken by the assembled delegates assuring "Comrade Stalin, leader, teacher, and friend of the proletariat and oppressed of the whole world" that "the Communists will always and everywhere be faithful to the end and to the great and invincible banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin" and that "Under this banner, Communism will triumph throughout the world."

The Daily Worker and Political Affairs (formerly the Communist), both official publications of the Communist Party, USA, have, since their inception, consistently defended the Soviet Union without a single exception to date.

Article I, section 1, of the Constitution of the Communist Party of America, adopted in 1921, reads as follows:

The name of this organization shall be the Communist Party of America, Section of the Communist International.

In his History of the Communist Party of the United States, William Z. Foster lists its conventions under the following designations: Communist Labor Party (1919); Communist Party of America (1919, 1920, 1921, 1922); United Communist Party of America (1921); American Labor Alliance (1921); Workers Party of America (1921, 1922, 1923, 1924); Workers (Communist) Party of America (1925, 1927, 1928, 1929); Communist Party, USA (1930, 1932, 1934, 1936, 1938, 1940, 1945, 1948, 1950); Communist Political Association (1944), thus establishing the continuity of the organization under the titles given.

At its convention in November 1940, the Communist Party, U. S. A., decided:

That the Communist Party of the U.S.A., in Convention assembled, does hereby cancel and dissolve its organizational affiliation to the Communist International * * * for the specific purpose of removing itself from the terms of the so-called Voorhis Act. * * *

The Subversive Activities Control Board found,¹ however, that the disaffiliation did not alter in any substantive way the relationship between the Respondent (CPUSA) and the Communist International. * * *

In 1943 when the Soviet Union was our ally in World War II, the Communist International was dissolved on the initiative of the Presidium of its Executive Committee. The Communist Party, U. S. A., publicly approved this decision. In September 1947 a conference of nine leading European Communist parties established the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties (Cominform). The

¹ Report, p. 14.

American party hailed the establishment of the Information Bureau as a much-needed center of cooperation, but did not affiliate in view of the Voorhis Act and other legislation (statement of national board, CPUSA, in Political Affairs, December 1947). The Subversive Activities Control Board found² that—

the Communist Information Bureau represents what the Communists consider the best possible substitute at the present time for the Communist International and that Respondent's support of the Information Bureau * * * and its non-deviation from the line of the Bureau, are done for the purpose and with the aim of advancing the objectives of the world Communist movement.

The main reports at the founding meeting of the Cominform were presented by A. Zhdanov, then a member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, secretary of its Central Committee and a colonel-general in the Red army, and by Georgi M. Malenkov, then general secretary of the CPSU and Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union.

3. The current constitution of the Communist Party, U. S. A., adopted in 1945, amended in 1948 and reaffirmed in 1950, states in its preamble:

The Communist Party of the United States is a political party of the American working class, basing itself upon the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism.

In his address to the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. on August 8, 1953, Mr. Malenkov indicated how closely Marxism-Leninism is officially identified with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government itself, when he declared:

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government know where and how to lead the people, because they are guided by the scientific theory of social development—Marxism-Leninism * * * The Soviet state and the Communist Party equip the people on the basis of the teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin with a profound knowledge of the objective laws of the development of society, the laws of the construction of communism, and thereby give them a clear prospect of the constructive activity of the Soviet people.

4. The Communist International with headquarters in Moscow sent representatives to the American Communist Party who wielded unquestioned authority. The Subversive Activities Control Board found that—

A preponderance of the evidence clearly shows that representatives of the CPSU were in the United States and that through them respondent [CPUSA] received directives and instructions. (Report, p. 61).

These representatives included: G. Valetski (Valotsky), 1922; Joseph Pogany, alias John Schwartz, alias John Pepper, alias John Swift, 1922-29; Boris Reinstein, 1922; S. Gussev, alias P. Green, alias Drapkin, 1925; Y. Sirola, alias Miller, 1926, 1927; Arthur Ewert, alias Braun, alias Brown, alias Berger, 1927; Harry Pollitt, 1929; Philip Dengel, 1929; B. Mikhailov, alias George Williams, 1929, 1930; Gerhard Eisler, alias Hans Berger, alias Edwards, 1931, 1932 and 1940-45; Carl E. Johnson, alias Scott, alias Jensen, alias Jenson, 1921, 1922; Petersen, 1925, 1926; Marcus, alias M. Jenks, 1928; F. Marini, alias Mario Alpi, alias Fred Brown, 1938-48; William Rust, 1927; Willi Muenzenberg, 1934; Louis Gibarti, also known as Dobos, 1927, 1928 and 1934; Raymond Guyot, 1938; Yusefovich; Paul Merker, alias Wagner.

5. From March 1, 1919, to August 21, 1935, the Communist International held seven congresses in Moscow. From 40 to 50 leaders of

² Report, p. 19.

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the American Communist Party attended these meetings from time to time. As a rule, one or more of these leaders were chosen to be member of the executive committee of the Communist International.

In his appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, on September 29, 1939, William Z. Foster, present chairman of the Communist Party, USA, testified that he had visited the Soviet Union on official business at least 10 times between 1921 and 1937. The Communist International maintained American representatives in Moscow between congresses. Included among them were Benjamin Gitlow, Israel Amter, Max Bedacht, Robert Minor, Louis J. Engdahl, Earl Browder, Harrison George, H. M. Wicks, William W. Weinstone, William F. Dunne, Clarence Hathaway, John J. Ballam, J. Peters, Andrew Overgaard, John Little.

6. Members of the American Communist Party were assigned to official posts in the Communist apparatus in Moscow, notably: Leonard Emil Mins, editor for the Marx-Lenin Institute prior to 1936; Schachno Epstein, editor of the Emes until his death in 1945; Williana Burroughs, English language announcer for the Anglo-American department of the Moscow radio until October 1945; A. G. Bosse, alias Alfred J. Brooks, informational specialist for the Communist International; Joseph Kowalski, head of a Soviet penitentiary from 1920 to 1923; Anna Louise Strong, editor of the Moscow Daily News.

7. Leading members of the American party were assigned by the Communist International to posts as CI representatives in other countries. Included in this group were: Earl Browder, China, 1927, Spain, 1936-39; Philip Aronberg, China; Harry M. Wicks, Germany and Latin America, 1926; William F. Dunne, France and Germany; Joseph Zack Kornfeder, Latin America, 1932; Harrison George, Montevideo, 1926; Charles Krumbein, Great Britain and China, 1930; Robert Minor, Spain, 1936-39; Nicholas Dozenberg—Soviet Military Intelligence, Rumania, etc., 1927-39.

8. Leading members of the Communist Party, USA, have published articles in official organs of the Communist International and later the Cominform. Among these publications have been the International Press Correspondence, the Communist International, For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy. Among such contributors have been A. B. Magil, Carl Reeve, William L. Patterson, I. Amter, Max Bedacht, Earl Browder, William Z. Foster.

9. The Marx-Lenin Institute and other Communist schools in Moscow have given special revolutionary training, with all expenses paid, to American Communists who were later assigned to important posts by the Communist Party, USA. Among those so trained were: Carl Reeve, Charles Krumbein, Joseph Zack Kornfeder, William Odell Nowell, Beatrice Siskind, Clarence Hathaway, Morris Childs, Harry M. Wicks, Marcel Sherer, and Lovett Fort-Whiteman.

10. The Communist Party, USA, has, since its birth, recognized the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as its model and leading party. In his book, Toward Soviet America, published in 1932, William Z. Foster, presently party chairman, has said:

The Communist Party of the United States * * * is the American section of the Communist International * * * The Communist International is a disciplined world party * * * Its leading party, by virtue of its great revolutionary experience, is the Russian Communist Party (pp. 258, 259).

In his History of the Communist Party of the United States, published in 1952, William Z. Foster maintains his thesis:

Lenin was also the architect and chief organizer of the great Russian Communist Party * * * It is incomparably the most highly developed political organization in the history of mankind * * * (p. 151).

In the Daily Worker of March 5, 1939, the following cabled editorial from the Moscow Pravda is reprinted:

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union always was and always will be a model, an example for the Communist Parties of all countries.

At its meeting on December 3-5, 1938, the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, members were given the following instructions in regard to the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

It will be the task and duty of the membership and organizations of the Communist Party in the coming months to organize and carry through the distribution of the minimum of 100,000 copies of this book.

Testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on September 8, 1939, Benjamin Gitlow, Communist candidate for Vice President in 1924 and 1928, a former member of the Political Committee of the Communist Party, USA, and of the executive committee of the Communist International, described the relationship between the Russian Communist Party and the Communist International with which the CPUSA was affiliated, as follows:

Whereas the American party * * * had to carry out decisions of the Communist International explicitly, the Russian party was given a privileged position. The Russian party was permitted not only to review all decisions of the Communist International, but, if necessary, to take it up in its political committee and to change these decisions * * * and that decision [of the Russian party] becomes binding upon the parties of the Communist International.

Another important fact to bear in mind is that * * * the rules governing the Communist International provide that whenever a party sends representatives to the Communist International, or delegates to the congresses of the Communist International, those delegates cannot be instructed * * * The only party that has the right to instruct its delegates to the Communist International and to make these instructions binding on the delegates is the Russian Communist Party * * * In other words, they have built the Communist International organization in such a way that the Russians under no circumstances can lose control of the Communist International.

The Subversive Activities Control Board has found, on the basis of the evidence, that—

All of the heads of the Comintern that are identified in the record have been leading members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. (Report, p. 11.)

Alexander Bittelman, a founder and leading member of the national board of the CPUSA, has stated, in his pamphlet Milestones in the History of the Communist Party:

The Communist International and its model party—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—headed by Comrade Stalin, gave us the guidance that helped the American Communists to find the way to the masses and to the position of vanguard (p. 8). * * * The leading role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union needs neither explanation nor apology. A Party that has opened up the epoch of the world revolution, and that is successfully building a classless society on one-sixth of the earth, is cheerfully recognized and followed as the leading Party of the world (p. 21).

11. From its very inception, the Communist Party, USA, has received instructions and directives from Moscow, the headquarters of

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the Communist International, on such important matters as the following:

- (a) Merger of the Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party (1920).
- (b) Combining legal and illegal work (1922).
- (c) Campaign in behalf of political prisoners (1923).
- (d) Establishment of the Daily Worker (1923).
- (e) Establishment of the Workers Party of America as the legal branch of the Communist Party (1923).
- (f) Merger of Proletarian Party of America with the Workers Party of America (1923).
- (g) Praising achievements of the party (1923, 1924).
- (h) Attitude toward the LaFollette movement (1924).
- (i) Fusing together the foreign language sections of the party (1925).
- (j) Reorganization of the party on a shop nuclei basis (1925).
- (k) Trade union activity (1925).
- (l) Sending of an American trade union delegation to the U. S. S. R. (1925).
- (m) Removal of Daily Worker and party headquarters from Chicago to New York (1926).
- (n) Attitude of the American party toward the Nicaraguan situation (1928).
- (o) Celebration of international holidays (1928).
- (p) Permission to hold a national convention (1928).
- (q) International Red Day campaign (1929).
- (r) Trade Union Unity Convention (1929).
- (s) Gastonia campaign (1929).
- (t) Work among the miners (1929).
- (u) All-America Anti-Imperialist League (1929).
- (v) Liquidation of party factions (1929).
- (w) Recall of the executive secretary of the CPUSA (1929).
- (x) Changes in the party secretariat (1929).
- (y) Address containing instructions from the Communist International directly to the members of the CPUSA (1929).
- (z) Cablegram of instructions from the Young Communist International to the Young Communist League of the USA (1929).
- (aa) Criticism of issues of the Daily Worker (1933).
- (bb) Formation of a third party (1935).

12. The official literature of the Communist Party, USA (Daily Worker, Political Affairs, etc.), has paralleled the line of Soviet publications (Pravda, Izvestia, New Times, etc.) from the foundation of the party to date. This parallelism has been maintained throughout all fluctuations in Soviet policy: for and against the League of Nations, for and against cooperation with the democracies against Fascist aggression, for and against peaceful coexistence, etc. American Communist publications have even reprinted articles from these Soviet publications for the guidance of their readers. The Subversive Activities Control Board has held that:

7. Respondent has established a press in the United States patterned after that in the Soviet Union which operates as a means of setting forth for Respondent's members the correct line as laid down by the Soviet Union;

8. The press in the Soviet Union and the journal of the Communist Information Bureau are major communication means whereby directives and instructions of the Soviet Union are issued to Respondent * * *

The Attorney General, in his petition to the Subversive Activities Control Board, has stated:

Throughout its existence the Communist Party never knowingly has deviated from the views and policies of the government and Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist International, the Communist Information Bureau and other leaders of the world Communist movement. Whenever such views and policies have conflicted with the position taken by the Government of the United States, the Communist Party has opposed the position of the United States (Report, p. 79).

13. The Attorney General, in his petition to the Subversive Activities Control Board, has further stated:

The Communist Party regularly reports and has reported to the government and Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the Communist International and the Communist Information Bureau * * * (Report, p. 89)

Such reports were printed in official organs of the Communist International and the Cominform such as the International Press Correspondence, For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy, etc. CPUSA leaders William Z. Foster and Alexander Bittelman submitted such reports in 1926, Benjamin Gitlow in 1927, 1928, and 1929, and Earl Browder, in 1932.

14. The Communist Party, USA, has accepted the statutes set down by the Communist International in Moscow. The Communist Party—a Manual of Organization by J. Peters, formerly CPUSA representative in that city and former head of the Communist underground in the United States, states that he has depended, for the material in the manual, upon the “resolutions and decisions on the question of organization adopted by the Second Organizational Conference of the Communist International.” The Second Congress of the Communist International held in 1920 decided that—

All the parties and organizations comprising the Communist International bear the name of the Communist Party of the given country (section of the Communist International).

In line with this decision, the American party designated itself as a “section of the Communist International” until the party's disaffiliation to circumvent the Voorhis Act in 1940.

Article 3, section 1, of the constitution of the Workers (Communist) Party declared that a membership requirement is acceptance of—

the program and statutes of the Communist International and of the Workers (Communist) Party * * *

15. Point 15 of the Conditions of Admission to the Communist International, adopted in 1920 and accepted by the American Communist Party, was the provision that—

the program of each party belonging to the Communist International should be confirmed by the next congress of the Communist International or its Executive Committee.

16. At conventions of the CPUSA, fraternal greetings were exchanged between the American party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Subversive Activities Control Board notes such interchanges at CPUSA conventions in 1921, 1927, 1929, and 1950 (Report, pp. 95-98).

17. In his petition to the Subversive Activities Control Board the Attorney General held as follows as to the disciplinary power to which the CPUSA is subordinated:

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From the inception of the organization to the date of the filing of this petition, the principal leaders of the Communist Party have been and are subject to and recognize the disciplinary power of the Soviet Government, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist International and the Communist Information Bureau * * * (Report, p. 99).

This disciplinary power has been sufficiently strong to bring about the expulsion of two executive secretaries of the CPUSA, namely Jay Lovestone and Earl Browder, members of the party's executive committee such as Ludwig Lore, James P. Cannon, William F. Dunne, Bertram D. Wolfe, Benjamin Gitlow, and Joseph Zack Kornfeder, as well as entire sections of the organization.

POLITICAL PARTY OR CONSPIRACY

Since the Communist Party, USA, is in fact simply the American branch of the Russian Communist Party, it follows faithfully the conspiratorial pattern laid down by its parent body.

The Russian Communist Party, the focal point and radiating center of the international Communist movement, owes its inception to V. I. Lenin, its guiding genius on matters of organization. The principles upon which the Communist movement was founded were therefore based primarily upon his experience with the czarist regime under which the labor and socialist movements were illegal and the rights to freedom of speech, press and assembly were nonexistent. Widespread discontent of the laboring classes and the peasantry could find no legal outlet or remedy, with the result that attempted assassinations of government officials and even of the Czar, were not uncommon. Lenin's own brother was executed as a result of one such an attempted assassination. In this atmosphere it is understandable that Lenin envisaged an organization adapted to the specific purpose of violent overthrow of his own government. Necessarily, therefore, this movement was conspiratorial. In his authoritative work *What Is To Be Done*, published in February 1902, in reference to party organization, Lenin laid down the principle that—

Conspiracy is so essential a condition of an organization of this kind that all other conditions * * * must be made to conform with it.

Today the Communist movement is no longer an insignificant Russian sect fighting against czarism, but an international movement seeking world conquest and more specifically the destruction of the American Government as its chief obstacle. Hence the Communist Party, USA, as an organic part of that movement dedicated to the same destructive purpose, has necessarily assumed the same Leninist conspiratorial guise. The other characteristics of the movement flow logically from this basic conception.

By way of contrast, American political parties, despite criticisms they may make of public policy, are fundamentally loyal to our form of government and conform to its laws. They rely upon the duly constituted agencies of our Government and the operation of our democratic processes for the correction of grievances.

MILITARY ASPECT

American political parties carry on their activities by peaceful means within the confines of our legal structure in which they have full faith. The Communist Party looks upon our Government as its

enemy which it seeks to overthrow by forceful means. Hence, it is organized along quasi-military lines. The program of the Communist International adopted at its sixth congress in 1928, endorsed by the CPUSA, and never since repudiated or superseded, has made this plain by calling for—

a combination of strikes and armed demonstrations and finally, the general strike co-jointly with armed insurrection against the state power of the bourgeoisie (i. e. capitalists). The latter form of struggle, which is the supreme form, must be conducted according to rules of military science * * *.

Writing on Lenin's Conception of the Party, in the January 1934 issue of the Communist, official theoretical organ of the Communist Party, USA, F. Brown, alias Alpi, a well-known representative of the Communist International, emphasizes this point. He holds up a modern army as "a good example of organization" which "knows how to impart a single will to millions of people."

DISCIPLINE

Our traditional political parties are loose organizations operating under a very fluid and flexible discipline. Members and leaders will differ sharply with each other and still remain within the same organization.

Lenin conceived the Communist Party, however, as an organization which—

will be able to fulfill its duty only if it will be organized in the most centralized manner, if it will be governed by an iron discipline, bordering on military discipline * * * (Conditions for Affiliation to the Comintern).

"Why do the Communists attach so much importance to discipline?" asks J. Peters in his authoritative pamphlet *The Communist Party—A Manual on Organization*, and he answers this question as follows:

Because without discipline there is no unity of will, no unity of action. * * * The class war is bitter. The enemy is powerful. * * * In order to combat and defeat this powerful enemy, the army of the proletariat must have a highly skilled, trained General Staff [the Communist Party], which is united in action and has one will.

Again Peters pointedly asks, "How can the Army fight against the army of the enemy if every soldier in the Army is allowed to question and even disobey orders of his superior officers?" The Communist Party, USA, has therefore not hesitated to expel even its highest officials for actual or suspected deviation from the official line of Moscow. In Russia and other Communist countries such deviationists have been shot. Communist leaders have frequently referred to the party with pride as monolithic.

AUTHORITY AT THE TOP

Political parties as we know them are highly responsive to the sentiment of their constituents and of the American people as a whole. They encourage independence and initiative. They are essentially democratic in their approach to the rank and file of party membership. Initiative and pressure come from below.

In conformance with its military character and objectives, the Communist Party is organized from the top down. It is essentially undemocratic. The flow of its directives and strategy proceeds from

its highly centralized leadership in the Russian Communist Party by way of the Cominform to the similarly centralized leadership within the national board of the Communist Party, USA, and then on down to the lower levels of the organization. As J. Peters has pointed out to his fellow members of the Communist Party, USA, in his Manual on Organization, "all lower Party organizations are subordinated to the higher bodies."

The Programme of the Communist International is quoted from Petitioners Exhibit 125 by the Subversive Activities Control Board to show that the Communist Parties are organized on the basis of democratic centralism:

The Communist International and its Sections are built up on the basis of democratic centralism, the fundamental principles of which are: (a) Election of all leading committees of the Party * * *; (b) periodical reports by leading Party committees to their constituents; (c) decisions of superior Party committees to be obligatory for subordinate committees, strict Party discipline and prompt execution of the decisions of the Communist International, of its leading committees and of the leading Party centres.

Party questions may be discussed by the members of the Party and by Party organizations until such time as a decision is taken upon them by the competent Party committees. After a decision has been taken by the Congress of the Communist International, by the Congress of the respective Sections, or by leading committees of the Comintern, and of its various Sections; these decisions must be unreservedly carried out even if a Section of the Party membership or of the local Party organizations are in disagreement with it. (p. 56).

In his work entitled "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," published in 1904 Lenin ridiculed political parties which "proceed from the bottom upwards" and stressed the superiority of a party which "strives to proceed from the top downwards, insisting on the extension of the rights and authority of the centre over the parts."

In a debate with Lenin as early as 1904 Leon Trotsky outlined with remarkable foresight the type of organization which Lenin envisaged. In Lenin's scheme the party takes the place of the working class. The party organization displaces the party. The Central Committee displaces the party organization, and finally the Dictator displaces the Central Committee.

EXCLUSIVE MEMBERSHIP

Membership in our traditional political parties is easily obtainable and comparatively unrestricted. This is not true of the Communist Party, which is highly exclusive and restricted to those who pass its rigid membership requirements.

In What Is To Be Done? Lenin outlined his conception of the exclusiveness of the Communist Party, which has been a standard guide for Communists throughout the world. He declared that—

the more *narrow* we make the membership of this organization, allowing only such persons to be members who are engaged in revolution as a profession and who have been professionally trained in the art of combatting the political police, the more difficult it will be to "catch" the organization. * * *

PROFESSIONAL REVOLUTIONISTS

A member of an American political party, as a rule, has many other interests, including his club, his church, his work, his friends, and his family. Communists, on the other hand, are expected to be professional revolutionists who, as Lenin announced in his paper, the Iskra

(Spark) in December 1900, No. 1, "shall devote to the revolution not only their spare evenings, but the whole of their lives."

Few Americans realize what this means since no bona fide political party would dare to make such demands upon its members. Speaking for the Communist Party, USA, in his Manual on Organization, J. Peters explains:

A professional revolutionist is ready to go whenever and wherever the Party sends him. Today he may be working in a mine, organizing the Party, the trade unions, leading struggles; tomorrow, if the Party so decides, he may be in a steel mill; the day after tomorrow, he may be a leader and organizer of the unemployed * * *. From these comrades the Party demands everything. They accept Party assignments—the matter of family associations and other personal problems are considered, but are not decisive. If the class struggle demands it, he will leave his family for months, even years * * *. Our task is to make every Party member a professional revolutionist in this sense.

IMPORTANCE OF THEORY

None of our American political parties is so fanatically bound by dogma as is the Communist Party, which is devoted to the theories of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. Briefly this dogma is based upon the following false conceptions:

1. That all phases of American life, industry, education, religion, politics, the press, radio and films, even family life, are dominated primarily by an irreconcilable class struggle between the capitalists and the workers.

2. That our system of free capitalist enterprise (which has produced for the American people the highest living standards in the world), has actually outlived its usefulness and must be destroyed.

3. That the system of communism (with its slave labor camps, low living standards, and one-party dictatorship over every phase of human life) is superior to and must take the place of our system of free enterprise, thus abolishing the class struggle for all time.

4. That American democracy is not a government of, by, and for the American people but a capitalist dictatorship, which must be destroyed.

5. That this change to communism and a classless society can be brought about only by the violent overthrow of the capitalist system and our form of government.

6. That the Communist Party is destined to carry out this historic mission.

7. That Communists owe their highest and unreserved loyalty to the Soviet Union, where the Communist system has been finally established.

For tactical reasons these conceptions may be slightly modified by the ruling hierarchy or disguised to avoid legal prosecution, but the basic principles remain the same and are returned to when a temporary emergency has passed. Thus, the Communist Party, USA, advocated cooperation with the capitalists and with American democracy when Russia faced destruction from Adolph Hitler, only to return to its former hostility to capitalism when the war was over and Hitler was destroyed.

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This chain of dogma is the frame of reference by which the Communist interprets the world around him and maps out his behavior. It provides him with a clear perspective of his present and future battles. It indicates the goal toward which he is striving and which justifies every means from treason to murder. It offers a powerful political myth inspiring Communists with fanatical zeal.

A FULL-TIME ORGANIZATION

American political parties are usually active during election campaigns. Their primary function is to elect this or that candidate to office. Between campaigns activity is at a low ebb.

The Communist Party functions at all times of the year, every day of the week, and at all hours of the day. It is a full-time organization which is not restricted to election campaigns. It persistently seeks to permeate every phase of American life for its own subversive purpose. Communist agents may be found wherever and whenever there is an opportunity for Communist propaganda or the promotion of civil strife, whether it be the factory, the union, the church, the school, or the neighborhood.

SUPERSENSITIVITY ON ORGANIZATION MATTERS

No political party in this country ever was so supremely conscious of the mechanics of organization as is the Communist Party. This is a demonstration of its quasi-military character. Like an army, it pays marked attention to what makes the wheels go round and to organizational techniques. The Communist International has published considerable literature dealing specifically with party organization. From time to time the party has published special organs, known as the Party Organizer and later as Contact, as well as pamphlets and articles, dealing with purely organizational problems and intended only for the eyes of party members. Every convention and meeting of the national committee of the Communist Party is devoted in some part to organizational questions. Voluminous material and directives on such matters have been sent to this country from Moscow for the use of the American Party. In 1935 the party published its Manual on Organization by J. Peters, after he had spent years of study in Moscow. Every Communist unit and front organization has its organizational director, a post peculiar to this type of organization.

DESIRE TO CONTROL OR DESTROY OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

Our political parties respect other organizations and, as a rule, make little effort to interfere with their internal affairs or to control them. Traditional political parties do not generally penetrate other political parties. The reverse is true in the case of the Communist Party.

Communists look upon all organizations not under their control as instrumentalities of the enemy, of the ruling class. This holds true for the Government, the unions, civic and professional organizations, fraternal organizations, women's groups, youth groups, religious groups, and even political parties. In warfare it is standard practice

to penetrate enemy territory and dislocate its machinery or capture its strongholds. The Communist Party, while it safeguards its own ranks against penetration, does not hesitate to infiltrate other organizations.

In a letter to a comrade written in September 1902, dealing with organizational problems, Lenin called for an organization which "must be conspiratorial internally" and "ramified externally" with "feelers" stretched far and widespread. As such an organization the Communist Party alternates its strategy between a soft policy toward those whom it considers currently useful and a policy of militant opposition toward those whom it considers as current obstacles.

DECEPTION AS A METHOD

Fully aware that if it appeared openly in its true guise as a bridgehead of a hostile, foreign dictatorship, the Communist Party, USA, would attract little support, its methods are based primarily upon deception. This approach is inherent in the Communist movement and was laid down by Lenin in his work "Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder, first printed in Russia in April 1920, in which he declares:

It is necessary to agree to any and every sacrifice, and even—if need be—to resort to all sorts of devices, manoeuvres, and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuge. * * *

Hence the Communist Party, pro-Soviet always, nevertheless calls itself the party of Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln. It operates behind the scenes of the Progressive Party and the American Labor Party. Its members resort to aliases and deny their affiliation. It builds up numerous front organizations with attractive labels to ensnare the unwary in its various campaigns. Its leaders do not hesitate to deceive their own members as to the party's real nature and purpose.

ALWAYS ON THE OFFENSIVE

Well-intentioned but naive individuals are constantly deploring the fact that Communists rudely reject their amicable advances for good will and cooperation. They are wont to blame themselves or our own national policy for lack of response to their friendly overtures. They do not understand that the Communist Party, USA, looks upon itself as being in the nature of a reconnaissance and commando force operating in enemy territory in behalf of the Soviet fatherland. In accordance with this concept, just as in the case of an actual military detachment of a hostile, foreign foe based upon American soil, correct military strategy would call for a constant offensive against us, so the Communist Party stays constantly on the offensive against all who refuse to do its bidding. This approach is clearly outlined by Lenin in his Works, volume VI, page 291:

The defensive is the death of every armed uprising; it is lost before it measures itself with its enemies. Surprise your antagonists while their forces are scattering, prepare new successes, however small, but daily; * * * in the words of Danton, the greatest master of revolutionary policy yet known, *de l'audace, de l'audace, encore de l'audace!* (audacity, audacity, more audacity).

Unaware of the philosophy behind Communist tactics, unsophisticated and softhearted liberals are sometimes stunned by the barrage

of invective which greets their well-meant advances. They are unmindful of Lenin's effort to arouse among his followers a "passion for political denunciation," a field in which he was a master. This will explain why a Communist always seems to carry a chip on his shoulder.

This note of belligerence is echoed by J. Peters in the Communist Party, USA, Manual on Organization where he indicates that the party—

Unit as a whole and every individual member of the Unit should be known by the workers in the street or town as fearless fighters * * *.

The party operates on the theory that "He who is not with us, is against us."

PLANNING AHEAD

Within the Communist Party, USA, every step is planned in detail from the smallest club or unit in the United States to the highest echelons of the international Communist apparatus in Moscow—sometimes months or years in advance. Nothing is left to whim or circumstance. In part this is a reflection of the quasi-military character of the party. In part it is a carryover from the Russians and their passion for planning.

For example, a number of Communist leaders now in the forefront of the revolutionary movement in the Far East were educated and kept "on ice" for years in Moscow until the right moment. The program of the Communist International adopted by its sixth congress in 1928 stands today as a definitive guide upon which present-day activities of the Communist movement in all parts of the world are based. In the current struggle of democracy against the Communist menace, it would be suicidal to overlook this basic fact. Hence the need for a diligent study of standard Communist literature by all its opponents.

RED ELITE

Despite the fact that it has brought misery and slavery wherever it has established its power, no American political party is as fervently imbued with its mission as is the Communist Party. This conceit extends down to its rank-and-file members, encouraged and stimulated by Communist leaders throughout the world.

The Party—

said Lenin in his "Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder—is the highest form of the class organization of the proletariat; it should lead all the other forms of proletarian organizations.

"We Communists," declared Joseph Stalin at Lenin's funeral in 1924, "are people of a special mould. We are made of special material. We are those who comprise the army of the great proletarian strategist, the army of Lenin. There is nothing higher than belonging to this army."

Although the Communists have been repudiated by labor throughout the world, Communist Party literature is replete with references to itself as "the leader and organizer of the proletariat," "the vanguard of the working class," even reaching the point where it is characterized as "the most complete bearer of the great achievements of tens of centuries of the rise of the human mind and its mastery of the earth."

INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY

By and large American political parties are loose organizations in which individual accountability is at a minimum. The Communist Party member, on the other hand, is never a free agent. He is held strictly responsible for his acts by his party superiors. This is a continuing process which places every party member and leader on the anxious seat at all times.

As Lenin pointed out in his work *What Is To Be Done?* in February 1902, reprinted and accepted as mandatory by all Communist Parties ever since, party members—

are keenly alive to their responsibility, knowing from experience that in order to get rid of an undesirable member, an organization of true revolutionaries will stop at nothing.

He stressed the fact that such an organization “punishes with merciless severity every abuse of duty by a comrade. * * *” Penalties imposed have run all the way from censure or expulsion to murder.

CONTROL BY BLACKMAIL

Outside of the Communist movement, especially in naive liberal circles, there is a prevailing illusion that Communist discipline is primarily based upon high idealism and conviction. However, the chief conspirators in the Kremlin are not so impractical as to rely upon such fortuitous and changing factors. They have too much at stake. Therefore a much more reliable instrument is employed, namely, blackmail. With the aid of extensive files continuously augmented, showing every personal foible and misstep, every deviation from the party line, the threat of compromise or exposure affords an alternative means of insuring obedience.

ATMOSPHERE OF DISTRUST

The Communist Party is permeated with an atmosphere of distrust toward every individual party member. Hence members and leaders are subject to a process of continuous checkup, totally at variance with procedure in our political parties. This is done through annual or more frequent registrations, internal purges and demands for reports. Members are expected to attend classes regularly and to keep abreast of official party literature in order to guard against any possible defection from the current party line.

A DIVISIVE PARTY

Wherever the Communist Party makes its appearance, it serves as a force for division and friction, following the theory of divide and rule. Thus it seeks to alienate the United States from its potential allies. Internally it thrives upon promoting clashes: Between employer and employee, landlord and tenant, white and Negro, native-born and foreigner, Catholic, Protestant and Jew; between the American people and their Government, and within every non-Communist organization.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE GOVERNMENT AND AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS

Political parties as we know them in American life may differ sharply with each other. The party not in office may criticize the current administration unsparingly. But fundamentally both the Democratic and Republican Parties are loyal to our form of Government as it is presently constituted. Not so with the Communist Party.

Running like a red thread through Communist teachings from the very inception of the movement is the note of total hostility to our form of government. For example, the following points are included among the fundamental tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International delivered July 4, 1920:

the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie [capitalist], the confiscation of its property, the destruction of the whole of the bourgeois state apparatus from top to bottom—parliamentary, judicial, military, bureaucratic, administrative, municipal, etc.

In a similar vein, William Z. Foster, present chairman of the CPUSA, has written in his book, *Toward Soviet America*:

Capitalist governments have nothing in common with proletarian governments * * *. In the revolutionary struggle they are smashed and Soviet governments established * * * (p. 271).

M. J. Olgin, a former member of the central executive committee of the CPUSA and an editor of the (Communist) *Freiheit*, stated succinctly in his book, *Why Communism*, the exact purpose of the Communists in entering legislative bodies. He said, "We go to the law-making institutions, not to tinker them up for the benefit of the capitalists, but to be a monkey wrench in their machinery * * *"

As shown by experience in countries which are under the heel of a Communist dictatorship, the Communists display the same implacable hostility toward all non-Communist parties and institutions. Thus, William Z. Foster's pledge in regard to what he envisages under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the United States cannot be lightly dismissed. In this work, *Toward Soviet America*, he declared:

Under the dictatorship all the capitalist parties—Republican, Democratic, Progressive, Socialist, etc.—will be liquidated, the Communist Party functioning alone as the Party of the toiling masses. Likewise, will be dissolved all other organizations, that are political props of the bourgeois rule, including chambers of commerce, employers' associations, rotary clubs, American Legion, Y. M. C. A., and such fraternal orders as the Masons, Odd Fellows, Elks, Knights of Columbus, etc (p 275).

THE END JUSTIFIES THE MEANS

Our American political parties may clash over issues or public office. Nevertheless there is a certain code of ethics, of loyalty which is generally recognized and adhered to. The Communists have no such scruples. They believe that ethics should be completely subordinated to the class struggle, that is to say to the Communist movement. According to the Soviet Short Philosophical Dictionary, " 'Moral' is only that which facilitates the destruction of the old world," which means out democratic world and particularly the United States. "Moral", according to this conception, "is only that which strengthens the new, Communist regime." Again, Lenin has said to Communist youth, "Our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the class struggle."

Specifically this means that Communists consider themselves justified in violating any and every ethical code in the interest of what they consider a "higher" cause. Having been defeated by a legitimate majority vote they will refuse to recognize it and press their original contention. Having been expelled from an organization, they will try to penetrate through other channels. Solemn agreements are, to them, merely scraps of paper.

CONFORMANCE TO PATTERN

Political parties as we know them vary in character from State to State and from country to country. The Communist Party conforms strictly to pattern with some slight variations for purposes of local camouflage. Those who understand the main outline and underlying principles of the party in one country or locality, who are familiar with the party line from Communist publications, can readily understand and follow the identical pattern of the party as it appears everywhere, and even predict it.

REVOLUTIONARY MINORITY

It is impossible to understand the nature and activities of the Communist Party, USA, without appreciating the fact that it is primarily a revolutionary minority seeking to perpetrate the overthrow of the Nation by insurrectionary means directed at the most sensitive and strategic strongholds of our Government. In other words the Communists do not accept as final or decisive the verdict of the peaceful ballot based upon majorities and public persuasion. They rely rather upon forceful means beyond the purview of our legal election machinery. This has been dealt with in some detail in the House Committee on Un-American Activities report on The Communist Party of the United States as an Advocate of Overthrow of Government by Force and Violence, and the report of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee giving "documentary proof that the Communist Party, USA, teaches and advocates the overthrow and destruction of the United States Government by force and violence."

In his collected works, Russian Edition, volume XIV, part 2, page 270, Lenin formulated this strategic approach in his thesis on insurrection, which has been emphasized by Joseph Stalin, which reads in part as follows:

Accumulate a *preponderance of forces* at the decisive place, at the decisive moment. * * * Try to take the enemy by surprise.

In his Foundations of Leninism, Stalin presented the same thought from a somewhat different angle when he called upon the Communists—

to locate at any given moment that single link in the chain of events which if seized upon will enable us to control the whole chain and prepare the ground for the achievement of strategic success.

Given a highly interdependent civilization vulnerable to physical dislocation at many points, given the tremendous power of modern science at the disposal of subversive forces and given the numerous frictions prevalent in any democratic society, one can readily conceive the potentialities for the creation of chaos inherent in a group which is constantly probing for our weak spots and endeavoring to capitalize upon them with the maximum destructive effect.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

COMMUNIST HIERARCHY

The basic organization of the Communist Party is the club or branch. This may be based on a territorial limitation, for instance embracing a community or rural area, or may be limited to employees of a large industrial plant or of a single industry within a city or town. Each club is controlled by an executive committee or bureau consisting of the chief officers. A group of clubs or branches in a given area is in turn controlled by a section committee. The next higher body is the State committee or a district committee including two or more States, above which is the national committee of the party. In recent days the party organization has been subdivided into smaller conspiratorial groups.

A reading of the Communist Party constitution will not disclose the structure of the party as it actually functions. Such documents are drawn up for public consumption and disguise and not for real practice. A conspiracy could not well be expected to publish its code of procedure which has grown up and become ingrained in the organization as a matter of usage rather than statute.

For example, the Communist Party constitution, in order to give the party a semblance of democracy, declares that "The highest body of the state organization is the State Convention." And further, "The highest authority of the Party is the National Convention." Since State and National conventions are held every 2 years or less often, it is manifest that the party is not and cannot be run from day to day by conventions. The conventions are merely rubber stamps for decisions of a small core of policymakers including a Moscow representative operating behind the scenes.

We shall present below the various stages in the structure of the party as found in J. Peters' The Communist Party—a Manual on Organization, published in July 1935, as compared with the present streamlined version from the constitution of the Communist Party of the United States of America, published in September 1945, both of which are consciously misleading:

PETERS' MANUAL, 1935	CONSTITUTION, 1945
Unit Bureau	Club Executive Committee
Unit Membership Meeting	Club Membership Meeting
Section Bureau	Not mentioned
Section Committee	Not mentioned
Section Convention	Not mentioned
District Bureau	State or District Board
District Committee	State or District Committee
District Convention	State or District Convention
Political Bureau of Central Committee (Secretariat not mentioned)	National Board (Secretariat not mentioned)
Central Committee	National Committee
National Convention	National Convention
Political Secretariat of the Communist International	Not mentioned
Presidium of the Communist Inter- national	Not mentioned
Executive Committee of the Communist International	Not mentioned
World Congress of the Communist International	Not mentioned

One must not be misled by the formal outward structure of the party, behind which a publicly unacknowledged but nonetheless actual network operates. For example, a section committee can send its representative to any subordinate club with power to determine decisions of the club or its executive committee. Similarly the secretariat of the national committee can send its representative with overriding powers to any unit of the party. In the same manner the Moscow headquarters of the Communist movement sends representatives like Gerhard Eisler who have undisputed say over the decisions of the national committee and the staff of the national office in its day-to-day activity. These practices are not even mentioned in the party's constitution.

CONSPIRACY AT WORK

On October 13, 1952, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee heard the testimony of John Lautner, former member of the National Review Commission of the Communist Party, U. S. A., and head of its New York State Review Commission. This particular feature of the Communist Party finds no parallel in political parties. According to Mr. Lautner, this body's principal function was—

to safeguard party discipline, to vigilantly seek out and ferret out any anti-party elements in the ranks of the party, to carry out investigations and to propose for expulsion or any form of discipline party members who don't toe the line.

After the indictments of certain party leaders, the "three system" of conspiratorial organization was adopted, which is described by Lautner, who was assigned to carry out phases of this reorganization, as follows:

The party leadership appointed the top coordinating committee. The top coordinating committee consisted of three people. * * * One was head of the three. He was the political person in the group. * * * The other was the organizational person and the third one was the union mass-organization person.

Now, these three people were assigned, each one of them, to appoint three other persons below him on the next level. * * * So he appoints his one, two, three P's. * * * O does the same thing. * * * [Note.—O stands for organizer, P for political organizer and T for trade union organizer.]

P does not know O or T on the lower levels. He knows only the three persons that he appointed. O does not know the P's and T's on the lower levels. He only knows his O's. So, here you have a situation where one party leader knows his two associates in his triangle, and the three that he appointed below. All in all, a party member wouldn't know more than six party members in the party, up and down. * * *

To my own personal knowledge there was the top coordinating committee; that 3, the next level was 9, and the third level, 27; the fourth level, 81, and the fifth level, 243. * * *

Speaking before the subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations on December 9, 1953, J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation described the current organization of the Communist Party in the following terms:

No longer are Communist Party membership cards issued; maintenance of membership records are forbidden; contacts of rank and file members are limited from 3 to 5—the basic club unit. Most of the local headquarters have been discontinued and party records have been destroyed. No evening meetings are permitted in headquarters without staff members present. Conventions and large meetings are held to the absolute minimum. The use of the telephone and telegraph is avoided.

No contact is had with families or friends; contacts between functionaries are arranged through frequently changed intermediaries; false drivers licenses have

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been obtained; assumed names have been adopted; modification of physical appearance has been effected, such as dyeing hair and eyebrows * * *.

They have removed conspicuous means of personal identification such as moles; they have effected a new manner of walking, have changed their dress standards, have avoided old habits and even have avoided old vices, and have avoided appearance in public places where their recognition would be probable.

They communicate through couriers and avoid the use of written communications. They have instituted loyalty tests for all prospective underground personnel. They rotate the underground personnel to avoid detection * * *.

They appear outside of hideouts only at night * * *.

They use different automobiles, and the cars frequently are registered in fictitious names and not names of party members; the license plates are frequently changed.

They have used extreme precautions in regard to surveillance, making rapid and frequent changes of conveyances, entering and leaving subways and buses just before the doors close, and doubling back on their course.

MOSCOW REPRESENTATIVE

The keystone of the Communist Party hierarchy within the United States is the representative of the Communist International or its present equivalent, the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties, otherwise known as the Cominform. The statutes of the Communist International adopted at its sixth congress in the summer of 1928 formally authorize the sending of such representatives to affiliated Communist Parties. Although the Communist International was allegedly dissolved in May 1943, witnesses before the Committee on Un-American Activities have disclosed in terms of their experience that these statutes are still fully operative in actual fact although not openly acknowledged.

Article III, section 22 of these statutes declares that—

The E. C. C. I. (Executive Committee of the Communist International) and its Presidium have the right to send their representatives to the various Sections of the Communist International. Such representatives receive their instructions from the E. C. C. I. or from its Presidium, and are responsible to them for their activities. Representatives of the E. C. C. I. have the right to participate in meetings of the central Party bodies as well as of the local organizations of the Sections to which they are sent * * *. They may * * * speak in opposition to the Central Committee of the given Section * * * if the line of the Central Committee in question diverges from the instructions of the E. C. C. I. * * *. The E. C. C. I. and its Presidium also have the right to send instructors to the various Sections of the Communist International.

Appearing on September 8, 1939, before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Benjamin Gitlow, former member of the executive committee of the Communist International, former member of the political committee of the Communist Party, USA, and one time its candidate for Vice President of the United States, described the powers of these representatives or "reps" as they are familiarly called:

A representative of the Communist International to the United States during his stay in the United States was the boss of the party * * *. He automatically became a member of all the leading committees of the party in the United States and participated in its deliberations and enjoyed a vote on matters that were voted upon * * *. all he had to do was to impose his power and mandate as a C. I. representative, and then his view would prevail. Generally, American Communists never would take a position in opposition to the representative of the Communist International.

Seven years later on November 22, 1946, Louis F. Budenz, former managing editor of the Daily Worker and a member of the national committee of the Communist Party, USA, confirmed this picture

when he described the activities of Gerhard Eisler, alias Hans Berger, alias Edwards. The latter had been introduced to Budenz by Eugene Dennis, former general secretary of the party, as the "equivalent to a representative of the Communist International." Mr. Budenz declared that—

the official representative of the Communist International is the chief communication officer who brings the line of the party over, who knows it, and who, in addition to that, is vested with a certain authority to intervene in party affairs if he judges that necessary.

Mr. Budenz was notified by Dennis that he would "occasionally receive instructions and communications from this Hans Berger," alias for Gerhard Eisler. Budenz described how Eisler (Berger) verbally flayed Daily Worker Editor Clarence Hathaway "for almost half an hour." In the Communist of May 1944, leading theoretical organ of the Communist Party, USA, Eisler (Berger) publicly castigated William Z. Foster, then chairman of the party. In neither case did these American Communist chieftains dare to reply.

In the November 1943 issue of the Communist, "Hans Berger" wrote an article entitled "Remarks on the Discussion Concerning the Dissolution of the Communist International," the purpose of which was to inform American Communists that "internationalism still lives." In The Communist of November 1942, Eisler, posing as an American, explained the significance of "Twenty-five Years of Soviet Power." He was for some time the brains behind Joseph Starobin, foreign editor of the Daily Worker, whom he employed as his mouthpiece. This will give some idea of the tremendous power wielded over the American Communist Party by its Moscow-anointed commissar.

Others who have served in this capacity in the past include: G. Valetsky; Joseph Pogany, alias John Schwartz, alias John Pepper, alias John Swift; Boris Reinstein; S. Gussev, alias P. Green, alias Drabkin; Y. Sirola, alias Miller; Arthur Ewert, alias Braun, alias Brown, alias Berger; Harry Pollitt; Philip Dengel; B. Mikhailov, alias George Williams; Carl E. Johnson, alias Scott, alias Jensen; ----- Petersen; ----- Marcus, alias M. Jenks; F. Marini, alias Mario Alpi, alias Fred Brown; William Rust; Willi Muenzenberg; Louis Gibarti; Raissa Irene Browder; Raymond Guyot; Boris Isakov, alias Boris Williams. At times two or more such commissars will be here simultaneously, each being assigned to some special task or campaign.

There is method in Moscow's designation of foreign commissars for the American party as revealed by Jacob Golos, in charge of underground activities, in an interview with Louis F. Budenz in his biographical work Men Without Faces; "An American might be a Comintern man in such countries as China and the Philippines," declared Golos. "He will never yield to any homesickness for those lands, nor will he think of his family there in a moment of weakness." He added, however, that "for this country the C. I. (Comintern) man and the C. I. agents under him will always be non-Americans—and noncitizens if at all possible."

MOSCOW, THE SEAT OF POWER

In describing the Communist hierarchy from the lowest club to the very pinnacle of power, we have endeavored to deal with the realities

of this farflung conspiracy as disclosed by individuals formerly enmeshed therein, rather than to take seriously the current official version of Communist organization which is foisted upon those gullible and ignorant enough to give it credence.

Illuminating detail is found in the testimony of Joseph Zack Kornfeder, former member of the central executive committee of the Communist Party, USA, a former member of the Anglo-American secretariat of the Communist International, later its representative in Colombia and Venezuela.

He testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on August 9, 1949, in regard to a dispute in the American party between the pro-Stalinist faction headed by William Z. Foster and the anti-Stalinist faction headed by Jay Lovestone. This dispute occurred long ago, in 1928. Nevertheless, the pattern of behavior which it reveals is important in helping us understand a structure which has not changed fundamentally since then. We quote from Mr. Kornfeder's testimony:

The reason why Stalin, as well as Molotov and other leaders of the Russian Communist Party, spent that much time on this faction fight in the United States, was because Stalin, considering this country of utmost importance in the total scheme of strategy, wanted to retain a reliable base by securing control, absolute control, for his faction of the Communist Party of the United States * * *. Stalin personally directed all the major phases of the fight against the then majority of the American Communist Party, led by Jay Lovestone * * *. In the windup of that fight, he and Molotov even participated as members of the commission that tried Lovestone and other members of the central committee of the American Communist Party siding with Lovestone * * *. The speech was made at the Presidium on May 14, 1929.

In volume XI of the hearings of the Committee on Un-American Activities (pp. 7112 to 7124) are printed two speeches made by Stalin on May 6 and 14, 1929, and in which he actively intervened in the affairs of the American Communist Party to the point of presenting an ultimatum to the American delegation. He declared that—

If the comrades of the American delegation accept our terms—good and well; if they don't, so much the worse for them.

Then Stalin recommended that Comrades Lovestone and Bittelman, leaders of the American party, "must be recalled and placed at the disposal of the Comintern." Subsequent to this meeting, Lovestone was summarily expelled from his post as executive secretary of the Communist Party, USA, and the rival faction was installed in the leadership, despite the fact that his voting strength had represented over 90 percent of the party membership in a previous convention. Bittelman was shifted out of the United States to duties abroad.

Those who seek open statutory justification for Stalin's relationship toward the Communist Party, USA, are chasing a will-o'-the-wisp. In any conspiracy, the real source of power is not inherent in any statutes. Since the elimination of the recalcitrant faction in 1929, Stalin's power over the Communist Party in America was sufficiently secure and unchallenged, as to make it unnecessary for him to openly intervene. From that time on, his intervention has been more covert, operating behind a screen of agents completely submissive to his bidding.

It may well be asked how Joseph Stalin was in a position to keep track of the activities of his Communist satellites in the United States. According to Mr. Kornfeder, Stalin maintained a personal secretariat, each member of which was assigned to a specific area. At the time Mr. Kornfeder was in Moscow, affairs in America were under the supervision of one B. Mikhailov, the secretary on American affairs, who visited the United States in 1930 under the name of George Williams, to take charge of the purge of Lovestoneites. In 1933 Helena Stasova was Stalin's secretary for German questions.

According to Mr. Kornfeder, this streamlined body of secretaries outmoded the cumbersome machinery of the Communist International and thus enabled Stalin to exercise more complete and direct control over his international Red network.

The details of this mechanism will not be found in any public Communist pronouncement either here or abroad. The subordination of the CPUSA to Stalin personally is, however, implicit in the telegram signed in behalf of its national committee by William Z. Foster as chairman, and Eugene Dennis as general secretary of the Communist Party, USA, on the occasion of the 70th birthday of Joseph Stalin and published in the *Daily Worker* as recently as December 21, 1949, from which we quote in part:

DEAR COMRADE STALIN: On your 70th birthday the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA * * * sends you heartiest congratulations and warmest greetings * * * Like the Communists * * * in all lands, we hail your more than 50 years of sterling leadership * * *.

According to this telegram, victory in World War II was ascribable not to the joint efforts of the Allies and particularly the United States, but rather to the guidance of the "Great Bolshevik Party, built by you and Comrade Lenin, and, since Lenin's death, continuing under your leadership to guide itself by the principles of Marxism-Leninism which you have safeguarded and enriched." The telegram closes with the wish "Long life to you, Comrade Stalin, and to your great and enduring contributions to world peace, democracy, and Socialism."

COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP

Accustomed as we are to the methods employed by our traditional political parties with openly acknowledged membership, membership records and books, we Americans might expect to find documentary proof of such membership in the case of Communists. Naively unaware of the conspiratorial nature of the Communist Party, we might demand the production of a party membership card or other documentary evidence before we will believe that an individual is a Communist. Thus we might contribute to our own confusion, accentuated by the consistent denial of party membership on the part of those charged.

The Communist Party, USA, has progressively streamlined its membership records to the point where no membership cards are issued at the present time. Dues records are maintained in code, with each member assigned a number, in accordance with the following form:

Member's number	MONTH											
	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1	X	X	X									
2	X	X										
3	X											
4	X											
5	X	X	X									
6	X	X	X									
7	X	X										
8	X											
9	X	X	X									
10	X											

On every occasion before congressional committees, in the courts or before grand juries, Communist Party officials have refused to disclose party membership lists. In fact they have claimed that no such lists exist. In June 1949 four officials of the Communist Party of Los Angeles were sentenced to jail for refusal to disclose such lists to a Federal grand jury. Nevertheless all signs point not only to the existence of such lists, but to the fact that the Communist Party maintains an extensive dossier on each of its members.

It stands to reason that the party could not maintain a sound book-keeping system, including records of dues payments, without accurate records for each individual party member. It must be remembered that the party's accounts are regularly supervised by both its national review commission and by Communist headquarters in Moscow.

On January 17, 1950, for example, the Daily Worker announced the the expulsion of John Lautner, a member of the New York State review commission of the Communist Party. Printing his photograph, the announcement said that "Lautner himself is an enemy agent of long standing."

In March 1950 Matthew Cvetie appeared as a witness before the Committee on Un-American Activities, having served as undercover agent for the FBI within the Communist Party in Pittsburgh for a number of years. Immediately following his appearance before the committee, the Daily Worker published, on March 3, 1950, a digest of three documents purporting to show that Cvetie had assaulted his wife's sister "with force and violence." The documents included (1) the indictment, (2) a court order directing him to make financial restitution to the alleged victim in this case, and (3) the decision to nolle pross the case.

Testifying on September 30, 1939, Joseph Zack Kornfeder, former member of the central executive committee of the Communist Party and at one time in charge of its trade-union activity, declared:

I was once asked to supply an engineer, a chemist, who would personally have qualifications capable, and let us say, talk to other engineers higher in the profession than himself, in this instance, specifically, certain engineers of du Pont. I was asked to do that by Max Bedacht, who was then in charge of this phase of their secret activity. Well, I recommended a certain individual.

A former member of the Communist Party, a writer, has told in a letter of his experience in checking on the record of a former Communist Party member, in connection with a certain article he was writing for a Communist magazine in 1939. The writer was called to the New York office of Charles Dirba, then head of the control commission or disciplinary board of the party. We publish a few significant excerpts from this letter:

I told him of this story about ——— having been a Communist. He produced a book of some kind—it looked, as I recall it, like a large ledger—and began looking through it. Finally, he came on what was, apparently, a note about ———. It said, as I remember it, that ——— had been a Communist in some city in Texas several years ago.

Thus it would appear that the national headquarters of the Communist Party was in possession of membership lists for Texas. There is every reason to believe that such records are still maintained, in secret, of course, and that copies are forwarded to Communist headquarters in Moscow.

Since the Communist Party, USA, is part of a world organization operating under central direction and everywhere in accordance with a uniform pattern, the testimony of Igor Gouzenko, former civilian employee at the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, is significant. We quote from page 38 of the report of the Canadian Royal Commission, published June 27, 1946, referring to biographical data dealing with Sam Carr, national organizer of the Communist (Labour-Progressive) Party of Canada:

A. On every Communist there is a file at the Comintern in Moscow; for every Communist in the whole world there is a file at the Comintern at Moscow. * * *

Q. The Comintern was supposed to have been abolished before 1945?

A. Supposed to be abolished in 1943. but it is not so. * * *

According to Gouzenko, the registration card kept in the 1945 dossier in the Soviet Embassy on Sam Carr, stated after the mimeographed heading "Biographical Data," the following typed entry, in Russian: "Detailed biographical information is available in the Centre in the Comintern."

In his biographical study, *This Is My Story*, Louis F. Budenz, former managing editor of the *Daily Worker* and former member of the national committee of the Communist Party, described in detail the party's method of keeping individual records:

Records are kept of each member in any kind of key post, just as they would be for those engaged by any other espionage system. When a member takes up a new post, he must file a complete new biography. This is checked for new data and also to observe if it differs from the ones previously filed. In his biography he is required to list his relatives, where they were born and now live, their occupation, and his relations with them. His entire personal and labor history must be given—previous marriages if any, his children and his arrests * * *. He must also give a complete accounting of his financial resources, the average salary he has received throughout his working life, any bonds or other property he ever owned, and what he now owns, if anything. * * * His Party record must be given in detail (p. 235).

With this information in its hands, the party is in a position to blackmail any possible recalcitrant and to exercise highly potent means of personal pressure.

OFFICIAL QUESTIONNAIRES

Communists have been most vociferous in condemnation of what they term Government prying in connection with loyalty investigations. Below we present a questionnaire which party functionaries were required to fill out in 1946. If any Government agency in this country would dare to infringe on the privacy of its citizens to such a degree, it would be denounced from coast to coast by the leftwing press as violative of civil liberties. But so far as we know no Communist, nor any civil liberties advocate, has ever protested against

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this Communist questionnaire as an invasion of the privacy of an American citizen. Through such methods as this compulsory questionnaire the party is in a position to know every possible use to which each party member can be put by the Communist conspiracy.

NEW YORK STATE REVIEW COMMISSION

COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

Members of County Committees and County Functionaries, not members of County Committees

Members of Section Committees and Section Functionaries, not members of Section Committees

DEAR COMRADE: Below you will find a questionnaire to be used as a guide in writing your biography. Please be advised that the Commission wants a detailed and frank statement from you, one that will enable it to know you as well as you know yourself. Please use as much paper as necessary (on one side only) and be assured that this document will be treated in strict confidence and properly safeguarded.

1. PERSONAL BACKGROUND—

Your name and all pseudonyms and nicknames ever used in the Party or otherwise;

Date of birth; place of birth (city, county & State);

Names and dates of birthplace and occupation and political affiliation of your parents; same for your brothers and sisters;

Your own trade or occupation; place of employment, all occupations and places of employment for the past ten years.

Your wife's maiden name (or your husband's first name), the date and place of his or her birth, occupation and place of employment;

Name your children and give information as to their ages and date and place of present employment.

Are you a veteran of any wars, such as World War I, II, Spain and foreign wars.

2. EDUCATION—

Describe your formal education; public school, high school and college;

Name the schools and indicate the years of attendance and degrees received;

Describe your Party education; what schools attended and courses studied;

Give a summary of your self-study, naming the Marxist books you have covered.

3. COMMUNIST PARTY—

Give the date and place (city, county, section, club) of your joining the Party;

By whom recruited; his present whereabouts and political and social background;

Describe your Party activities, stating all functions held in branches, sections, counties, etc., giving dates and locating the organizations by county, city, and state.

Name all conventions and conferences you have attended as delegate or observer (state which) and all subcommittees you have served on.

Name all your recruits into the Party, giving their present whereabouts and functions, as well as their social and occupational background. State whether they are at present in the Party and if they dropped out, why?

Name your relatives and close friends who are or were members of the Party; give their whereabouts and present organizational functions and activities.

Describe your present function or post in the Party, how long held; discuss any other assignments that you may feel better fitted for, what would you want to do in the Party.

Have you ever had any personal or political difficulties in the Party? Were you ever involved in disciplinary action—where, when and give the disposition of the case.

4. MASS ORGANIZATIONS AND STRUGGLES—

Name all the mass organizations you are or have ever been a member of (trade unions, other political parties, education, economic and social mass organizations);

Give dates, posts and activities in each;

Describe the struggles you have participated in (strikes, lockouts, mass and Party demonstrations, etc.)

Were you ever arrested; where, when, on what charges, give the disposition of the case or cases.

If you are at present, a full time functionary in a mass organization, describe your post and functions.

UOPWA/1

Rec'd. Nov. 16, 1946.

REGISTRATION GUIDE

1. Book No. 2. Age. 3. Occupation.
4. What kind of company or organization do you work for?
5. What kind of work do you want to do?
6. What kinds of work have you done in the past?
7. Do you work nights? 8. If so, what nights?
9. Are there any peculiarities in connection with your work, such as long traveling time or lots of overtime?
10. Marital status. 11. If unemployed housewife, what free time have you during the day?
12. Number of children. 13. Ages. 14. What schools do they attend?
15. Do you belong to a parents' or a parent-teachers' organization?
16. Name of organization.
17. If not a member, has your children's school such an organization?
18. If a member, are you active?
19. Have you any special function?
20. Have you any personal problems which restrict activity, such as ill health, invalids in the family, etc?
21. What are your skills, hobbies, interests, etc.?
22. Can you type? 23. Have you a typewriter at home?
24. Can you drive a car? 25. Have you a driver's license?
26. Have you a car? 27. Can you operate a mimeograph machine?
28. Are you going to school at present?
29. If so, what schools or school?
30. What are you studying?
31. If going to school at night, what nights?
32. How many nights a week do you need for study?
33. What formal education have you had in the past?
- (High school, college, special courses.)
34. Is your apartment suitable and available for occasional parties?
35. Available for parties? 36. Available for meetings, classes?
37. Are you a veteran? 38. Service (branch of)
39. 40. Decorations, etc.
41. Do you belong to a vet organization?
42. Name of organization.
43. Where and when does it meet?
44. Are you active? 45. Attend meetings regularly?
- Occasionally?
46. Have you any special function in the organization?
47. Are you interested in vet housing work?
48. How long in the service? 49. How long overseas?
50. When did you join the Party?
51. If a former member of the Y. C. L., when? Where?
52. State activities in Y. C. L.
53. Present work in the Party (rank-and-file activity, special functions or offices)
54. Past work in the Party:

Activity or function	Where	When
.....
.....
.....
.....

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55. Are you willing and able to work as an open Communist in the neighborhood?-----
56. If not, why not?-----
57. Are you known as a Communist anywhere outside of the Party? (In your union, on the job, among your friends, etc.)-----
58. Do you read the Daily Worker regularly?----- Sometimes?-----
59. Do you read the Worker regularly?----- Sometimes?----- 60. Have you a subscription to either or both?----- 61. If not, where do you buy the paper? (what newsstand)-----
62. If you don't subscribe, why not?-----
63. Do you read Political Affairs regularly?----- Sometimes?-----
64. Have you a sub to P. A.?----- 65. What other Communist periodicals do you read regularly?-----
66. Do you read current C. P. pamphlets?----- Few or many?-----
67. What other papers and periodicals do you read?-----
68. What Marxist courses have you had?-----

Subject	Length of course	Where (Jeff. School club or county, etc.)	When	Teacher

69. What Marxist courses are you taking now? (Give full details)-----
70. What basic Marxist literature have you read? (Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin) State whether you've read all or part of the given work-----
71. Do you want to attend a club or section class or study circle?-----
72. What kind of course are you interested in?-----
73. What nights have you free on which to attend a class?-----
74. Interested in daytime or weekend class?-----
75. What kind of branch or section work are you interested in doing? (Press, canvassing, education, literature, research, leaflets, etc.)-----
76. Do you think you can function better working as an open Communist in the neighborhood or working in a mass organization?-----
77. If a new member, who recruited you? (First name only, and club)-----
78. Can you make a regular donation to the sustaining fund? (25¢ a month and up)----- 79. Amount?-----

Organization	Active member?	Attend meetings?	Function (rank and file specific function)	When you joined	Expect to join	Known as Communist
Union						
A. L. P. (American Labor Party)						
Civil Rights Congress						
Consumer and Tenant Council						
Veterans Housing Conference						
Good Neighbor Council						
American Youth for Democracy (A. Y. D.)						
NO PAC (National Citizens Political Action Committee)						
YO PAC (Young Citizens Political Action Committee)						
Win the Peace						

80. If you have been a member of any of these organizations for more than three months, state past activity and function-----

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81. If you have belonged to any of these or other organizations in the past, state when, where, activities and positions. Also why you dropped out.....
82. How often do the organizations you belong to meet and usually what nights? (List individually).....
83. Altogether, about how many nights a week or month do you spend on meetings and activities in each of these organizations?.....

DUES

Beginning with its constitution adopted May 27-31, 1938, and thereafter, the CPUSA no longer publishes a table of membership dues. The 1945 constitution simply says "Initiation fees and dues shall be paid according to rates fixed by the National Convention," while giving no figures. This is done in the interest of secrecy for fear that a publicly announced table may give a clue from which an accurate estimate of party membership may be calculated. The Party Voice, volume 1, No. 5, August 1953, published by the New York State Communist Party, shows that on July 1, 1953, the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, instituted the following monthly dues schedule:

Unemployed and youth.....	\$0. 15
Housewives.....	. 50
Members earning up to \$40 weekly.....	. 50
Members earning \$41-\$60 weekly.....	1. 25
Members earning \$61-\$80 weekly.....	2. 50
Members earning \$81-\$100 weekly.....	3. 00
Members earning over \$100 weekly.....	10. 00

MAILING LISTS

The extent and interlocking character of mailing lists maintained by the Communist network is disclosed by the fact that those whose names appear on mailing lists of one front organization, suddenly and without solicitation receive mail from another. An envelope sent out by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship has used the stencil of the Voice of Freedom Committee. The New York World Telegram of January 17, 1946, described how a housewife from Wyckoff, N. J., solicited literature from the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and thereafter began receiving under the same stencilled address unrequested printed matter from the National Citizens Political Action Committee, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., and the Committee for a Democratic Policy Toward China. On August 9, 1949, Mr. Blair Seese, a member of local 601 of the Communist-dominated United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, which has been expelled from the CIO because of this domination, testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities on the party's access to mailing lists, as follows:

Mr. TAVENNER. What about the Communist Party literature; do you receive it yourself through the mail?

Mr. SEESE. I have and I still do at times.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do other members of the union also receive it?

Mr. SEESE. I know other members in the local who have Communist literature mailed to their homes. * * *

Mr. TAVENNER. What explanation is there for members of the union who are not members of the Communist Party receiving this literature?

Mr. SEESE. I have no explanation for it other than the fact that it seems evident that by some means the membership lists of the stewards' council are avail-

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able to the Communist Party, because if there are errors in the addresses of any union members, the same errors are made in sending out the Communist literature.

Under these circumstances it is inconceivable that the Communist Party would not maintain a roster of its own members.

The Communist Party is most scrupulous in the way it checks upon and husband its forces to insure the maximum utilization of every ounce of available cooperation and support and to guard against possible losses. For this purpose rigorous registrations of all party members are conducted regularly. As J. Peters indicated in *The Communist Party—A Manual on Organization*, "The party leadership must know its forces, must be able to assign each one to the place where he is most suitable and most needed." In this respect he cites with approval Lenin's counsel to the party leadership:

Not only to advise * * * but really conduct the orchestra, one must know exactly who is playing first or second fiddle, and where, what instrument he was taught, where and how, where and why he plays out of tune (when the music begins to be trying to the ear), and what changes should be made in the orchestra so as to remedy the dissonance * * *

EVIDENCE OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP

The simple evidentiary test of a Communist Party card will not suffice for proof of membership. Nor will the legal fictions incorporated in the official Constitution of the Communist Party, USA, serve as a fruitful guide.

An excellent guide to determine Communist Party membership is to be found in section 5 of the Communist Control Act of 1954:

Sec. 5. In determining membership or participation in the Communist Party or any other organization defined in this Act, or knowledge of the purpose or objective of such party or organization, the jury, under instructions from the court, shall consider evidence, if presented, as to whether the accused person:

- (1) Has been listed to his knowledge as a member in any book or any of the lists, records, correspondence, or any other document of the organization;
- (2) Has made financial contribution to the organization in dues, assessments, loans, or in any other form;
- (3) Has made himself subject to the discipline of the organization in any form whatsoever;
- (4) Has executed orders, plans, or directives of any kind of the organization;
- (5) Has acted as an agent, courier, messenger, correspondent, organizer, or in any other capacity in behalf of the organization;
- (6) Has conferred with officers or other members of the organization in behalf of any plan or enterprise of the organization;
- (7) Has been accepted to his knowledge as an officer or member of the organization or as one to be called upon for services by other officers or members of the organization;
- (8) Has written, spoken or in any other way communicated by signal, semaphore, sign, or in any other form of communication orders, directives, or plans of the organization;
- (9) Has prepared documents, pamphlets, leaflets, books, or any other type of publication in behalf of the objectives and purposes of the organization;
- (10) Has mailed, shipped, circulated, distributed, delivered, or in any other way sent or delivered to others material or propaganda of any kind in behalf of the organization;
- (11) Has advised, counseled or in any other way imparted information, suggestions, recommendations to officers or members of the organization or to any one else in behalf of the objectives of the organization;
- (12) Has indicated by word, action, conduct, writing, or in any other way a willingness to carry out in any manner and to any degree the plans, designs, objectives, or purposes of the organization;
- (13) Has in any other way participated in the activities, planning, actions, objectives, or purposes of the organization;

(14) The enumeration of the above subjects of evidence on membership or participation in the Communist Party or any other organization as above defined, shall not limit the inquiry into and consideration of any other subject of evidence on membership and participation as herein stated.

For an intelligent appraisal of the forces at work in behalf of the Communist movement in the United States, it is necessary to understand the various categories involved, to appreciate the shade of difference between categories and to deal with them accordingly, recognizing, however, that each category constitutes a definite security risk operating in the interests of a foreign power. It should also be remembered that these categories are not static, that party members are shifted from one to another like pawns on the Red chessboard. The following would constitute a rough classification of these categories:

1. *Open party members.*—This would include individuals whom the party has found it expedient to designate publicly as party members, such as party officials, candidates for public office, official representatives and writers for the Communist press. The existence of this group is essential to maintain the fiction that the Communist Party, USA, is an open "political party of the American working class."

The party has been compared to an iceberg with one-third above the water and two-thirds submerged. Though these proportions are not accurate, the open party members constitute its visible portion. Since the submerged sector is considered more important, members of the open party can be commandeered at any time in the service of the underground. The testimony of Louis F. Budenz, Whittaker Chambers, and Elizabeth Bentley has shown that men like Jack Stachel, Max Bedacht, and J. Peters functioned simultaneously in both the open and the underground apparatus. Well-known party members will suddenly disappear from public view to be engulfed by the underground, whose orders have distinct priority.

2. *Semiconcealed party members.*—Most party members are known as such to their fellow members in the party club, union, front organization, or place of employment. Within the party they operate under one or more aliases, making no avowal of party membership publicly. This type of membership can be established by a membership card of former days or record, evidence of payment of dues, attendance at closed meetings, association with Communists in party enterprises or campaigns, soliciting new members or appearing in any other official capacity representing the party.

3. *Members at large.*—Party members who occupy important positions in government or organizations where knowledge of their affiliation would be an obstacle to party purposes, are made members at large. They do not attend Communist Party meetings and are contacted solely by an emissary assigned to receive dues, distribute literature and directives.

4. *Members of the underground apparatus.*—For reasons of secrecy it may at times be necessary to withdraw an individual entirely from any contact with the open Communist Party. Whittaker Chambers, Elizabeth Bentley, and John Sherman, for example, were withdrawn from the open party to work in the underground. Other members of the Communist underground apparatus may never have been members of the legal party. An individual assigned for this purpose may even submit a public resignation under the direction of his party superiors. On the other hand, a member of this apparatus may be a purely technical assistant with no trace of party sympathy

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or even knowledge of the true nature of the organization for which he is working.

An operative active in the United States may have no direct responsibility to the CPUSA. He may be linked with some special arm of the Soviet Government and be directly responsible to it, such as the Soviet Military Intelligence, the Soviet Foreign Office, or the Supreme Economic Council. In each case his responsibilities to the Soviet agency have complete priority over any consideration of the domestic Communist Party.

5. *Nonparty Communists*.—Certain sympathetic persons find it inadvisable or inexpedient to join the Communist Party. For example, a person of great wealth or prominence may be in full sympathy with the party, but he may be unwilling or unable to attend meetings or carry out all Communist duties. But he agrees to abide by the party's wishes and submit to its discipline. He may be a businessman who depends upon the Soviet Government for commercial favors. He may be a politician or a union official who could not be elected to office without the votes controlled by the Communist bloc. In some cases compulsion may be employed to whip the individual into line.

6. *Communist Party supporters*.—There are other individuals to be distinguished from the above group who are in no sense under Communist discipline, but who voluntarily and knowingly support the Communists in one or more ways such as voting for Communist candidates, signing of Communist election petitions, donating money for the party or its press, supporting campaigns in behalf of the party of individual known Communists, supporting organizations openly sponsored by the Communist Party, defense of Communist legal cases, doing organizational and political favors for the party, or writing for the Communist press. In each case the subject is fully aware that he is supporting the Communist Party or one or more of its members or one or more of its directly espoused activities. The usefulness of such non-Communists is demonstrated by the example of Raymond Boyer, a wealthy and noted Canadian chemist, who described himself as having "worked in organizations in which there were Communists and in which I knew there were Communists, and I have worked very closely with Communists, but I have never held a party card nor paid dues." A memorandum found in the Soviet Embassy cites his services as follows:

Gives full information on explosives and chemical plants. * * * (Gave the formula of RDX * * *).

RDX is an explosive perfected in England in 1942. He also furnished information regarding the pilot plant at Grand Mere, Quebec, for the production of uranium.

FELLOW TRAVELERS

1. *Fellow travelers*.—As differentiated from the above categories, a fellow traveler may be defined as an individual who from time to time supports one or more organizations or campaigns operating under the indirect and usually unpublicized initiative and control of the Communist Party or its representatives. Here we must point out three distinct types.

(a) *Conscious fellow travelers*.—A conscious fellow traveler is one who affiliates with or supports one or more of these groups with full knowledge of its character. For the most part, such persons are

motivated by a definite sympathy for the Soviet Union or the Communist Party or both. Here again we must differentiate between two groups under this heading:

(i) *Consistent fellow travelers*.—Among those who support or affiliate with such organizations or campaigns are those who on no occasion take issue with the Communist Party or its auxiliary organizations. They have a consistent record of such affiliations or sympathy throughout all changes of the party line, and despite the fact that such organizations have been publicly exposed as communistic.

(ii) *Unreliable fellow travelers*.—Occasionally there is defection among the fellow travelers who support the Communist Party or its auxiliary organizations. This may be due to disillusionment as to the real nature of the Soviet regime or antagonism toward such actions as the Stalin-Hitler Pact or disgust with Communist methods in a particular organization. The sincerity and depth of the individual's conversion may be measured by the individual's subsequent behavior. If he supports no pro-Communist organizations or campaigns subsequent to his first break, it may be assumed that this break is sincere and thorough. If, however, his name is to be found supporting such organizations or campaigns at a later date, it may be properly concluded that his break was neither genuine nor substantial.

(b) *Unwitting fellow travelers*.—It would be only fair to indicate that individuals have supported Communist-inspired organizations in the belief that such organizations were accomplishing some meritorious, social purpose. They may have had not the faintest notion as to the organization's Communist character, they may even be anti-Communist. In other words, they may be outright dupes. Such names are not usually found in organizations of an outright Communist character. Nevertheless, the Communists welcome their financial and moral support.

The Communists are perfectly frank in admitting the usefulness of the fellow traveler. F. Brown, an agent of the Communist International who operated in the United States in the 1930's, who was also known as Alpi and Marini, has testified to that fact in the *Daily Worker* of August 25, 1937, page 2, where he declares:

It is no exaggeration to state that besides the 55,000 Communist members, there are today tens of thousands of individuals who are active in every field of the progressive movement, carrying out the line of the Party in practice. They work shoulder to shoulder with the Party members, follow the Party line through our press—*Daily Worker*, *Sunday Worker*, language press, through the mass activities of the Party—mass meetings, lectures, and all struggles in which the Communists are in the forefront. * * * We must point out: First, that their actual work is appreciated by the Party; second, that we consider their work Communist work and want them to continue it.

HOW TO JUDGE A FELLOW TRAVELER

It is possible to set up definite standards for judging a fellow traveler's devotion to the Communist Party and the Soviet Union, which must be taken into consideration in judging his loyalty to the United States. This scale is not hard and fast. It cannot be applied mechanically. It must be utilized intelligently with an eye to the history of the period, our current relations with the Soviet Union, the age of the individual at the time of his affiliations, and possible changes in his views. It should be recognized that an individual who has passed through certain experiences with Communist organi-

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zations and who has been thoroughly and completely disillusioned, can be of considerable value in counteracting Communist machinations. To adopt an attitude of "once a fellow traveler, always a fellow traveler," is to place an obstacle in the path of the reeducation of such individuals and to make it undesirable for an individual to desert their ranks. The following points should, therefore, be kept in mind in judging a fellow traveler.

1. The number of his associations with Communist-controlled organizations.
2. The importance of the post or posts he occupied in these organizations. (The Communists commonly limit such posts to individuals who are either party members or who possess the party's confidence, though sometimes "big names" are pushed up front as protective coloration.)
3. The extent of his activity.
4. The importance of such organizations in the Communist setup.
5. His adherence to these organizations despite public exposure of their Communist character.
6. His standing in the Communist press, which operates under strictest Moscow and party censorship.
7. His standing in Communist organizations.
8. His public statements and writings regarding the Soviet Union, the Communist Party, individual Communists and Communist-initiated campaigns and organizations.
9. His personal associations with Communists or sympathizers.

EXTENT OF COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP

The latest estimate of Communist Party membership by the Federal Bureau of Investigation is about 22,663. The most recent breakdown by States is based upon a membership of 31,608 in 1951, as drawn up by the FBI.

Communist Party membership by States, 1951

Alabama.....	96	New Jersey.....	1,070
Arizona.....	136	New Mexico.....	22
Arkansas.....	20	New York.....	15,458
California.....	4,295	North Carolina.....	95
Colorado.....	72	North Dakota.....	52
Connecticut.....	580	Ohio.....	1,290
Delaware.....	22	Oklahoma.....	83
Florida.....	135	Oregon.....	125
Georgia.....	51	Pennsylvania.....	1,441
Idaho.....	60	Rhode Island.....	54
Illinois.....	1,596	South Carolina.....	15
Indiana.....	475	South Dakota.....	38
Iowa.....	25	Tennessee.....	21
Kansas.....	12	Texas.....	196
Kentucky.....	71	Utah.....	67
Louisiana.....	50	Vermont.....	25
Maine.....	25	Virginia.....	53
Maryland.....	250	Washington.....	350
Massachusetts.....	759	West Virginia.....	96
Michigan.....	450	Wisconsin.....	420
Minnesota.....	701	Wyoming.....	2
Mississippi.....	1	Puerto Rico.....	96
Missouri.....	362	Washington, D. C.....	60
Montana.....	82	Hawaii.....	36
Nebraska.....	25	Alaska.....	25
Nevada.....	15		
New Hampshire.....	52	Total.....	31,608

To show the growth of the party, it is interesting to add here a review of the total party membership over a period of years as given by Earl Browder, its general secretary until 1945, in his pamphlet *Where Do We Go From Here?* under the pseudonym Americus. His references are undoubtedly to open party members. Mr. Browder's figures would show that the party membership had increased over 6½ times from the depression year of 1932 to 1945.

Changes in the volume of membership of CPUSA

At beginning of the year of—	Total membership	At beginning of the year of—Con.	Total membership
1930-----	7,500	1935-----	30,000
1931-----	8,339	1936-----	40,000
1932-----	12,936	1938-----	75,000
1933-----	16,814	1944-----	166,000
1934-----	24,500	1945-----	80,000

¹ Including 13,000 in the Armed Forces.

Election returns for 1928, 1932, 1936, and 1940 show how many voters actually supported the Communist Party presidential candidates, except in the States where the party was not admitted on the ballot. In 1932 this figure was approximately seven times the party membership figures as given by Browder. In 1940, during the highly unpopular Stalin-Hitler pact, it closely approximated the party membership figure, on a one-vote-per-party-member basis.

The Progressive Party backing Henry A. Wallace was publicly supported by the Communist Party. In this connection the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee received on October 7, 1954, the testimony of Matthew Cvetic, a former FBI informant who had worked his way into the Communist Party of western Pennsylvania, becoming a member of its organizational, educational, and finance committees as well as its nationality, political, and trade-union commissions. We quote him in part:

Now, we were directed, in a directive which was read to us in the Communist Party headquarters, based on the Communist International of 1935, where all Communist Parties in the world were ordered to set up in the various countries—and this included the American Communist Party—a coalition party of Communists and Progressives * * * The primary steps which were taken during the years after 1945 to consummate this objective—and this was as early as the last part of 1945, in a report which was given by William Z. Foster, the then national chairman of the Communist Party in which he stressed that one of the big objectives of the Communist Party is the setting up of a coalition party in the United States * * * And as a result of this report of William Z. Foster, subsequently an organization known as the Progressive Party of the United States was organized on a national basis.

I was a member of the organizational committee of the Communist Party, and as a member of this committee I was one of the eight ranking members of the Communist Party for the western Pennsylvania district. The Progressive Party, which later you will recall, in the 1948 campaign, had presidential candidates, was set up by the organizational committee and also the political commission of the Communist party. I myself sat in dozens of meetings where we set up the Progressive Party * * * The personnel that moved around within the framework of the Progressive Party in key positions were assigned out of the Communist Party office * * * In other words, it was controlled by planted, key Communist agents, who had absolute control of the Progressive Party * * *

I attended meetings in Communist Party headquarters where we discussed candidates who would be put up for office in the Progressive Party. And the final determining factor of who the candidates would be was decided right in the headquarters of the Communist Party * * *

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I recall very vividly sitting in several meetings in Communist Party headquarters * * * and I recall why the decision to support Henry Wallace and Glen Taylor was made. That was because they were two men who were willing to work with the Communist Party in this coalition party * * *

And, too, when we had on 2 or 3 occasions meetings in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, at which Henry Wallace and Glen Taylor spoke, the fund-raising activities and the ticket-sales activities in connection with these meetings were directed right out of the headquarters of the Communist Party * * *

On the same day, John Lautner, a former member of the review commission of the CPUSA, testified regarding the party's efforts to "break out from its isolation" by forming the Progressive Party, and he declared:

It enabled the Communist Party to reach into ranks, into sections, of the American population into which they could never have reached before, and it opened up all kinds of new possibilities for the Communist Party throughout the country and enabled the party to carry on a Communist ideological campaign in the labor movement, in the trade-union movement * * * In addition to that, because it was not necessary for the Communist Party to put forth its own national candidates, Wallace and Taylor served that very same purpose for the Communist Party.

In the light of the above, it is interesting to note the distribution of the popular vote for Wallace in 1948, totaling 1,137,957.

Popular vote, 1948, for President

Source: Compiled by the United Press from official and unofficial returns (as of Dec. 1, 1948) ¹

States	Wallace, Progressive	States	Wallace, Progressive
Alabama.....	1,522	Nevada.....	1,400
Arizona.....	3,310	New Hampshire.....	1,970
Arkansas.....	751	New Jersey.....	42,683
California.....	190,381	New Mexico.....	1,037
Colorado.....	6,115	New York.....	501,167
Connecticut.....	13,713	North Carolina.....	3,915
Delaware.....	1,050	North Dakota.....	8,220
Florida.....	11,683	Ohio.....	37,596
Georgia.....	1,636	Oklahoma.....
Idaho.....	4,972	Oregon.....	14,661
Illinois.....	Pennsylvania.....	55,161
Indiana.....	9,649	Rhode Island.....	2,587
Iowa.....	12,125	South Carolina.....	1,154
Kansas.....	4,603	South Dakota.....	2,801
Kentucky.....	1,567	Tennessee.....	1,861
Louisiana.....	3,035	Texas.....	3,764
Maine.....	1,884	Utah.....	2,679
Maryland.....	9,983	Vermont.....	1,279
Massachusetts.....	38,157	Virginia.....	1,863
Michigan.....	38,955	Washington.....	29,745
Minnesota.....	27,866	West Virginia.....	3,311
Mississippi.....	225	Wisconsin.....	25,282
Missouri.....	3,998	Wyoming.....	931
Montana.....	6,641		
Nebraska.....	Total vote.....	1,137,957

¹ Taken from the World Almanac 1949, p. 91.

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Presidential election returns by States for Communist party candidates

State	1928	1932	1936	1940
Alabama		406	679	509
Arizona	184	406		
Arkansas	317	175	164	
California	216	1,023	10,877	13,586
Colorado	675		497	875
Connecticut	730		1,193	1,001
Delaware		133	52	
Florida	3,704			
Georgia	64	23		
Idaho		491		276
Illinois	381	15,582		
Indiana		2,137	1,090	
Iowa	328	559	506	1,524
Kansas	320			
Kentucky	293	272	204	
Louisiana				
Maine		162	257	411
Maryland	636	1,031	615	1,274
Massachusetts	2,464	4,821	2,830	3,806
Michigan	2,881	9,313	3,384	2,834
Minnesota	4,853	6,101	2,574	2,711
Mississippi				
Missouri		568	417	
Montana	563	1,775	385	480
Nebraska				
Nevada				
New Hampshire	173	264	193	
New Jersey	1,257	2,915	1,500	8,814
New Mexico	158	135	43	
New York	10,894	27,956	35,609	
North Carolina			11	
North Dakota	936	830	360	545
Ohio	2,386	7,231	5,251	
Oklahoma				
Oregon	1,094	1,681	104	191
Pennsylvania	4,726	5,653	4,060	4,519
Rhode Island	283	546	411	239
South Carolina				
South Dakota	232	364		
Tennessee	111	234	319	
Texas	209	207	253	212
Utah	47	947	280	191
Vermont		195	405	411
Virginia	173	86	98	71
Washington	1,541	2,972	1,907	2,626
West Virginia	401	444		
Wisconsin	1,528	3,112	2,197	2,304
Wyoming		180	91	
Total votes cast	44,748	100,990	79,306	49,102

Source: World Almanac, 1950, from official returns by States.

HOW TO MEASURE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE

Communist influence cannot be estimated properly merely by comparing its votes or membership with those of political parties. Those who declare that the Communist Party is no menace because its membership and voting strength constitute only a fraction of a percent of the total membership and voting strength of major political parties are deluding themselves and others. This approach is the root cause of a mistaken policy which has already done considerable harm and which may bring even more disastrous results. The simplicity of this approach is born of sheer ignorance of the problem.

Each party member or sympathizer must be evaluated in terms of his political, social, and economic weight and influence and the fact that he has the backing of a major foreign power. The collective influence of this group cannot be judged as a mere arithmetical sum of members and sympathizers, since one arm of this conspiracy lends support to and supplements the other in a highly synchronized manner.

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We must keep this in mind in estimating the influence of this tightly organized, coordinated, and aggressive group and its combined effect upon an amorphous, comparatively unorganized mass of people who are, for the most part, blissfully unaware that they are being worked upon by a conscious, conspiratorial group with a clear-cut policy. We must remember that in a highly sensitive and articulated society like ours, it is not difficult to cause havoc by a strategic dislocation. Communists make a practice of seeking out such points of vantage.

Thus a party member or sympathizer may be an official of a labor union with thousands of members which can tie up a given community or industry. He may be an unpublicized Government official who prepares memoranda on policy affecting the entire Nation. He may be an atomic scientist with access to highly secret information vital to our security. He may be a writer, a preacher, or a radio commentator with a vast audience. He may be a script writer whose film or radio message, voiced by a popular star, reaches millions. He may be an actor whose popularity is exploited by the party to sponsor its front organizations and public appeals. He may be an artist with a mass following in the art world. He may be the descendant of some well-known family tracing its ancestry to the days of the American Revolution, whose name adds glamour to Communist enterprises. He may be the leader of a tenants league or a community organization. He may be the idol of a racial or foreign language group. In each case the individual's influence radiates to ever-widening circles with an effect similar to that of a stone thrown into a pool.

RESIGNATIONS AND EX-COMMUNISTS

Government agencies are sometimes confronted with cases in which individuals claim that they have resigned from the Communist Party. Under no circumstances should such a statement be accepted at its face value. Party members have been known to use this device when they are convinced that their previous Communist affiliations are known and provable. In other cases, as for instance in connection with the signing of non-Communist affidavits, the party will instruct members who are trade-union officials to formally resign while remaining under party discipline. It should be remembered that party membership is not looked upon as a possession of the individual, but strictly a possession of the party, to give, withhold, or retract. The party does not recognize any voluntary resignation. Those who fall from the good graces of the organization are expelled.

The attitude of the world Communist organization toward resignations is reflected in section 30 of the Statutes of the Communist International from which we quote in part:

Resignation from office by individual members or groups of members of Central Committees of the various Sections is regarded as disruptive of the Communist movement. Leading posts in the Party do not belong to the occupant of that post, but to the Communist International as a whole. * * *

Certain tests may be made to determine the legitimacy and sincerity of a resignation. No one of them should be considered as complete and decisive. They should be judged in terms of the pattern of the individual's pro-Communist or anti-Communist behavior since the resignation. The following questions may properly be asked in connection with each resignation: Does the individual have a carbon

copy of his resignation? What was the real motive of the resignation? Was he or the Communist Party or one or more of its controlled organizations in a position to benefit thereby? What was the attitude of the Communist press toward the action? Do his views, writings, readings, associations, and general attitude indicate that he is still loyal to the party line or that he has, in fact, repudiated it? Can he corroborate this claimed repudiation of the party with written evidence or the statements of known anti-Communists? The individual's record with the FBI since his resignation is, of course, important. A test of the individual's sincerity is his willingness to expose his associates in the ranks of the Communist conspiracy and its methods of operations. Unwillingness to do this may indicate some remnants of loyalty to the party. At the same time, it should be made clear by Government agencies that such information is looked upon as a valuable contribution to the security of the country and not, as the Communists would have it regarded, as an act of petty talebearing.

There are definite cases on record where withdrawals from the party are apparently under party instructions. A number of known Communist union leaders have signed non-Communist affidavits in order to be in a position to avail themselves of the machinery of the National Labor Relations Board. During World War II, known Communists, who were members of the Armed Forces, were allegedly given a leave of absence in order to make them eligible for commissions. This did not prevent them from faithfully following the Communist Party line and from holding official positions in the Communist Party after the close of the war. Such instructed withdrawals are clearly suspect.

Effective countermeasures against the worldwide Communist conspiracy require an intelligent attitude toward the ex-Communists both here and abroad. In the event of actual armed conflict with the Soviet Union, psychological warfare will play an important part in determining victory. We must know how to win over the forces of a possible enemy. We must develop skill in handling those we have succeeded in disaffecting. In a sense, our handling of the ex-Communists in this country gives us valuable preliminary training which should be highly useful in the event of an actual conflict. A policy of once-a-Communist-always-a-Communist would be disastrous. Given a dictatorship, guarded by its ruthless secret police, with its 15 million slave laborers, with its 100 million peasants groaning under the yoke of collectivization, with low living standards and general dissatisfaction, there is every reason to believe that the proper type of psychological warfare could do much to disaffect Communist forces, to shorten a war, and save many lives. A wrong approach would retard the process of disaffection and strengthen the hand of the Communists. It must be remembered in this connection, that by using unsound methods the Nazis repelled millions of Russians who deserted in the last war, and thus solidified the forces of the Red army.

Within our own borders it is estimated that it takes from 10 to 20 investigators to keep 1 subject under constant surveillance. With a party membership of 22,663, and at least 10 times that number of sympathizers, it would take a secret police of close to a million to maintain a constant surveillance of this group. This is utterly contrary to our democratic traditions and would mean the setting up of an enormous

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American Gestapo or MVD. Within the limits of its resources, the FBI is, of course, doing a magnificent job. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that in combating a conspiratorial organization including, directly or indirectly, at times, within its orbit, more than half a million individuals and at the same time exerting its efforts against crime of every conceivable type, the FBI is confronted with a stupendous task. Hence the necessity of relying upon all available information which can be obtained from ex-Communists.

It is sometimes asked, "How do we know the reformed Communists have actually reformed? How do we know that they are not secret agents of Joseph Stalin?" Such questions may be based upon sheer ignorance of the problem coupled with a desire to disguise that ignorance by the assumption of an attitude of apparent supercaution without any specific foundation. They may be based upon a stubborn unwillingness to face hard and unpleasant facts. On the other hand, they may be the result of a Communist plant intended to cast doubt upon those who can best expose them. From the Communist viewpoint it is excellent strategy to confuse opponents and discredit most effective witnesses. This shallow skepticism toward ex-Communists is sometimes found in circles which have been consistently apologetic and defensive toward the Communists.

The answer to the above questions, of course, is that intelligence and commonsense are required in dealing with both Communists and ex-Communists. There is no substitute or short cut. The fact of the matter is that in judicial and deportation cases thus far, including the cases of Alger Hiss, Harry Bridges, the 11 Communists leaders, Harold Christoffel, and many others, the testimony of ex-Communists has demonstrated a high level of credibility under rigorous cross-examination and investigation.

Those who do not understand the Communist underworld are apt to misunderstand all that is involved in turning against the Communist Party. It is not nearly so simple as repudiating a political party.

As indicated above, Communist headquarters maintain an elaborate dossier on each individual party member to be used as a club against any possible defection. Widely circulated smear campaigns directed against anyone who attacks the party or its constituents serve as a powerful deterrent. Those who have earned their livelihood by grace of the Communist machine, in a Communist-front organization or through one of its unions or publications, are immediately penalized by this vast apparatus.

The history of the international Communist movement is replete with cases in which dissidents have been assassinated or have mysteriously disappeared. Former Soviet Intelligence Chief Walter G. Krivitsky was found shot in a Washington hotel in the early forties. George W. Alberts, an opponent of Communists in the maritime field, was found dead on board the steamship *Point Lobos* in 1941, beaten with blunt instruments and hacked with knives. Juliet Stuart Poyntz, a leading New York Communist, suddenly vanished without a trace in the late thirties. Laura Law, who was threatening an exposé of the party in the State of Washington, mysteriously disappeared. The purging and liquidation of leading Communists is a common occurrence in countries behind the Iron Curtain and in the Soviet Union. It thus takes some courage for an ex-Communist to defy

this nefarious machine. Under the circumstances, ex-Communists might be expected to prefer obscurity and safety.

What is the motive which impels an ex-Communist to testify in court or before a congressional committee in spite of the risks which he knowingly takes? It is simple to ascribe it to a mere desire for publicity; and this may be true in the rare case of a Matusow. But it is also possible that a person who has been disillusioned with Communist claims and who is fully convinced that this movement is dangerously antisocial and anti-American might be moved by a desire to safeguard his country from what he now realizes to be a real and pressing danger, having now determined to crusade as devotedly for his country as he once did for a movement which misled and deceived him. Experience has indicated this is the actual motivation in the cases of most former Communists who have given testimony against the party.

Some will ask, "How can you believe an ex-Communist who admittedly has resorted to lies and deceit and who has been willing to ally himself with a movement which demands outright disloyalty to the United States in behalf of the Soviet dictatorship and which condones every crime from treason to murder in support of its efforts?" To answer this question properly, it is necessary to understand the processes by which the Communist moral code is built up. In this connection we wish to quote as this point the report of the Canadian Royal Commission of June 27, 1946, which dealt with Communist espionage cases, in which individuals were conditioned by a series of study courses. In view of the highly coordinated and disciplined character of the international Communist movement, this practice must be viewed as typical:

As the courses of study in the "cells" undermine gradually the loyalty of the young man or woman who joins them, it is necessary to say something as to the content of the courses pursued in them, as that is reflected by the evidence.

The curriculum includes the study of political and philosophic works, some of them far from superficial, selected to develop in the students an essentially critical attitude toward Western democratic society. This phase of the preparation also includes a series of discussions on current affairs, designed to further a critical attitude toward the ideals of democratic society.

But this curriculum would appear in reality to be designed not to promote social reform where it might be required, but to weaken the loyalty of the group member toward his or her own society as such.

Linked with these studies at all stages, moreover, goes an organized indoctrination calculated to create in the mind of the study-group member an essentially uncritical acceptance at its face value of the propaganda of a foreign state.

Accordingly, the study-groups are encouraged to subscribe to Communist books and periodicals * * * as well as selected books on Russia.

In some cases the effect of these study courses seems to be a gradual development of a sense of divided loyalties, or in extreme cases of a transferred loyalty.

Thus it seems to happen that through these study-groups some adherents, who begin by feeling that Canadian society is not democratic or not equalitarian enough for their taste, are gradually led to transfer a part or most of their loyalties to another country, apparently without reference to whether that other country is in actual fact more or less democratic or equalitarian than Canada.

Indeed, a sense of internationalism seems in many cases to play a definite role in one stage of the courses. In these cases the Canadian sympathiser is first encouraged to develop a sense of loyalty, not directly to a foreign state, but to what he conceives to be an international ideal. This subjective internationalism is then usually linked almost inextricably through the indoctrination courses and the intensive exposure to the propaganda of a particular foreign state, with the current conception of the national interests of that foreign state and with the current doctrines and policies of Communist Parties throughout the world. * * *

A further objective, pursued through the study-group is gradually to inculcate in the secret membership of the Communist Party a habit of complete obedience to the dictates of senior members and officials of the Party hierarchy. This is apparently accomplished through a constant emphasis, in the indoctrination courses, on the importance of organization *as such*, and by the gradual creation, in the mind of the new adherent or sympathiser, of an overriding moral sense of "loyalty to the Party". This "loyalty to the Party" in due course takes the place in the member's mind of the earlier loyalty to certain principles professed by the Party propaganda. * * *

The indoctrination courses in the study groups are apparently calculated not only to inculcate a high degree of "loyalty to the Party" and "obedience to the Party," but to instill in the mind of the adherent the view that loyalty and obedience to the leadership of this organization takes precedence over his loyalty to Canada, entitles him to disregard his oaths of allegiance and secrecy, and thus destroys his integrity as a citizen. * * * (pp. 72-75).

In other words, the Communist is indoctrinated with a standard of loyalty to the Soviet Union similar to that which moves the American soldier to justify killing an enemy, spying and lying to accomplish the enemy's defeat. Nevertheless, this individual soldier may be a perfectly honest, moral and upright citizen in his dealings with his fellow men. Hence it is conceivable that once he has fully and sincerely repudiated his Communist moral code the individual could and would simultaneously repudiate the type of behavior which it justified.

Failure to understand how to handle the ex-Communist and how to make full use of his inside knowledge of the Communist conspiracy may result in costly errors for the United States.

RECRUITING

No political party in the country is as aggressive in recruiting new members as is the Communist Party, nor as systematic. J. Peters in his *Manual on Organization* lays down the principle that "Continuous daily recruiting is the basic task of every Unit and each individual member of the Party."

Recruiting is compulsory with each party member, who is expected to fulfill his share of the quota assigned to his club or section in regular Party Recruiting Campaigns. These campaigns are usually concentrated upon workers in the basic industries, upon Negroes, whom the party considers as useful, explosive tinder in promoting social friction and upon influential people in various walks of life. Each party member is expected to keep a list of prospects whom he is expected to cultivate systematically, under specific party direction. In her pamphlet *The Communist Party and You*, Betty Gannett, Assistant Organization Secretary of the CPUSA, makes the following suggestions:

a Communist must constantly help to educate his fellow workers, through the sale and distribution of Communist literature, securing subscriptions for the Communist press, individual discussions, and through influencing the most militant workers to join the Communist Party * * *

* * * make new friends, especially in your shop, your union, your organization, or the neighborhood in which you live. You will find that our Communist press our hundreds of popular pamphlets, will help you bring them nearer to our Party. Use this material constantly—it is your best aid.

It is also true that the party has a tremendous turnover as converts become disillusioned and drop out. Hence the importance of attracting new gullibles.

The following account of the recruiting of an American Communist is to be found in Life for January 5, 1948:

He joined the party in 1935, when he was 20 years old. It wasn't simple, like joining the Democratic party or the Elks. It was the reward for three years of work, study and obedience to discipline * * * It began when he was still a high-school student in Chicago as social pleasure and what he thought then to be intellectual adventure * * * There were parties, picnics, beach suppers, all with songs and laughter, discussions and admiring girls * * * Of course there was another side to all this. There were tasks, little ones at first, more important ones later. He distributed literature at mass meetings, walked in a hunger march, and it was rather fun, even a little exciting. He did not notice that he was being watched by the older men, watched for ability and obedience * * * Soon he was attending the Workers' School three evenings a week. One or two evenings he worked on party activities—wrapping newspapers at the print shop, attending mass meetings, picketing the mass meetings of other organizations * * * After three months of the Workers' School he could spot a "supporter," a "diversionist" or a "dissenter" in a conversation on the weather * * * He had his membership in the party * * *

WHAT MAKES A COMMUNIST TICK?

The question is often asked, "What makes an individual join the Communist Party in the first place?" No single answer will suffice. In each case there may be a different motive or a mixture of motives. In some cases they are the result of normal psychological factors. Sometimes there are distinctly abnormal features involved. It is necessary to understand these motives and factors if we are successfully to deal with the problem.

A trite explanation offered by the ill-informed is that communism is a product of inequalities under our social system. Hence, these people argue, if we will alleviate these conditions, we will never have to worry about communism. Since it is manifestly impossible to devise a social system in which everybody will be satisfied, this would mean that we should meekly fold our arms and accept communism in our midst as a necessary evil for which we ourselves are chiefly to blame. In the second place, this approach overlooks the fact that millions of dollars spent on cleverly devised Communist propaganda is bound to have some effect in any society, no matter how relatively contented, especially when supplemented by the activities of thousands of ardent zealots.

The misery theory of communism runs contrary to the actual facts in our country. New York State, for example, has approximately 50 percent of the total Communist Party membership and leads the country. Yet it is second in terms of per capita income as well as per capita school expenditures. California is second with approximately 16 percent of the total party membership and yet it is fourth in terms of per capita income and seventh in terms of per capita school expenditures. Similarly, Illinois is third in membership standing with approximately 5 percent and yet it is sixth in per capita income and third in terms of money spent for schools.

Conversely, Mississippi is lowest in the scale of Communist Party membership but is also lowest in per capita income. The misery theory of communism does not jibe with these figures nor with the fact that such wealthy persons as Frederick Vanderbilt Field, and prominent members of the Hollywood film colony, have been found to be members of the Communist Party. Indeed the misery theory of communism is exactly what the Communists would have us believe, in order to mislead us.

A corollary to this theory is that workers are attracted to the Communist Party in the hope of improving their lot economically. Despite Russia's claim to be a workers' republic, the Communist movement, by its disruptive tactics and support of Soviet slave labor camps, has aroused the deepest hostility of labor. Labor has, therefore, expressed little desire to migrate to the so-called workers' Paradise. Both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations are today bitterly fighting the Communists. In his report to the plenary session of the national committee of the CPUSA held on March 23-25, 1950, Henry Winston, organizational secretary, deplored the party's "central weakness in the fight to win the workers" and declared that in its effort to win support for Henry A. Wallace's Progressive Party the union "rank-and-file generally" did not respond. He emphasized the fact that "the coalition tactic our Party worked out beginning with the 1948 convention was not fully unfolded in the shops." Thus the Communist Party has little ground for the label of "proletarian."

It would seem, on the contrary, that a large percentage of the party consists of mission-minded intellectuals who have constituted themselves the exponents of the interest of labor, which wants no part of them.

William Bledsoe, former editor of the Screen Guild Magazine in Hollywood, has brilliantly described the reactions of wealthy movie stars and writers in his article entitled "Revolution Came to Hollywood," which appeared in the February 1940 issue of the American Mercury. These cases are by no means typical of the industry at the present time.

I saw Social Consciousness quicken and come to a boil in actors, writers, and directors whose names rival Rinso and Camels as household words. I followed the insurrection mass meeting by mass meeting, cocktail party by cocktail party, until many a Big Name was more or less secretly enrolled in the Communist Party or tagging along solemnly in one of the "front" leagues and committees * * *

But on the whole Hollywood is a city of unhappy successful people. And that, it seemed to me, was the basis for communism with two butlers and a swimming pool * * *.

Actors, writers, directors and Hollywoodians on the fringes of the movie business joined Party "fractions" which met in Beverly Hills, Bel Air and Brentwood underground cells to hear the Party line * * *.

One famous comedian wrote an article for the Screen Guild Magazine entitled "Are We Laborers?" in which he attempted to prove that the actor or writer, like the truckdriver, is a proletarian slave writhing in the chains of capitalism. Another famous script writer propounded the question "Is the Middle Class in the Middle?" to which he answered, "If the middle class wants to get rid of its white collar of servitude, it had better get its picket lines in order."

Screenwriter Mary C. McCall in the Screen Guild Magazine for February 1937 said that for those enlisted in the good cause, "life begins" at 5:30. She declared:

Then we can listen to speeches and sign pledges, and feel that warming glow which comes from being packed in close with a lot of people who agree with you—a mild hypnotism, and exhilarating pleasurable hysteria.

Living as they do in an unreal world of images, some of them envy the farmer and the laborer for his contact with reality. The Communist myth offers a dream world which has all the earmarks of

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reality. For them the Soviet "paradise" is that reality, in which at last they have a personal and contributory stake.

The special May Day issue of the Daily Worker for April 30, 1950, demonstrated the type of middle class professionals attracted by the Communist Party. This issue carried paid greetings from:

A group of Queens' dentists
A group of Manhattan physicians
A group of Bronx dentists
A group of college teachers
Manhattan dentists
A progressive Doctor of Chiropractic
White Collar Section, CPUSA
Cultural Division, N. Y. State Communist Party
Progressive Playwrights
A group of librarians

According to John Williamson, then organizational secretary of the Communist Party of the United States of America, writing in Political Affairs for February 1946, "71% of the Party in New York City consists of white collar workers, professionals and housewives."

In a number of cases it will be found that the party is a refuge for certain psychologically maladjusted individuals. A nurse at a neurological clinic in New York affirmed some years ago that she recommended joining the Communist Party for some of her maladjusted patients who needed some outlet for their nervous energy and she added that the prescription had brought good results in some instances.

In Masses and Mainstream, a Communist monthly magazine, for November 1949, Francis H. Bartlett, a psychiatrist, explains "how capitalism causes neuroses" and he advises involving "the neurotic individual in a cooperative effort with us to understand and root out the individualistic goals to which he clings."

In the same issue of Masses and Mainstream, Joseph Wortis, another psychiatrist who has since invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to answer inquiry regarding his Communist Party membership, describes how "progressive" psychoanalysts deliver public lectures "on the psychological consequences of capitalism" which "leaves many in the audience frightened and palpitating, with no alternative but to place themselves and their families at the disposal of the already overtaxed facilities of the lecturer."

A recent example is the case of Mrs. Jean Murray, a former Communist, charged with trying to blackmail prosecution witnesses in the trial of Harry Bridges. She was sent for psychiatric examination by Federal Judge Louis B. Goodman in San Francisco after she attacked the court attendants, screaming, "Workers arise. Prepare yourself for the revolution."

Maladjusted individuals feel themselves isolated. Communist theory places the blame for such maladjustments upon society rather than the individual which is a comforting thought for the individual concerned. Mr. Bartlett holds out the following promise to those who would join in the "struggle against capitalism."

In this process, the barriers between individuals are broken down; people develop closer bonds with each other; they identify themselves with broader and broader segments of humanity; they lose the sense of isolation and develop feelings of solidarity. * * * In short, their lives, in spite of capitalism and against it, begin to acquire significance and direction.

Joseph North, a feature writer for the Daily Worker of May 3, 1950, describes another case of a "gifted writer * * * a Communist," who told North "she was being psychoanalyzed." "I have been having trouble in a group where I belong," she said. She brought her troubles to her psychoanalyst and his advice was to leave the group, she said, because it "deflates my ego." She reported no such negative reaction from her membership in the Communist Party.

The neurotic person is baffled by the complexities of modern society. The Marxist-Leninist formula offers a readymade answer to all questions. The Communist is firmly convinced that in place of the "old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms," he possesses the key to utopia "in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all" (Marx).

Psychiatrists admit that the problems of the adolescent border closely upon those of the neurotic. They are similar in many respects. The adolescent tends to rebel against the domination of his parents and adults generally. He is seeking a medium through which to declare his personal independence. In a sense he is maladjusted. The Communist movement, for its own insidious purpose, offers him a circle in which he believes he will be taken seriously. It will publish his articles in a youth magazine. It will offer him an audience for his artistic talents. It will make him an executive secretary of some front organization and give him authority he has never had before. He, therefore, accepts its discipline voluntarily, even enthusiastically.

More than that. By dint of his acceptance of the Marxist-Leninist dogma, he suddenly feels himself superior to his parents and the adult world around him. He now has all the answers. It gives him a certain confidence and sense of assurance. One young Communist even went so far as to write an article entitled "My Father Is a Liar" in the New Masses some years ago. In 1940 a group of young Communists booed President Roosevelt on the White House lawn, the first time in our history that such a disrespectful act was committed against an American President. Unfortunately our school system has not fully equipped our young men and women to see through Communist sophistry and trickery.

The Communist movement offers attractive bait to those who crave companionship and excitement. It offers relief from boredom. One issue of the Daily Worker, for example, in its "What's On?" column invited its readers to—

Films, discussion, dance	Maritime shindig
Folk dancing	Jefferson theater workshop
Welcome home party for Mike Gold	May Day workshop dance
Vote Your Own Film Club	Soviet film
Saturday Night Film Club	Pre-May Day social
Negro-White Unity Cultural Festival	Balalaika Symphonic Orchestra concert
Artists ball	One hour of social theater
People's drama theater	Chinese cultural cabaret
Spring frolic	

Once an individual enters the Communist Party, he separates himself psychologically from life outside the party, from his former social contacts, his family, and his business associates. He lives in a world which is hermetically sealed off from the outside by a more and more impenetrable iron curtain of continuous indoctrination to which he has become addicted to the exclusion of all other outside sources of information and thought. He relies upon party literature, schools,

and spokesmen for his views and information. He attends pro Communist plays. If he attends a concert or a social function, it is one given as a benefit for the Daily Worker or some other Communist cause. It is a satisfying experience for certain types of people. In this closed circle the Communist hears the same Communist clichés reiterated over and over again with never a doubting word. It is like listening to familiar music. He meets the same or similar people wherever he goes, all moving in the same Communist rut. Here he can be sure of approbation and sympathy, since he is always among his ideological kinfolk. He is never isolated.

Added to all this is the excitement of picket lines, strikes, mass meetings, parades, demonstrations, tiffs with the police, and arrests. An active Communist will sometimes attend several meetings a day. In other words, there is not a dull moment.

There is no doubt that the Communist network holds an attraction for adventurous spirits who thrive on the conspiratorial atmosphere within the party, the secret meetings, the resort to aliases, the paraphernalia of illegality and opposition to constituted authority.

Those who have a tendency to rebel against tradition and convention—the Bohemians and the nonconformists of all stripes, are naturally attracted to the Communist movement. By its repudiation of so-called capitalist ethics and moral standards, the party provides a welcome philosophical sanction for the lunatic fringe. According to Communist theory, the family, as we know it, is an institution designed to protect and extend property rights, which are anathema to the Reds. By branding our Government as capitalistic, Communist philosophy justifies any breach or defiance of governmental authority.

There are timid souls, persons with a distinct inferiority complex who are inspired to boldness when they become part of an aggressive group. The wolf who is a coward singly becomes a scourge as part of a pack. Psychologists refer to these people aptly as ambitious cowards. A Communist writer, who is himself a temperamental coward, will find considerable delight and satisfaction in writing in the columns of the (Communist) Daily Worker resounding and defiant tirades against the monopolists and those in high places in the Government.

The party is, in a sense, a vehicle for anyone with an ax to grind, for anyone who has become embittered either by some unfortunate personal or emotional experience, a victim of some serious physical ailment or handicap, a second-rate artist, a lawyer without clients, a doctor without patients, a writer without an outlet, or a preacher without a parish, whose personal ego is soothed by the thought that it is all the fault of the capitalist system. He finds, in the party, an instrument to vent his spleen against the imagined source of injury, as well as a receptive audience.

It is often asked why a Communist who is most vehement before an agency of the American Government in defense of civil rights, will meekly submit, without debate or protest, to the slightest whim of a Soviet dictator or the Communist Party, USA, even though it may mean a complete repudiation of his most sacred principles. Thus the Communist who had, for years, denounced nazism and all its works, reconciled himself overnight to the Stalin-Hitler Pact, and for him nazism became merely a "matter of taste." Similarly those

who fumed against capitalism and Wall Street became willing to shake the hand of J. P. Morgan, as soon as Earl Browder, then general secretary of the Communist Party, gave such party heresy his blessing, during the period when Russia was desperately seeking a united front against Nazi Germany.

In certain liberal circles, there is an illusion that the Communist movement is the very epitome of democracy. It is, therefore, worthwhile to present at this point a description of inner party democracy in the highest echelons of the party, by William Z. Foster, its chairman, in Political Affairs for September 1945. Although the regime of former General Secretary Earl Browder is referred to, there is no reason to believe that the atmosphere has been changed under his successors:

He [Browder] had grown almost into a dictator. His authority reached such a point that his word had become virtually unchallengeable in our Party. His policies and writings finally were accepted almost uncritically by the leaders and the general membership. Browder created around himself an atmosphere of infallibility and unchallengeable authority. All this was accentuated by the deluge of petty-bourgeois adulation, praise-mongering and hero-worship that was constantly poured upon him by our leadership and our members * * * Comrade Browder had largely liquidated the political functions of the Party's leading bodies. He habitually bypassed the National Board in policy making * * * The National Committee, also, had gradually lost all real political power. It assembled; it listened to Browder's proposals; it affirmed them; it dispersed to the districts to impress the policy on the membership. Of genuine political discussion there was none in the National Committee. Similarly, our recent National Conventions were hardly better than the National Committee meetings—with their formal endorsement of Browder's reports, no political discussions. * * *

Why does a freeborn American accept such humiliating and despotic authority? In the first place, the Communist has been taught that the end justifies any means, that the interests of the so-called First Socialist Republic, to which he has voluntarily dedicated himself, are paramount and justify any and every sacrifice. He willingly submits to a discipline of his own choice regardless of where it may lead, surrendering all right to independent judgment.

Why does a man like Frederick Vanderbilt Field, scion of a millionaire family, join the Communist Party? His case is not an isolated one. It not infrequently happens that such an individual, who is the heir of unearned millions, suffers from a severe guilt complex. He feels his life of idleness is unproductive. Keenly sensitive to the plight of the underdog, he throws in his lot with the Communist Party to salve his conscience, believing that the party is the champion of the underprivileged. He takes the party's word for it, making no attempt to investigate for himself such Communist institutions as slave labor camps, the secret police and the real plight of the common people behind the Iron Curtain. In fact, he is so grateful to the party for the spiritual relief it offers that he will furiously resent the efforts of anyone who tries to set him straight with the truth about the Soviet Union and communism generally.

It is not essentially correct to look upon Communists as ordinary criminals. Strangely enough, they may commit the most heinous crimes, all the way from treason to murder, in the firm belief that they are thereby furthering the interests of humanity. They may be pursuing the highest motives based upon the warped and erroneous conscience which Communist doctrine has inculcated. Thus they will justify the utmost ruthlessness, the Communist purge trials, the use of forced confessions and the forced collectivization of millions of peasants, resulting in widespread famine and starvation. The favo-

rite cold-blooded apology is "You must break the eggs if you would have an omelette," the omelette in this case being socialism. The Communist, in other words, considers himself a soldier in the international Communist army defending the interests of international communism and the Soviet Union which, in his eyes, morally justifies the taking of life, spying, and all the activities of war. Hence all anti-Communist programs must have in mind a twofold objective. (1) The first objective must be the reeducation of Communists through methods of persuasion and experience in order to reincorporate them into the ranks of sane and constructive citizens. It must be recognized that this is difficult since we are confronted in many cases with hard-bitten bigots. Nevertheless, it should be attempted, since it is far more desirable to have a sophisticated, well-informed, and loyal citizen who can contribute his knowledge and experience to the fight against communism than one who is dedicated to defiance of the American Government. (2) The second objective must be to invoke the full penalty of the law against recalcitrants both as a deterrent and as a means of the reeducation of those not responsive to objective number one.

Communist faith often invokes the fervor of a new religion. The party member feels he is a member of an elite group, who are privileged to live in a circle which is the germ of the new world of tomorrow. The nonparty infidels, he thinks, are living in outer darkness in a world which is decadent and doomed. For the apostles and prophets of religion he substitutes Marx, Lenin, and Stalin.

However, the Communist places himself on a higher pedestal than would a mere religious convert. Communist theory has a certain superficial logic which makes an appeal to the intellectual. Thus in many cases individuals are recruited for the party through Communist Party schools and theoretical works. Frequently emotional and idealistic factors tend to blur the mental processes and to obliterate sound standards of judgment which the same individual will unhesitatingly apply in some other intellectual field in which he may be an expert. The Communist zealot is never as critical toward Communist theory or practice as he would normally be in his studies or in industry.

Lest it be assumed that individuals join the Communist Party solely because of certain psychological aberrations, for idealistic reasons or because of the party's intellectual appeal, it should be realized that the organization is in a position to offer attractive material benefits. There are businessmen who are completely dependent for contracts upon the good graces of the Soviet Government. Communist lawyers, accountants, and insurance men draw generous incomes from their services to Communist unions, front organizations, or individual Communists or sympathizers. Certain columnists, writers, musicians, actors, and artists find it extremely profitable to cater to leftwing intellectual and artistic circles. The Communist patronage machine, with its wide ramifications, is extremely solicitous of its faithful followers. Communist-front organizations and unions offer a source of jobs which are restricted to those who pay unquestioning homage to the party line.

There are members of the Communist Party who suffer from intense inner qualms about the correctness of the party line and about its practices behind the Iron Curtain such as the maintenance of slave labor camps, Soviet imperialism, anti-Semitism, the regimentation of

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intellectuals and the suppression of civil rights. But in many cases they do not have the spiritual and moral courage required to make a break, which may sound fantastic to those who have no realization of the pressures to which a member is subject. Having become completely dependent upon his Communist surroundings and associates for his mental, spiritual and social sustenance, having isolated himself from non-Communist influences, friends and reading, he looks upon the very thought of a break as a personal tragedy. He dreads being cast out of the holy of holies, the temple of Soviet worship. He fears the vilification and slander which will be directed against him as a "renegade" by the Communist smear apparatus. Remembering the mysterious case of Gen. Walter Krivitsky, former Soviet intelligence officer found dead in a Washington hotel, and Juliet Stuart Poyntz, who disappeared from the streets of New York City without a trace, he stands in mortal terror of physical assault or possible liquidation. If he is employed through a Communist union or front organization, it may mean the loss of his job. Cases have been known where the party has threatened with exposure those who had become disaffected. It is much easier for the weak character to swallow his pride and his principles and just go along.

COMMUNIST CLUBS

The nature of Communist organization fluctuates in strict accordance with the current political climate in which the party finds itself. During the period when Russia was our ally, when the Red army was being glorified and the Communist Party was frantically supporting our war effort in order to save the "Soviet Fatherland" from Hitler's legions, Communist clubs met openly, sometimes numbering hundreds of participants in cities like New York. Today when Russia has made the United States the chief target of its "cold war" and subversive activities, when the Communist Party is under fire and its leaders subjected to jail sentences, these clubs have been subdivided into groups of from 3 to 5, meeting secretly usually in homes. They are of two types, the shop club and the community club.

THE SHOP CLUB, RED SPEARHEAD

The shop club is peculiar to the Communist Party and specially suited to its subversive and conspiratorial purposes. No other political party in this country has adopted this form of organization. It is a direct importation from the experience of the Russian Communist Party.

Lenin, the party's chief authority on matters of organization, long ago pointed out for Communists throughout the world that "Every factory is our stronghold." Prior to 1926, the American party was built on the basis of national language federations. Speaking before the sessions of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International held in Moscow in April 1925, Gregory Zinoviev, chairman of that body, specifically instructed the Workers (Communist) Party, as it was then called, "to fuse the national sections into a real united party." A directive letter was sent to the American party by the Communist International in which the party was given until December 1, 1925, to reorganize its two most important districts,

New York and Chicago. It was pointed out that "The factory nucleus is the best organizational method of uniting comrades belonging to different nationalities" and that "the work of properly organizing the party will be best accomplished by the organization of factory nuclei." For the guidance of American Communists, Moscow dispatched a special instructor named Marcus, who wrote a pamphlet "The Communist Nucleus, What It Is—How It Works" under the pseudonym of M. Jenks. From time to time, the party's internal and confidential organ carried additional detailed instruction from specialists of the Russian Communist Party. To supplement this, J. Peters (deported to Communist Hungary in 1949) was sent to Moscow in the early thirties where he received extensive training as a result of which he wrote the authoritative "The Communist Party—A Manual on Organization." Today the shop nucleus is more euphemistically called the shop club.

The Communist International has given clear directives to the American Communist Party to concentrate upon large industrial plants. It has even indicated what specific industries should be made the target. For example, the Party Organizer of February 1933 declared:

The Communist International in January 1931 raised for our Party the need of concentrating on the most decisive industries (mine, steel, textile, auto, marine) in the five largest districts * * * (p. 5).

The same issue of the Party Organizer even pinpointed the cities selected, including Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago, so that the party might "firmly root itself in the decisive industries." Since that time, these objectives have been broadened considerably to include more key industrial cities.

In Political Affairs for May 1950, Henry Winston presents his report to the plenary meeting of the national committee of the Communist Party, USA, in which he points up the necessity for a maximum registration of party members in the following basic industries: Auto, electrical, steel, coal, rubber, and railroad.

What is the purpose of this concentration upon key industries? Again we must turn to the Communist International for a clear and forthright reply. Its resolution on imperialist war adopted at its sixth congress in the summer of 1928 is still the basic line today. Presented as the "main task in the struggle against imperialist war before it breaks out" is the following:

Factory and trade union activity must be concentrated primarily in the industries which serve the mobilization for and conduct of war, like the metal industry, the chemical industry, and transport * * *. Side by side with other revolutionary mass actions (demonstrations, strikes in munitions works, transport strikes, etc.) the general strike * * * is an extremely important weapon * * *.

The thirteenth plenum of the executive committee of the Communist International in December 1933 summed it up most succinctly when it called upon affiliated Communist parties to "concentrate their forces in each country, at the vital parts of the war machine of imperialism." In Communist jargon, all countries which are anti-Communist are labeled as "imperialist."

Despite the fact that workers as a group find communism repulsive, it must be remembered that the Communist Party makes it an active practice to colonize key industrial plants with aggressive, often college-trained Communists who have been thoroughly indoctrinated and rep-

pared in party training schools. The presence of one such troublemaker in a large establishment can be the source of considerable turmoil.

Operating secretly within a given plant to avoid detection, the party member receives every possible outside aid through what is known as "concentration," defined by J. Peters as the utilization of "all available forces and organizations to penetrate the selected factory." Distribution of the Daily Worker, of leaflets, open air meetings at the factory gate, are all handled by party members on the outside, housewives, students, etc. Leading party members are assigned to advise those who are inside. Front organizations supplement their efforts. J. Peters, signing himself J. P., stressed the importance of this task in the Party Organizer for February 1933, as follows:

That District and Section Committees must consider their first political responsibility to those units which are concentrated on the important plants. This means that all the problems, in the concentration work, must be taken up in the respective committee, a clear line of policy developed * * * comrades should be assigned to help the units to carry on the work. * * *

It is incumbent upon the Communists operating inside the plant to exploit "even the most elementary grievances in the shop" and develop "partial struggles around these demands." These struggles, strikes, etc. are not to be limited to the particular plant but must be broadened to involve other plants and to involve the workers in conflict with the police and the government generally.

The Communist cell also functions as a source of information for Soviet military intelligence. In the same issue of the Party Organizer, F. B. or Fred Brown, alias for Alpi, an agent of the Communist International, is most specific on this point:

An immediate task for the shop nuclei, for individual Party members working in shops, metal plants, chemical factories, shipyards on the waterfront, is to keep their eyes open and see what is being shipped, what steps are being taken by the bosses for the transformation of the industry into a war industry. * * * Real efforts must be made to stop the shipment of ammunition.

It is of more than passing significance in this connection that the man who was promoted to the small ruling secretariat position of national secretary of the Communist Party, USA, is none other than Gus Hall, alias for Arva Mike Halberg, Arvo Gust Halberg, Arvo Kustaa Halberg, Gasper Hall, John Hollberg, and John Howell. He has been convicted under the Smith Act. According to sworn testimony before the city solicitor of Warren, Ohio, in 1937, he was the leader of a bombing squad which obtained dynamite and nitroglycerin and which was assigned by Hall to blow up and destroy property of the Republic Steel Corp., the homes of nonstriking workers, railroad property including tracks and bridges, huge tanks of highly volatile benzol, a municipal dam controlling water supply and the municipal electric light plant (hearings before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, November 4, 1938). The selection of Gus Hall as one of the top leaders of the party is extremely significant.

Meetings of the shop club are called secretly—never by written communication and usually by word of mouth. Even phone calls are avoided. Meetings may be held in homes or in the local office of a Communist-controlled union or sympathetic organization. If a meeting room is rented, it is not hired in the name of the party. The work is divided up among the chairman, the financial secretary in

charge of dues, the organizational director in charge of recruiting and meeting arrangements, the press director in charge of Daily Worker sales and distribution as well as other Communist literature, educational director in charge of study classes and propaganda meetings. As a rule, these meetings are held in the evening, once every week or two. No minutes are kept, and financial records are kept in code. Directives are presented orally from the next higher body by a personal representative. For conspiratorial purposes, it may be necessary to divide up the members in a very large plant, into separate clubs by departments.

For some time, the CPUSA published a confidential organ called the Party Organizer, later known as Contact, which was devoted to giving guidance to party members on matters of organization. Although this magazine is no longer published, its advice is currently relevant with the exception that it is now issued orally instead of in writing. The March-April 1932 issue of the Party Organizer, in describing correspondent C. B.'s experiences in the Bethlehem Steel mill at Sparrows Point, Md., declares:

Grievances of the workers are sparks that can be developed into roaring flames of strike if they are carefully handled. The question is what to do with this little spark * * * Revolutionary workers have the task of developing the grievance to the highest level.

A study is made of the nature of the alleged "grievance," the departments and workers affected. A leaflet is distributed dealing with the "grievance." The correspondent continues:

The pay line on Monday will be especially "hot" first because of the grievance itself; second because of the receipt of the leaflet; third, if our comrades participate in the conversation and raise the agitation to a higher level, there are great possibilities for singling out good prospects for a grievance group, even to the extent of bringing workers right from the pay line to their own home or bringing them to a designated place that was mentioned for this occasion where several capable comrades would be on hand to speak to workers recruited in this manner. * * *

This account was followed by another signed by J. B. who described the party's activity against a new boss in the Fisher Body plant:

Immediately after this situation was reported a very small leaflet on this matter was issued. This leaflet was distributed in this particular department in various places such as machines, lockers, and all other spots where the worker could easily see them. At lunch time one party comrade started to discuss the leaflet and he urged that a grievance committee should be organized. The committee went to the superintendent demanding that the boss be removed. * * * When the whistle blew, none of the workers returned to work. * * *

The activity of the shop club is not limited to the exploitation of minor grievances but is consciously integrated into current Communist international policy. During World War II these shop clubs were allegedly dissolved as a token gesture from our Soviet allies. Today Communist parties throughout the world are emphasizing, as their chief issue at the present time, the drive to immobilize the democratic countries through a peace offensive. Literature distributed is slanted to give the impression that the United States is controlled by warmongers while the Soviet Union is referred to as "peace loving."

The party is quite flexible in its organizational forms. In some cases, industry clubs are formed including members from a given industry represented in a certain area, concentrating upon local factories and union activities.

COMMUNITY CLUBS

The bulk of the party membership is to be found in the community clubs. These clubs serve a number of essential functions: (1) as a local political dynamo contact and sparking point to stimulate activity in local front organizations, unions, mass organizations, and neighborhoods generally; (2) as a support and aid to nearby shop clubs; (3) as a channel for intelligence information for officials at the party center. These clubs usually operate under some protective cover.

In determining the size of the community club, the party is caught on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand, if it would attract public attention and support, it must hold public meetings and encourage large attendance. On the other hand, it is compelled to resort to conspiratorial secrecy by the fact that its activities in the present period increasingly demand defiance of the law, outright disloyalty to the United States and sacrificial loyalty to the Soviet Union, thus arousing the ire of the public and subjecting it more and more to stern punitive legal measures. The party has definitely chosen the second alternative especially since 1945, dividing the community clubs into small groups of about five. Public meetings are held under the auspices of some convenient front organization not under the party.

In his Communist Party—A Manual on Organization, J. Peters has indicated the type of issues to be exploited by street or town units, including unemployment relief, the high cost of living, sanitary conditions, sales tax, civil rights, police brutality, injunctions. He adds:

Another important task of the Street and Town Unit is to help the Shop Units in its territory and near to it * * * for example, systematic sale of the Daily Worker in front of the factory; or systematic holding of shop-gate meetings; distribution of leaflets or shop papers from the outside. The Street Unit can also help the Shop Unit do open work around the factory, in the streetcar and bus stations. * * * The Street Unit supports actively and takes part in the strike struggles of the factory workers, and also mobilizes the neighborhood for support, furnishing reserves for the picket lines, conducting demonstrations, collecting strike relief, etc.

Again by way of illustration, we cite an article in Contact for September 1947 by Oleta Yates, chairman of the San Francisco County of the Communist Party:

Clubs must think in terms of moving people—ten, twenty, one hundred or five hundred—in protest delegations, picket lines, demonstrations or other forms of struggle.

The Daily Worker of April 26, 1950, cited, as an emulatory example for its Communist readers the fact that "20 men and women were found guilty of 'disorderly conduct' last week on a charge that grew out of a demonstration at the 44 Stanton St. Welfare Department center three weeks ago."

A representative list of Communist community clubs in the city of New York as shown in the Daily Worker in the middle 1940's follows:

BRONX

Bedford Club
 Begun Club (Mt. Eden)
 Bronx Blvd. Club
 Bryant Club (Tremont)
 Burnside Youth Club
 Cacchione Club
 Cacchione (Mosholu) Club
 Carver Youth Club
 Castle Hill Club (Parkchester)
 Club Anderson
 Club Barker
 Club Levin
 Club Lincoln (Hunts Pt.)
 Club 1 (Burnside)
 Club 3
 Club 4
 Club 6
 Club 8
 Club 10
 Dennis Club (Mt. Eden)
 Elder Club (Parkchester)
 Elder Tenants Club (Parkchester)
 Elizabeth Stanton Club
 Fisher Club (Parkchester)
 Foster Club (Mt. Eden)
 Flynn Club (So. Bronx)
 Fordham Housewives Club
 Gunhill Club
 Haywood Club (Parkchester)
 Hewitt Club (So. Bronx)
 Italian C Club (Parkchester)
 Jackson Club (So. Bronx)
 Joe Brodsky Club
 Joe Smith Club
 Joe York Club (W. Bronx Youth)
 Julius Fuchik (Pk. All. Youth) Club
 Lucy Parsons Club
 Melrose Club (Morrisania)
 Melrose Youth Club
 New Youth Club
 N. Pelham 1 Club (Allerton)
 N. Pelham 2 Club (Allerton)
 N. Williamsbridge Club
 Olgin Club (Mt. Eden)
 Olgin Club (Tremont)
 180th Club (Tremont)
 Prospect Youth Club
 Ruthenburg B Club
 Shakespeare Club
 Simpson Club
 Sojourner Truth Club (E. Bronx Youth)
 Solidarity Youth Club
 Tom Paine Club
 Upper Stadium Club
 Van Cortlandt (Mosholu) Club
 Vanguard Youth Club
 Vets Club
 West Farms 2 Youth Club

BROOKLYN

Albermarle Club (So. Flatbush)
 Avenue O Club
 Avenue U Club
 Banner Club (Brighton)
 Bay 29th St. Club

BROOKLYN—continued

Bensonhurst Club (Bath Beach)
 Beverly Club (So. Flatbush)
 Boro Hall Youth Club
 Brodsky Club (Midwood)
 Brownsville Club
 Brownsville Youth A Club
 Buck Lazar Club
 Cacchione Club (Bedford)
 Cacchione Club (Crown Hts.)
 Cacchione Club (Midwood)
 Carver Club
 Club C (12 A. D.)
 Club C (24 A. D.)
 Club 1
 Club 3 (Bakers)
 Club 5
 Club 338
 Coney Island Club
 Dahill Club
 Ditmas Club (So. Flatbush)
 Douglass Club (E. N. Y.)
 East Flatbush Club
 Eastern District Club
 Farragut Club (Flatbush)
 Flynn Club (Bath Beach)
 Fort Greene Club
 Fort Hamilton Club
 Foster Club (Bath Beach)
 Freedom Club (Bath Beach)
 Fulton Club (6 A. D.)
 Gannes Club (11 A. D.)
 Gleason Club
 Greenpoint Club (Williamsburgh)
 Gung-Ho Club
 Halsey Club
 Harry Barnett Youth Club
 Highway Club (Bath Beach)
 Hinsdale Club
 J. Smith Club
 Joe Stember Youth Club
 John Brown Club
 John Brown Youth Club
 Kings Highway 1 Club
 Kings Highway 2 Club
 Kingston Club (Bedford)
 Krumbein Club (Bath Beach)
 Krumbein Club (Bedford)
 Krumbein Club (Crown Hts.)
 Krumbein Club (11 A. D.)
 Krumbein Club (Kings Hwy.)
 La Pasionara Club
 L'Enero Club
 Lewis Club
 Longshore Club
 Lower 16th Club
 Luigi Gallo Club
 Madison Club
 Mangel Club
 Mendy Club
 Mendy Club (Kings Hwy.)
 Mendy Youth Club
 Middle 16th Club
 Mike Ludlow Club
 Neptune Club
 New Lots Youth Club
 New Utrecht Club (Bath Beach)

BROOKLYN—continued

Oceana Club
Paine Club
Parkville Club
Parkway Club (Bedford)
Perlman Club (11 A. D.)
Plaza Club (Boro Hall)
Project Club (6 A. D.)
Restaurant Workers Club
Riverside Club (Boro Hall)
79th St. Club (Bath Beach)
Stillwell Club (Coney Island)
Stone Ave. Club
Tompkins Club
20th Ave. Club (Bath Beach)
Ulmer Club (Bath Beach)
Weiness Club
Williamsburgh Youth Club
Willie Milton Youth Club
Winthrop Club

MANHATTAN

Audubon North Club
Audubon South Club
B. Entin Club
Brodsky Club (5 A. D.)
Brodsky Club (8 A. D.)
Cacchione Club (Lower Manhattan East)
Chain Corrugated Club
Claudia Jones Club
Club Bennett
Club Betances
Club Brodsky (Dist.)
Club Carlson
Club Forward
Club Galileo
Club Glumae
Club Gramsci
Club Isham
Club Larkin
Club Maltezos
Club A (Grand Central Section)
Club B
Club C
Club D-1
Club D-2
Club D-3
Club D-4
Club 1 (Lower Manhattan West)
Club 2 (Lower Manhattan West)
Club 2 (7 A. D. West)
Club 3 (Lower Manhattan West)
Club 3 (Lower West Side)
Club 3A
Club 4 (Lincoln Sq.)
Club 4 (Lower Manhattan West)
Club 4 (Printers)
Club 5 (Lower Manhattan West)
Club 5 (7 A. D.)
Club 5A
Club 6
Club 6 (Lower Manhattan West)
Club 6N
Club 6S
Club 7 (Fur)
Club 7 (Lower Manhattan West)
Club 7A

MANHATTAN—continued

Club 8 (Lower Manhattan West)
Club 10
Club 21 Chelsea
Club 42 (Food)
Club 66 (Garment)
Club 89
Columbus Hill Club
Crawford Club
Cutters Club
Czech Club
Drieser Club (5 A. D.)
Dry Goods Club
Dyckman Club
East Harlem Youth Club
Emil Aine Club
15th St. Club (Lower Chelsea)
52d St. Club (Lincoln Sq.)
First E. D. Club
Freedom Club
Garibaldi Club (Lower Manhattan East)
Garment Youth Club
Greek Adult Club
Harriet Tubman Club
Hillside Club (Inwood)
Hispano Club
J. Connolly Club (Wash. Hts.)
Jesus Menendez Club
Joe Hill Club (Forbes)
La Pasionara Club (Lincoln Sq.)
La Pasionara Club (10 A. D.)
Larkin Club (5 A. D.)
Lowell Club
Mooney Club (5 A. D.)
Mothers Club
143d St. Club (13 A. D.)
Puerto Rican Club
Railroad Club
Railroad Club (Lincoln Sq.)
Ray Friedlander Youth Club
Sacco-Vanzetti 1 Club
Sacco-Vanzetti 3 Club
Sacco-Vanzetti 4 Club
Sacco-Vanzetti 6 Club
Sacco-Vanzetti 7 Club
Sacco-Vanzetti 8 Club
Shirt (Amalgamated) Club
16th St. Club
Slipper (Shoe) Club
Strippers (Fur) Club
Stuyvesant 1 Club
Stuyvesant 2 Club
Stuyvesant 3 Club
Stuyvesant 4 Club
Stuyvesant 5 Club
Stuyvesant 6 Club
Stuyvesant 7 Club
Stuyvesant 8 Club
Thompson Club (10 A. D.)
Togliatti Club (8 A. D.)
Village North Club
Village South Club
Village Youth Club
Washington Hts. Youth Club
West Midtown 1 Club
West Midtown 2 Club
Youth Club

QUEENS

Astoria Youth Club	John Williamson Club
Arverne Club	Juniper Valley Club
Auto Club	Long Island City Club
Bayside Club	L'Unita Club
Club M-2	Maspeth Club
Club M-3	Mets Club
Club M-4	Middle Village Club
Corona Youth Club	Railroad Club
County School Club	Rego Vets Club
Far Rockaway M Club	Sid Foelek Club
Freedom Club	Sugar Club
Hamills Club (Rockaway)	Queensbridge Club
Hillcrest Club	Willie Milton Club (Hollis)
Hollis Club	Woodside Club
Joe Hill Club	

SECTION COMMITTEE

The section committee, headed by the section organizer or chairman, supervises and directs the work of the shop and community clubs in a given area. This is done through meetings of the club chairmen and through section representatives sent to the meetings of the various clubs. Its officials parallel those in the clubs: chairman, organizational secretary, educational director, press director, financial secretary, etc., who work on a volunteer basis.

Specimen sections in New York City include the following with addresses as of 1946:

MANHATTAN

Tompkins Square	Food Workers
Lower Manhattan	11 A. D.
Lower West Side, 430 Sixth Ave., Phone	7th A. D. West
GR 5-9696	Lower West Side, 430 Sixth Ave.,
Jefferson, 201 W. 72d St., TR 4-9362	GR 5-9896
Unity Center, 2744 Broadway, PH	7th A. D. East
9-9483	Waterfront, 269 W. 25th St., CH 4-1947
Chelsea, 269 W. 25th St., CH 4-1688	Italian, 273 Bleecker St., CH 2-9436
East Midtown	East Side (Olgin), 154 Clinton St.
Lower East Side, 324 Second Ave.	West Side, 73 W. 99th St.
Hank Forbes, 201 Second Ave., GR	Harlem
5-9036	East Harlem, 171 E. 116 St., ED 4-2918
Yorkville, 350 E. 81st St.	Lower Harlem, 1549 Madison Ave.,
Lower Heights, 493 W. 145th St.	SA 2-7559
Washington Heights	

BROOKLYN

Bath Beach, 2166 86th St., ES 2-7277	24th A. D., 806 Sutter Ave.
Boro Park, 4903 12th Ave.	Bensonhurst, 7309 20th Ave.
Crown Heights, 289 Utica Ave., PR	Kings Highway, 1212 Kings Highway,
3-9597	DE 9-9518
Fort Greene, 190 Tompkins Ave., EV	Brownsville, 375 Saratoga Ave.
4-7183	East New York, 806 Sutter Ave.
Bedford-Stuyvesant, 1239 Atlantic Ave.,	12th A. D., 305 Church Ave.
ST 3-9589	Waterfront, 5306 4th Ave., GE 9-9734
6th A. D., 190 Tompkins Ave., EV 4-	Boro Hall, 260 Fulton St., MA 5-9094
7183	Coney Island, 3228 Mermaid Ave.
Brighton Beach, 3200 Coney Island	Flatbush, 848 Flatbush Ave.
Ave., DE 6-9814	Williamsburg, 190 Tompkins Ave., EV
Eastern Parkway, 1188 President St.,	4-7183
RP 3-9736	Midwood
Industrial, 260 Fulton St., MA 5-9094	Kings Metal

QUEENS

Rego, Astoria, 3047 Steinway Ave. North Shore, 9912 N. Boulevard
Sunnyside, 4614 Queens Blvd.

BRONX

Prospect, 1301 Boston Road Morrisania, 1 E. 167 St., JE 8-1445
Fordham, 9 W. Burnside Ave., FO 4-8780 Kingsbridge, 20 E. Kingsbridge Rd.
Allerton, 2700 Olinville Ave., OL 5-8837 Mt. Eden, 125 E. 170th St., JE 6-8815
Hunts Point, 891 Freeman St., DA 9-7956 Tremont, 807 E. Tremont Ave., TR
Mosholu, 3092 Hull Ave., OL 5-9315 8-7731
Parkchester, 1590 Westchester Ave.,
TI 2-4805

According to J. Peters' Manual, "The Section is made up of a number of Shop, Street or Town Units in a given territory," under the lead of the section committee. The size of the territory of the sections, the members of the section committee and the section organizer or chairman, are all subject to the decision of the next higher committee, i. e., the district committee or State committee. Here again decisive authority emanates from the top. The section committee usually consists of from 9 to 11 members.

DISTRICT OR STATE ORGANIZATIONS

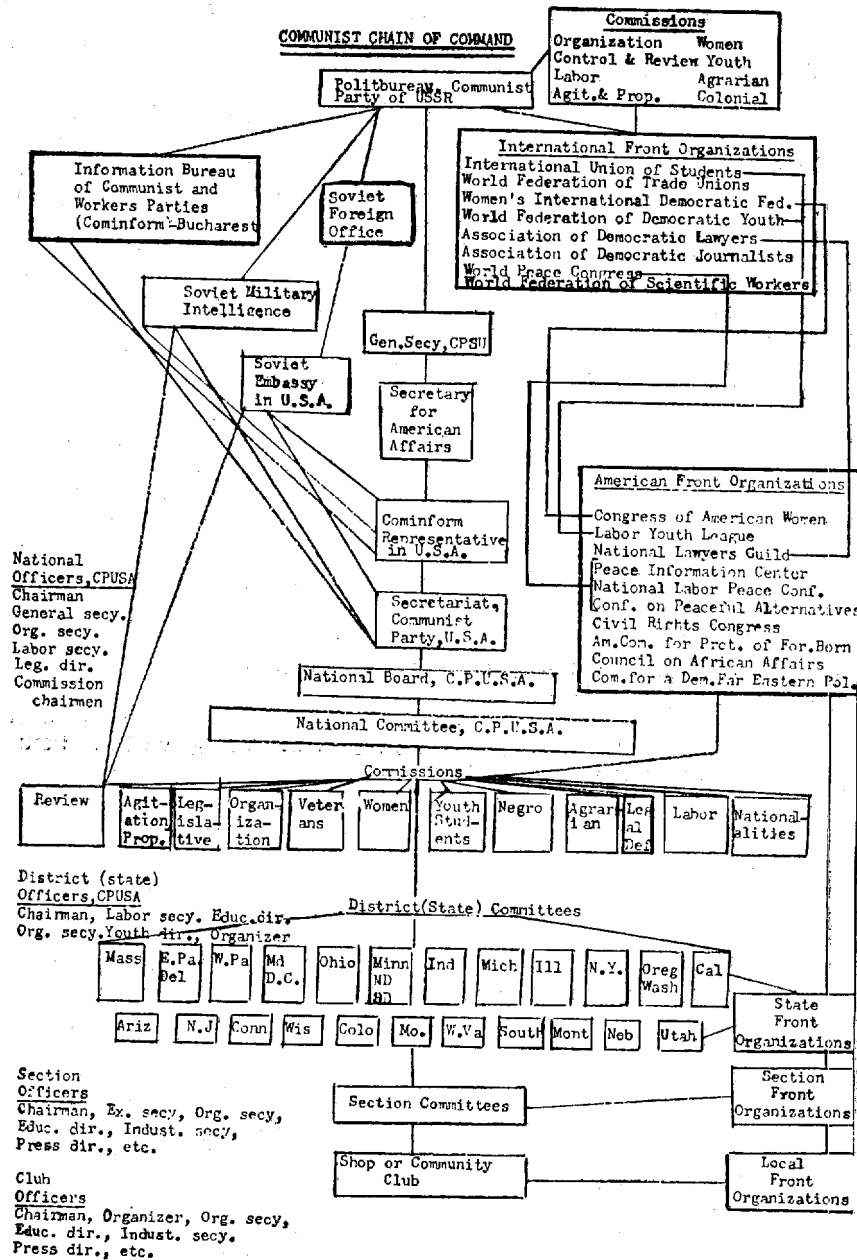
The district covers a portion of the country (a part of 1, or 1, 2 and sometimes 3 States, depending upon the industries, on the size of the membership, etc.). Thus it will be noted that district 2 covers all of the State of New York, while district 1 includes Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. Pennsylvania, on the other hand, is divided up between district 3 including eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware, and district 5 including western Pennsylvania, the coal and steel centers.

In an effort to befog the public mind, the Communist Party constitution declares that—

The highest body of the state organization is the State Convention, which shall convene at least once every two years.

As a matter of fact, Communist conventions are perfunctory affairs with little decisive power. In a fulltime conspiracy it is manifest that day-to-day decisions could not be left to a biennial convention. Actual power resides at all times in a small secretariat of 3 or 5 within the district or State committee, which may be overruled at any time by a representative of the national committee or the Communist International (now the Cominform). In its turn the district or State committee and its officials are subject to approval by the national committee. It usually consists of from 15 to 19 members.

The following chart gives the chain of Communist command from the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the smallest Communist unit in the United States. It attempts to summarize the opinions of numerous former members of the Communist Party of the United States and the Soviet Union as to the structure of the international Communist movement.



NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The national committee which is elected by the national convention in accordance with a slate previously submitted by the party leaders subject to the approval of current Moscow representative, usually consists of from 30 to 35 members. All its members are not made

public. According to the party constitution, this committee "organizes and supervises its various departments and committees; guides and directs all the political and organizational work of the Party; elects or removes editors of its press who work under its leadership and guidance; organizes and directs all undertakings of importance to the entire Party; administers the national treasury." The national committee meets about every 4 months, its members being distributed as organizers in the various districts throughout the country. The national committee elects a national board of about 11 which is resident in New York City, and meets about once a week. The national board in turn selects a secretariat of 3 to 5 including the chairman, the executive secretary and other members of the national headquarters staff, who run the party from day to day. In each case it should be remembered that recommendations for each post come from the top down, the highest echelons being subject to recommendation and approval from Moscow itself. There are no rival candidates or contests for office.

The actual functioning of the national committee and its smaller, ruling national board or politburo (a term copied straight from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) is not in accordance with any prescribed constitutional procedure. It is totally at variance with routine practices in other political parties or in fact in traditional American organizations in general. It is even extremely doubtful whether the rank and file Communist Party member has the vaguest notion of what is going on in the upper circles of his organization. We shall try to give a true picture of the "broadest inner democracy" of which the party boasts.

DISCIPLINARY PROCEDURE

Because of its quasi-military and conspiratorial character, the Communist Party, USA, pays considerable attention to the matter of discipline.

The national convention elects a national review commission, formerly known as the control commission, which is strictly limited to "tested" members of the party who have been active for at least 5 years. What the party constitution does not say, however, is that members of this commission are closely interlocked with the underground apparatus of the party and with Soviet military intelligence. Because of this in some instances it commands greater authority than the national committee itself. Among those who have been members of this commission in the past are Charles Dirba, alias Moore; K. Radzi; Jacob Mindel; Charles Krumbein, former Comintern emissary jailed for passport fraud, and Jacob Golos, revealed in testimony by Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers as the head of an underground ring of the Communist Party. Current practice has been not to reveal the names of the members of the review commission. This commission has charge of all disciplinary procedure throughout the party, and is entrusted with the custody of the party's secret records.

What matters are the subject of disciplinary action according to the party constitution? One count is "conduct or action detrimental to the working class." Considering itself as the "political party of the American working class," it remains for the party officials to

interpret this highly elastic category of offenses. The opinions of responsible labor officials are not asked. Another offense is conduct or action detrimental "to the interests of the Party," another vague classification. Punishable also is any violation of the decisions of party committees. Under these broad categories of party offenses the civil rights of party members are extremely tenuous.

In his book, *From Bryan to Stalin*, William Z. Foster, party chairman, describes the expulsion of members of the central executive or national committee for a variety of reasons utterly foreign to the American political scene. Salutsky, Lore, and Askeli were expelled in 1923-24 as "centrists." J. P. Cannon and others were expelled in 1928 as "Trotskyites." Jay Lovestone was expelled in 1929 for "right opportunist tendencies of a semi-Social Democratic character" and because he violated a decision of the Comintern. Earl Browder's expulsion of February 5, 1946, was based on charges of "factional activity," attacks on the leadership of the French Communist Party, and "revisionism of Marxism," and "obstructive passivity."

The penalties which may be invoked for these offenses are (1) Private censure; (2) public censure; (3) removal from committees; (4) removal from all responsible work; (5) expulsion from the party. We might add a category of self-censure. In 1929 after the expulsion of Jay Lovestone as general secretary of the party, and in 1945 after similar action against Earl Browder as general secretary, party leaders hastened to admit their errors in support of these leaders and to publicly repudiate them.

LEADERSHIP CULT

In order to insure unquestioning obedience to its mandates, the international Communist movement inculcates complete subservience to its "leader." Thus Joseph Stalin was referred to in such superlative terms as "the leader of progressive humanity," "the great defender of peace," "great successor in the cause of the immortal Lenin," the "unifier of peoples," "the great military leader of modern times," "greatest strategist of our era," "symbol of heroism and glory," and so on.

On a smaller scale the same atmosphere of slavish adulation permeates the national committee of the Communist Party, USA. Testimony to this effect comes from William Z. Foster, himself, the party's chairman. In his article in *Political Affairs* for September 1945 Foster states frankly:

With his great personal prestige and his excessive degree of authority, Browder's word had become practically the law in our Party * * * He had grown almost into a dictator. His authority reached such a point that his word had become virtually unchallengeable in our Party. His policies and writings finally were accepted almost uncritically by the leaders and the general membership. Browder created around himself an atmosphere of infallibility and unchallengeable authority. All this was accentuated by the deluge of petty-bourgeois adulation, praise-mongering and hero-worship that was constantly poured upon him by our leadership and our members * * *.

Constantly grasping for more power, Comrade Browder had largely liquidated the political functions of the Party's leading bodies. He habitually by-passed the National Board in policy making * * *.

The National Committee, also had gradually lost all real political power. It assembled; it listened to Browder's proposals; it affirmed them; and it dispersed to the districts to impress the policy upon the membership. Of genuine political discussion there was none whatever in the National Committee. Similarly, our recent National Conventions were hardly better than the National Committee

meetings—with their formal endorsement of Browder's reports, no political discussions and no self-critical examination of the leadership * * *.

In this stifling bureaucratic atmosphere * * * political thinking itself was hamstrung. Comrade Browder, basing himself upon the high prestige which he enjoyed among the Party membership, made policy pretty much as he saw fit.

Of course, Foster strives to create the impression that Earl Browder was individually at fault for this state of affairs. Nowhere does he admit that the atmosphere he describes is typical. The fact remains that although Browder was general secretary from 1930 to 1945 with the knowledge and approval of his Moscow superiors, Foster, who had been loud in praise of Browder's "insight and vision," hailing him as the "heroic leader of the people," did not dare to change his tune publicly until 1945 after the French Communist leader, Jacques Duclos, had damned Browder in the name of the international Communist hierarchy. Following the ejection of Browder, Foster was quick to pay his homage to his successor, Eugene Dennis, quoting him with deepest respect. Dennis, according to Foster in the Daily Worker of May 15, 1950, "symbolizes the just cause of peace, democracy, and socialism" and is singled out as "the foremost leader of our party."

SPIRIT OF PREVAILING FEAR

The truth is that the same Communist leaders who are the personification of defiance before congressional committees and the courts of the land, who pour a steady stream of vilification upon representatives of the American Government, are paralyzed with fear before the emissaries of the Soviet dictatorship.

In the September 1945 issue of Political Affairs, Foster openly admitted that the chairman of the party would have faced expulsion had he made public his letter to the national committee of January 1944 in which he dared to take issue with Browder, then the current Moscow favorite. In the Communist of April 1944 Foster's views were openly castigated before the entire party by Gerhard Eisler, an alien. Foster submitted meekly and without protest, simply because Eisler possessed the blessing of Moscow.

It is indeed hard to reconcile the rebellious fire-eater of the Daily Worker and of congressional committees' hearings with the submissive Mr. Foster before his Moscow superiors. Speaking in Foster's presence before the American commission of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on May 6, 1929, Joseph Stalin was unsparing in his castigation of his American Gauleiter. We quote his speech in part:

The Foster Group wants to display its loyalty to the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) and proclaims itself as "Stalinites." Good and well. * * * The Foster Group wants to demonstrate its closeness to the Comintern. * * * Good and well. * * * Let the Muscovites know how we Americans can play on the Exchange. * * * But Comrades, the Comintern is not an Exchange. The Comintern is the holy of holies of the working class. The Comintern must, therefore, not be taken for an exchange. * * *

It is characteristic that in writing to his friends Comrade Foster refers to that conversation as something mysterious, as something about which one must not speak aloud. * * * What could there be so mysterious in my conversations with Comrade Foster? * * *

What did Foster speak to me about? He complained of the factionalism and unprincipled character of Comrade Lovestone's group. * * * I admitted that Comrade Lovestone's group is guilty of these digressions. * * * From this,

Comrade Foster comes to the strange conclusions that I sympathize with the [Foster] Minority group. * * * Is it not clear that that which Comrade Foster WISHES, seems to him to be REALITY?

How did Mr. Foster, a free-born American, react to this humiliating dressing down from a foreign potentate? There is no trace of any reply to this tirade by Mr. Foster. His attitude toward Joseph Stalin was, however, clearly expressed in answer to a Government question in connection with the trial of the 11 Communist leaders and was published in a special supplement to the Worker of September 25, 1949. He was asked whether he was present and joined in the following greeting to Joseph Stalin at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow in July 1935:

To Comrade Stalin, Leader, Teacher, and friend of the proletariat and oppressed of the whole world * * * we address ourselves to you, Comrade Stalin, our leader, * * * to you, beloved leader of the whole international proletariat and of the oppressed with warmest greeting. * * * The peoples of the world * * * are turning more and more towards the U. S. S. R., fixing on you, Comrade Stalin, the leader of the toilers in all countries, a gaze full of hope and love. * * * You have taught and are teaching us Communists the Bolshevik art of uniting unshakable fidelity to principles with closest contact with the masses. * * *

The 7th World Congress of the Communist International * * * assures you, Comrade Stalin, that the Communists will always and everywhere be faithful to the end to the great and invincible banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

He replied:

I was not present at this particular demonstration but I joined in the spirit of it and endorsed it. * * * I thought such a man deserved the ovation that he got.

In fact this bootlicking servility runs in a never-varying thread through all of Foster's utterances after Stalin took over power. It is worth noting by way of contrast, that Foster has repeatedly denounced the chosen heads of his own country as imperialists and warmongers. Here is a choice sample, from the Daily Worker of January 12, 1948, page 3:

One of the outstanding traits of President Truman as a political leader is his demagoguery. He is a reactionary who covers up his sinister policies with fair words; he cold-bloodedly indulges in glittering promises to the masses, which he has not the slightest intention of fulfilling. * * *

Preparations for war and the aggressive pushing of big business imperialism, all hidden under words of angelic peace—this was the heart of President Truman's report. And a sinister heart it was. * * *

In his standard work, the History of the Communist Party of the United States, William Z. Foster has this to say:

* * * When one set of capitalist demagogues—Truman, Taft, etc.—discredit themselves, capitalism knows how to raise up another set—Eisenhower, Kefauver, etc.—to keep bourgeois illusions alive among the toiling masses (p. 468).

In his testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities on November 26, 1946, Louis F. Budenz furnished another example of the paralyzing fear which pervades the upper strata of the CPUSA. The incident involved Gerhard Eisler, alias Edwards, and Clarence Hathaway, then editor of the Daily Worker, a member of the party's top political committee or national board. Budenz, who in late 1945 was managing editor of the paper, described what took place at an editorial board meeting he attended:

I came into that meeting of the editorial board of the Daily Worker * * * when lo and behold to my surprise in walked Mr. Edwards; he did not even introduce himself to the editorial board, but in he walked and proceeded to flay Hathaway for almost an hour, declaring him to be unfit to be editor of the

Daily Worker, that he was more interested in his picture on the front page than "he is in running the paper" as it should be run, politically. And I was amazed at this because of Hathaway's position, as represented by the daily press at that time, as one of the big three running the party. But Edwards came in, and Edwards was the representative of the Communist International, and he flayed Hathaway, and Hathaway did not do anything but sit there with a silly grin and had to take this trouncing. That was an education to me.

Mr. Budenz continued his testimony with the case of Harry Gannes, late foreign editor of the Daily Worker:

He was about to be convicted of false passports when he died of a brain tumor. His death was hastened by fear and worry. I worked in the same office with him at the time and know that most of his trouble was not fear of America, nor fear of an American prison, but fear of people back of him in the Communist conspiratorial apparatus. He feared he would have to divulge some of the shadowy figures with whom he worked for the Kremlin.

No party official, no matter how high his status, was apparently exempt from this fear complex. Mr. Budenz declared in his testimony, "I have seen Earl Browder look like he was struck with a most intense fright on more than one occasion, and Jack Stachel looks as though somebody was chasing him all the time."

It would seem, therefore, that whereas the lower layers of the party might be motivated primarily by ideological devotion, its higher echelons are driven by an overpowering fear of a far-reaching conspiratorial network from which they cannot extricate themselves even if they desire to do so—a cold-blooded machine which is merciless toward even the slightest infringement of its drastic ukases.

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AS A PUPPET

Despite the fact that the party constitution specifies the national convention as "the highest authority of the Party", actual practice discloses that the seat of real authority lies neither with the convention nor with the national committee which it supposedly elects, but with Moscow. The House Committee on Un-American Activities entered into considerable detail on this point in its report on The Communist Party of the United States as an Agent of a Foreign Power, published in 1947 as House Report No. 209. We elaborate this point by an examination of party behavior since November 16, 1940, when the CPUSA disaffiliated from the Communist International "for the specific purpose of removing itself from the terms of the so-called Voorhis Act" (H. R. 10094) and subsequent to the alleged dissolution of the Communist International on May 30, 1943.

Political Affairs, formerly known as The Communist, is the official theoretical organ of the CPUSA. Its editorial board includes such topflight members of the national committee as V. J. Jerome, Abner W. Berry, Alexander Bittelman, Jack Stachel and Max Weiss. It is published under the supervision of the national committee for the purpose of supplying the members of the party with political directives for the coming month. It is, therefore, of the highest significance that the issues of this authoritative magazine contain in almost every issue articles on the outstanding current issues by prominent writers for the Communist press of the U. S. S. R. Thus the CPUSA graphically demonstrates to its members the truth of the statement which appears in the Daily Worker of March 5, 1939, that—

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union always was and always will be a model, an example for the Communist parties of all countries.

SOVIET WRITERS WHOSE ARTICLES HAVE APPEARED IN THE COMMUNIST, LATER KNOWN AS POLITICAL AFFAIRS, THEORETICAL MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA.

1940

Ackerman, A.—Lenin at the Second World Congress of the Communist International, 936-949, October.
 Chekalin, M.—The Renaissance of Nationalities and the Consolidation of Nations in the U. S. S. R., 356-375, April.
 Fuernberg, F.—A Brilliant Manual of Bolshevik Tactics, 749-762, August.
 Kosiachenko, G.—The Basic Principle of Socialism, 1038-1044, November.
 Lande, C. G.—Dynamic Changes in the Population of the Soviet Union, 1031-1037, November.
 Lenin, V. I.—On the World Imperialist War, 516-517, June; The United States of Europe Slogan, 17-20, January.
 Mendelsohn, L.—On Lenin's Classic Work, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," 173-179, February.
 Mitin, M.—The Power of Stalinist Prediction, 141-148, February.
 Stalin, Joseph—How Does Social-Democracy Understand the National Question? 716-728, August.
 Yaroslavsky, Emilian—On Bourgeois and Bourgeois-Democratic Revolutions, 49-57, January.

1941

Gorodetsky, E.—The Patriotic War of 1918 Against the German Invaders of the Ukraine, 1091-1107, December.
 Kedrov, B.—Review of "Dialectics of Nature," by Frederick Engels, 834-838, September.
 Kursanov, George—Space and Time—Forms of the Existence of Matter, 377-384, April; 458-467, May; 568-576, June; 652-656, July.
 Lenin, V. I.—Imperialism and the Split in the Socialist Movement, 151-164, February.
 Stalin, Joseph—The Pamphlet by Junius, 883-887, October.
 Stalin, Joseph—Victory Will Be Ours, 673-677, August.

1942

Alexandrov, Gregory—Delay in Initiating the Second Front May Spell Disaster, 599-601, August.
 Molotov, V. M.—Speech on the Occasion of the Signing of the Soviet-British Mutual Assistance Treaty, 575-576, July.
 Stalin, Joseph—Order of the Day on May Day, 1942, 402-407, June; On the Anti-Hitler Coalition of the United Nations, 494-496, July; Letter to Henry Cassidy on Second Front, 957, November; The U. S. S. R. and the Anglo-Soviet, American Fighting Alliance, 963-972, December; Order of the Day to the Red Army and the Soviet People on the Occasion of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the October Revolution 972-992, December. Letter to Associated Press Representative Henry C. Cassidy, November 14, 1942, 974-975, December.
 Tolchenov, M.—Five Years of the Sino-Japanese War, 640-643, August.

1943

Alexandrov, G.—The Great Patriotic War and the Social Sciences, 47-50, January.
 Bragin, Mikhail—The Great Battle of Stalingrad, 222-228, March.
 Malinin, N.—On the Discussion of War Aims and Post-War Problems, 720-724, August.
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 Mitin, M.—Marx and Engels on Reactionary Prussianism, 83-87, January.
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Ossip Piatnitsky, former head of the organization department of the Communist International, declared at the thirteenth plenum of the executive committee of the CI in December 1933 that, "The Communist International is united by the Executive Committee of the Comintern into a single, world, centralized party." In order to emphasize the status of the Communist Party, USA, as a constituent part of a disciplined world party, Political Affairs (formerly The Communist) has published from time to time since 1940, articles by the foremost leaders of foreign Communist parties.

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It should be noted that the above summary includes articles
representing the viewpoint of the Korean Communists at a time when
the United States was at war with the Korean Communist Republic.

A study of the position of the CPUSA from 1940, when it allegedly
disaffiliated from the Communist International, to 1955, shows that
the party was nevertheless in full agreement with Soviet policy on the
following important issues:

Support of the Soviet-Nazi Pact.
Support of the Soviet attack on Poland.
Support of the Soviet attack on Finland.
Opposition to Lend-Lease and aid to Great Britain prior to Hitler's attack on the
Soviet Union.
Opposition to President Roosevelt during the Stalin-Hitler Pact.
For the opening of a Second Front after Hitler's attack.
Support of the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance after Hitler's attack.
Endorsement of the alleged dissolution of the Communist International in 1943.
Endorsement of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers Parties
(Cominform) from its formation in 1947 to date.
Support of the Soviet Union and the following satellite countries: Poland, Hun-
gary, Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia.
Support of Yugoslavia until its split with the Cominform and Russia in 1948.
Opposition to Yugoslavia after its split with the Cominform and Russia in 1948.
Support of Chiang Kai-shek from 1940 to 1943.
Opposition to Chiang Kai-shek from 1943 to 1946.
Support of a Chinese Coalition government in 1946.
Opposition to Chiang Kai-shek from 1946 to date.
Opposition to American policy in Greece, Germany, Austria, Japan, Korea, etc.
Opposition to the Marshall Plan.

Support of Henry Wallace.
Opposition to the Truman Doctrine.
Opposition to the North Atlantic Defense Pact.
Support of recognition of Communist China and admission to the U. N.
Opposition to German rearmament.
Support for banning the atomic bomb.
Support of such international front organizations as: World Federation of Trade Unions, World Federation of Democratic Women, World Federation of Democratic Youth, World Peace Congress, International Association of Democratic Lawyers, International Association of Democratic Journalists, All-Slav Congress, World Federation of Scientific Workers, World Peace Congress.

SOVIET EMBASSY AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The relations between the Communist Party and the Soviet Embassy are nowhere specified in the official constitution of the party. They are highly conspiratorial and limited to a few selected individuals. With the facilities available to this subcommittee, we can only sketch the pattern of this relationship from isolated instances which corroborate each other.

In his book, *Men Without Faces*, Louis F. Budenz, former managing editor of the *Daily Worker*, has described the mechanism as he saw it in operation as follows:

Unobserved, the chosen comrades entrusted with the reception of Moscow's directives got them by hand from a courier, some apparently obscure person who in turn had received them either from the Comintern representative or directly from the Soviet consulate or embassy. During the latter part of my work in the party this was Felix Kuzman, a former member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, who conveyed the brief directives from Gerhart Eisler to the Ninth Floor.

Another courier of this type who ran between the Soviet consulate and Bittelman was the former White Russian officer Sergei Kournakoff. * * * Someone in the offices there, [at the consulate] in turn, received the orders in the diplomatic mail pouch or in code by cable.

According to Budenz, those in touch with this pipeline to the Soviet Embassy included only such trusted insiders as Earl Browder, Eugene Dennis, Jack Stachel, Alexander Trachtenberg, Alexander Bittelman, Robert William Weiner, also known as Welwel Warczower, and the representative of the Communist International, Gerhart Eisler. The majority of these or possibly all of them, were accomplished Russian linguists.

Sergei Kournakoff, mentioned above, died in Moscow on July 5, 1949. He was the writer of numerous articles and books on Soviet military matters. His frequent contributions to the *Daily Worker* were carried under the pseudonym "Veteran Commander."

ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

Born in Russia 60 years ago, Alexander Bittelman, alias Ralph Barnes, alias Ascher Bittlemacher, alias Nathan William Kweit, alias Isadore Spillberg, alias Alexander Raphael, alias Z. P. Ralph, alias Raphael and Ralph, has been a member of the executive committee and its ruling political committee of the Communist Party, USA, since the party's inception. He has been a delegate to Communist International congresses in Moscow on a number of occasions. From time to time, he has been editor of the party's monthly theoretical organ, the *Communist*, now known as *Political Affairs*, to which he has been a prolific contributor. He owes his authority in the CPUSA

not to any contact or following with the American people but primarily to the fact that he has always been an assiduous student of the Soviet press and a slavish follower of the Moscow line. As such he is an indispensable link between the Kremlin and the American party, a keen watchdog to insure against the slightest deviation from Soviet policy. Benjamin Gitlow, a former member of the political committee of the CPUSA, and the party's candidate for vice president, has said of Bittelman:

Bittelman was * * * completely divorced from all contact with the labor movement and with American life. But he read Russian, followed the Russian Communist press minutely and tried to copy in detail everything the Bolsheviks advocated, in order to apply it to the United States. His sensitive nose was always pointed in Moscow's direction (I Confess (Dutton) p. 191).

As the managing editor of the Daily Worker, Louis F. Budenz was in a position which demanded daily and hourly decisions on party policy. He described the manner in which the party's official mouthpiece was overseen by Bittelman, to whom he referred as "the chief of the small corps of politburo members who were in touch with the Comintern representatives and the Soviet consulates."

The special role played by Bittelman, according to Budenz, was as "the agent entrusted by Moscow with instructing the party leaders in the precise terms to be employed in the use of Aesopian language," namely language which, for purposes of legal evasion, could be interpreted in one way for public consumption and in quite another way within the party ranks. "Many times," declared Budenz, "I heard him lecturing the Politburo on exactly what words and phrases the party declarations should contain in order to be Leninist and at the same time legal."

The actual procedure followed in editing the Communist Daily Worker finds few parallels in the history of American journalism. It should be particularly shocking to those who hold that the Communist Party represents a segment of American political opinion rather than a supine echo of Moscow. Mr. Budenz described his editorial experiences with Bittelman in 1936:

Bittelman was then operating from the Hotel Albert, where the entire editorial board conferred with him almost every day. So carefully were his whereabouts and movements guarded, and so carefully did he seek to conceal our conferences, that each meeting with him had to be arranged over an outside telephone * * * Every day at noon, Harry Gannes, then foreign editor of the Daily Worker, a veteran member of the board, would rise from his desk and leave the building. In a few minutes he would return, to state generally that he had reached "Comrade Barnes" and that he would see us at such and such a time.

At the hour set, each member of the Daily Worker editorial board would stroll over to the Hotel Albert. Singly each would enter the lobby and then go up to Bittelman's room for a hurried hour on the paper's editorial policy. Bittelman-Barnes was the law and the line; particularly did he take pains to stress the exact manner in which a fundamental position should be presented (Men Without Faces by Louis F. Budenz (Harper), pp. 79, 80).

It would seem that Alexander Bittelman who has frankly declared that he would not fight against the Soviet Union "in any war" because "any war against the Soviet Union would be an unjust war," has been singled out by the powers that be as the chief carrier and guardian of the sacred fire of Russian Bolshevism within the American party. He has also served as the party's official historian for the past two decades delineating in full the decisive role of the Soviet-dominated Communist International in every phase of the activity of the American party from its very inception.

On the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the Communist Party of the United States in 1934, Bittelman wrote his pamphlet *Fifteen Years of the Communist Party*, where he outlines the origin of the American party as follows:

Nineteen hundred and nineteen was the year when our Party was formed * * * Nineteen hundred and nineteen was the year when the Communist International was formed, preceding the formation of our Party by about five months. Our Party became part of it * * * But it was only through the costly experiences of the first world war, and especially the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, that the proletarian vanguard of the United States came to realize that the Bolshevik way is the only way for the liberation of the American proletariat and all the exploited and oppressed. Thus it came to pass that our Party came into existence. * * *

Throughout his works, Bittelman stresses the role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as a model and guide for the CPUSA. In his *Communist Party in Action*, for example, he points out to members of his party:

It is, of course, impossible to say which particular experience in the class struggle was decisive for your joining the Communist Party. Rather it must have been the sum of many experiences on various points of the class struggle front, among which the fight against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union had undoubtedly played a very great part in bringing you into the ranks of the Party. This is the case with many workers who join the Communist Party because it is the only Party that is following in the footsteps of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, that is, organizing the American proletariat to follow the example of the working class of Russia led by the Communist (Bolshevik) Party (p. 4).

Again in the same pamphlet he frankly admits:

These Socialist successes of the Soviet Union, achieved under the leadership of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party, have undoubtedly had a great influence in bringing you into the ranks of the American party. Now you must try to gain a clearer and more thorough understanding of the international role of Bolshevism and of the Bolshevik Party (p. 14).

In his later work entitled "*Milestones in the History of the Communist Party*," published in 1937 on the occasion of the American party's 18th anniversary, Bittelman bluntly states:

The Communist International, and its model party—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—headed by Comrade Stalin, gave us the guidance that helped the American communists to find the way to the masses and to the position of vanguard (p. 8).

In answer to those who charge that the policies of the American party are dictated by Moscow, Bittelman not only admits the intervention of Stalin's puppet organization, the Communist International, in the affairs of the CPUSA, but actually glories therein. "The Comintern did 'interfere'," boasts Bittelman in the same pamphlet, "there can be no doubt of that. And it is fortunate that it did." He points out moreover that "the Comintern spoke to the American Party with authority and wisdom" (p. 88). He insists that the CPUSA "can derive deep satisfaction from the fact that it unfailingly received brotherly advice and guidance from the Communist International." And he defiantly adds that "The leading role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the Comintern needs neither explanation nor apology" (ibid, p. 71).

He goes on to voice the feeling of pride with which the American party views the fact that it is part of "a world party together with the glorious Party of the Soviet Union" and that this world party

"is daily guided by such proved leaders as Manuilsky, Kuusinen * * * Piatnitsky"—all prominent leaders of the Russian Communist Party (ibid, p. 92).

Climaxing his panegyric, Bittelman declares:

In the fifteen years of its existence the Comintern has grown into a true world party. It has reached the high state where all "Communist Parties are carrying out one single line of the Comintern" a stage where all "Communist Parties are united by the Executive Committee of the Communist International into a single centralized World Party * * *" (Piatnitsky, Speech at the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International) (ibid, p. 92).

Pointing out that the existence of this "world party" of which the American party is an organic part, makes possible the formulation of a "world revolutionary strategy," he adds that "it is in Comrade Stalin, since Lenin's death, that this strategy has found the greatest formulator, interpreter, and organizer."

In demonstrating the complete subservience of the American party to Moscow, Mr. Bittelman is not content to present his case in broad, general terms. He is most specific in itemizing the nature of Kremlin intervention in detail.

When the American Communist movement was first founded in 1919, it consisted of two rival groups: The Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party of America. Bittelman describes the Comintern's role at this founding stage:

The bringing together of all American revolutionary workers into one Communist Party * * * was the first of the more significant acts of advice of the Comintern * * * A unified and single Communist Party was materialized in the United States in shorter time, less painfully and wastefully, than could have been the case without the advice and assistance of the Comintern (ibid, p. 74, 75).

This, according to Bittelman, is the first milestone in the history of the CPUSA.

From 1919 to 1922 for example, the Communist Party, USA, was illegal. Bittelman outlines the nature of Moscow's advice and guidance in evading the law, as follows:

Once more the American Communists consulted with the Communist International. This was in 1921-1922. And the correct advice came, as it was bound to * * * Illegal work, that is, revolutionary work that could not be done openly because of governmental persecution, was not abandoned but continued; the illegal work supplementing the legal, and vice versa * * *

What was it that proved especially helpful for the American Communists in the Comintern advice on legal and illegal work? It was the world and Russian experience of bolshevism (ibid, p. 76).

A major concern of the CPUSA is the task of boring from within the labor movement. Here again the Comintern actively intervened according to Bittelman:

The next milestone in the Comintern leadership for the American Party we find on the question of trade union work * * * It was Comintern advice and guidance that helped the American Communists to turn full face to the building of a Left Wing in the reformist unions beginning with 1920; it was the advice of the Comintern that helped * * * formulate strike policies and tactics; it was Comintern advice on how to revolutionize the labor movement * * * (ibid, p. 77, 97).

According to Bittelman, the directives of the Communist International extended to the point of advising a policy (which is still in force) calling for the establishment of an independent Negro republic in what he called the Black Belt in the South, a step which would involve armed insurrection against the United States in which count-

less Negro lives would be sacrificed to the machinations of Moscow. Here are Bittelman's own words on the subject:

Once more came the "outside" influence of the Comintern; and what did it say? It said that * * * in the Black Belt the full realization of this demand (for national liberation) requires the fight for the national self-determination of the Negroes including the right of separation from the United States and the organization of an independent state (ibid, p. 85).

It has been pointed out that in the early 1930's the Communists advocated measures for so-called unemployment relief which were jacked up to the point where their acceptance would have meant national bankruptcy. In support of these demands embodied in the Lundeen bill, the Communists promoted hunger marches calculated to incite the unemployed against the Government. In a number of cases, State legislative chambers were occupied and vandalized and numerous instances of violence developed. Where did the inspiration for this program come from? Bittelman gives the answer:

the Comintern undertook to prepare the proletarian vanguard, the Communist Party, and through it the whole working class for effective struggle against unemployment.

The Communist Party, guided by the Comintern, eventually succeeded in making this demand * * * a major issue in the class struggle of the United States (ibid, p. 87).

Referring to the ouster of Jay Lovestone, former general secretary of the CPUSA and his followers, Bittelman calls attention to

the advice of the Comintern in * * * cleansing itself of the Lovestone opportunists and the conciliators with the advice of Joseph Stalin (ibid, p. 88, 89).

Thus, according to Moscow's leading apologist and spokesman within the American party, the Communist International with headquarters in Moscow, actively intervened in the affairs of the Communist Party of the United States on the following major issues: (1) the founding of the CPUSA; (2) the emergence of the CPUSA from an illegal to a legal status and the combination of legal and illegal activity; (3) policies in the American labor movement; (4) proposal for an independent Negro republic in the South; (5) activity among the unemployed; (6) the choice of leaders for the American party.

UNDERGROUND ACTIVITY

Since the present is a period in which the exigencies of Soviet policy require that its American Communist henchmen maintain an attitude of active hostility toward the American Government, since it has been only a short time since American lives were actually being lost in combat against Communist military forces, and since the Government, in self protection, has been compelled to adopt suitable restrictive measures, the Communist Party, USA, has more and more resorted to underground methods. The party does not wait until the police crack down on its members and organizations before it initiates precautionary measures.

Writing in the Communist International as early as September 1, 1931, B. Vassiliev, a Russian specialist on party organization, called upon all Communist parties to safeguard themselves against "police terror." He declared that—

The question of an illegal organization must now receive the closest attention of all Communist Parties without exception in capitalist countries * * *

He called for the "formation of an illegal apparatus alongside the still functioning legal Party apparatus." The application of this basic instruction means that while the Communist Party, USA is still legal, it has already built up a parallel illegal apparatus. Mr. Vassiliev further indicates that this illegal apparatus is "to take over the functions of the legal apparatus as this is liquidated as the result of police repression."

We are fortunate in having available the Vassiliev directive which furnishes the basic pattern for Communist conspirative procedure which would otherwise not be available in such convenient form under present circumstances. Basing himself upon the conspiratorial experience of the Russian Communist Party, he goes into some detail. The first steps for forming an illegal party apparatus which he recommends are as follows:

1. *Securing a building for storing the party archives.* Such archives are usually entrusted to veteran party members and are invariably located outside of known party headquarters. They may be at the home or office of some wealthy party member or sympathizer located in surroundings calculated to avoid suspicion.

2. *Establishment of one or more illegal printing plants for the printing of party organs in the event of their closure.* These would, of course, be supplemented by auxiliary apparatus such as mimeographs, multi-graphs, etc. In addition, the instructions call for the establishment of one or more legal party organs, usually appearing under some other assumed auspices. New editors must be appointed in advance to replace those facing possible arrest. In the event of the suppression of the party paper, a complete apparatus is to be prepared for its appearance under a new name. Funds are even to be prepared for the payment of fines and other incidental expenses.

3. *Establishment of an apparatus for distributing illegal party literature.*

4. *Selection of a definite group of leading party activists to pass into illegality.* The history of the party shows innumerable cases of leaders who have suddenly disappeared from public mention in the party press for a time simultaneous with their assignment to illegal activity. This has been the case with J. Peters, Jacob Golos, Whitaker Chambers, Earl Browder, Charles Krumbein, Emanuel Josephson, George Mink, Philip Aronberg, Morris Childs, and many others.

5. *Preparation of addresses and houses for illegal correspondence, for secret sessions of the leading party committees and for housing the illegal party leaders and for conferences at specified hours between them and party members who are still operating on a legal basis.* In this connection, the homes and offices of wealthy contacts often serve as a convenient cover.

6. *Training of a minimum number of party members in the techniques of underground work (running an illegal printing plant, code work, the technique of personal and written contacts, the defense and protection of the illegal party apparatus, etc.).* For this purpose trained Russian instructors or Americans who have had training in Soviet conspiratorial schools, are usually utilized.

To supplement these measures, Mr. Vassiliev gives specific instructions for individual party members and organizers, which have particular force in the present hectic period:

1. No documents of an incriminating character are to be kept at the legal premises of the party, and all party members are to be warned regarding the keeping of secret or incriminating documents.

2. Certain selected party leaders engaged in special work of an illegal character are warned against visiting the legal party headquarters. Meetings of party leaders are not to be held at these locations.

3. In a period of semi or complete illegality, the Communist-front organizations and unions assume major importance as legal covers for party members. Moreover, party members are instructed to penetrate even nonparty and antiparty organizations in order to carry on their activity. (In recent years, for example, there has been accumulating evidence of Communist efforts to penetrate both the Democratic and Republican Parties, church organizations, conservative unions, etc.)

4. Above all, Communist activity in specific factories is to be carried on on a strictly conspiratorial basis. Members engaged in this work are cautioned:

(a) To act in such a way as not to reveal their party membership. (Recently the party was faced with a dilemma in this connection, having urged its members to actively circulate the Stockholm peace appeal which automatically revealed the Communist forces.)

(b) Meetings of factory groups must be held in strictest secrecy, with the possible exception of the admission of reliable sympathizers at times.

(c) Real names are not to be used at meetings by individual members.

Vassiliev urges that "breaches of police restrictions should first of all be organized in the factories informally and directly, by attracting the working masses into the struggle. * * *" In other words, the individual Communist will not stick his neck out to provoke defiance of the policy, but will work behind the scenes to induce the workers in his factory to do so and take the consequences. Communists consider every such "breach" as an evidence of further weakening of our democratic government.

J. Peters, in his authoritative Communist Party—Manual on Organization, published in 1935, gives further directives for safeguarding the Red conspiracy:

1. Do not tell any member anything about Party members which does not concern that member.

It will be remembered that many Americans viewed with skepticism the testimony of Whittaker Chambers that he was known to Alger and Priscilla Hiss simply as "Carl." It sounds utterly fantastic that they would not ask for details. The fact is, however, that any party member who is inquisitive, who asks questions, becomes an immediate object of suspicion. The party demands unquestioning obedience in the fullest sense of the term.

2. Do not discuss any Party question outside of the meeting of the Party organization * * * Stop discussing inner Party questions on the street corners or cafeterias. * * *

3. Avoid, as much as possible, keeping membership lists with names and addresses, and if you have such lists, do not keep them in your home, or in the headquarters of the Party Unit or Section, or in your pocket.

4. Documents which are not for publication should be read only by those Party members to whom they are addressed, and should be destroyed immediately

after reading. Documents which need study must be carefully safeguarded. Every member who has such a document must return it after reading it to the Party committee, which destroys it immediately.

These instructions on illegal activities are supplemented by a publication entitled "The Agent Provocateur in the Labour Movement" written by Johannes Buchner and published by the official Communist publishing house, the Workers Library Publishers, for the avowed purpose of "combating provocation and spying." This pamphlet states that the "struggle against provocation and police espionage forms a permanent and fundamental function of every Party member and of the entire Party organization."

While the CPUSA plays upon every liberal sympathy in protecting its members from ouster or prosecution by the Government, it has no such scruples in dealing with suspicious persons in its own ranks. Describing those Communists guilty of "petty bourgeois prejudices and petty bourgeois muddleheadedness" who fear throwing "suspicion on a friend and a comrade" or who hesitate to "hurt his feelings," Mr. Buchner lays down this ruthless principle:

Until the Communist Parties expel this petty bourgeois sentimentality and muddleheadedness energetically from their midst, they will never be able to wage an effective struggle against the agents provocateurs (p. 13).

Persons under suspicion, he says, should not be trusted merely "on the alleged grounds that they possess valuable and indispensable facilities" (p. 13).

Mr. Buchner advises Communists to read *Our Secret War*, by Thomas Marvin Johnson, which contains descriptions of various methods employed by spies for communication purposes.

In some instances, he ascribes to the police procedures (for penetrating into the technical apparatus to acquire information) which the party undoubtedly uses for its own purposes, such as the enlistment of "shorthand typists, technical secretaries, janitors, charwomen, and servants." Detailed instructions are given as to methods employed by police officials in eliciting information and how to guard against them.

Mr. Buchner advises the following methods for eluding the police:

Firstly, the correct co-ordination of legal and illegal work ***. Secondly, the drawing up and exact observance of the rules of conspiracy work, that is to say, practical measures to ensure that confidential decisions and documents, illegal persons, addresses, etc., are kept a close secret. Thirdly, exact rules for the conduct of comrades under arrest with regard to their statements in court and before the police (p. 44).

He warns against excessive concentration of illegal work of the party "in the hands of a single comrade," referring particularly to "the direction of an illegal printshop, communication with organizations abroad and with underground organizations." He emphasizes that "illegal Party work calls for a strict division of functions so that the arrest of one person may not cause the dislocation of several spheres of illegal Party work" (p. 46).

Buchner advises that "all symptoms of personal feelings, sentimental considerations, or superficial friendliness" be rejected in the selection of comrades for illegal party work. Such persons must be thoroughly checked as to "moral and political personality of the comrade concerned, his strength of character, militant experience, personal courage, his connections and social intercourse, way of life, family

relations, etc." Precautionary measures are urged "in any case of suspicions, serious or otherwise, even when there are no adequate proofs by which the suspicion can be corroborated" (pp. 46, 47).

Buchner's pamphlet indicates that the Communists have made a scientific study of eluding police vigilance. He cites the following specific measures which incidentally provide valuable leads for our own counterespionage agencies:

1. Thorough analysis of every case of arrest, examination and comparison of all circumstances and incidents accompanying the case.
2. Increased vigilance in cases of distortion or misrepresentation of the Party line.
3. Exact analysis of the various proposals and formal motions brought forward by the suspected person over a given period of time.
4. Extreme caution towards people who display excessive curiosity, who offer themselves for the execution of confidential tasks.
5. Special attention and vigilance to be paid to * * * (cases of alcoholism, embezzlement, extravagance, sexual excesses, etc.)
6. Strict and continual financial control over all sums of money expended by the organization and over every penny of Party funds.
7. Special courses of instruction * * * in the most elementary methods of illegal work and conspiracy must be conducted in the Party schools.
8. Police agents should be unmasked, by making their names known and publishing their photographs and descriptions of their persons in the press.
9. Direct action on the part of all the workers of the whole enterprise or of a given department so as to discover and forcibly eject all spies.
10. Every Communist Party should constantly hold in view the possibility of having to change quickly to illegal work and should take * * * preparatory measures.
11. By altering the dwelling places of various comrades, the addresses and the places of meeting after arrests (pp. 48, 49).

Included in this invaluable study for the guidance of party members are the following rules established by a famous espionage school of the German general staff:

Do not show too obvious curiosity when collecting news and doing reconnaissance.

Train your facial expression so as to appear always uninterested and indifferent.

Never discuss confidential matters in a coffee-house, on the tram, or in the train.

Conceal your knowledge of foreign languages; this makes it easier for you to overhear conversations.

Don't leave papers, envelopes, newspapers, hotel or business bills lying about anywhere. Don't throw them in the waste paper basket either, even if they are torn in small pieces (pp. 49, 50).

Always arrange meetings with people from whom you intend to learn something at a great distance from your and their place of living. If possible they should have to make a railway journey of several hours to arrive at the meeting place. When tired, especially after a night journey, the client is less capable of offering resistance and is more ready to let things out.

Rather learn five or six facts, even if they be insignificant ones than a hundred opinions (pp. 49, 50).

Mr. Buchner's pamphlet lays down certain "rules of behavior" for Communist Party members in "executing confidential conspiratorial work:"

He must always be on his guard, must never talk at random, never be guilty of carelessness; he must know how to govern himself and hold himself in check * * *. He must fight systematically against all distractions and tendencies to lose hold over himself, against talkativeness and curiosity. He must evolve a number of strict rules of life for his daily existence and his intercourse with men and affairs (p. 50).

He is most specific in his directives for the behavior of Communist operatives:

1. Tell him who *ought* to know what you have to say, not he who is *permitted* to know it.
2. A revolutionary must not talk at random or use superfluous words. * * *
3. Only ask what it is your concern to know.
4. Be on your guard in telephoning and in letter-writing. * * *
5. Don't take unnecessary things with you.
6. Look around you. See who is following you and who is watching you.
7. Don't pose. Don't attract attention by acting the conspirator; act and behave simply.
8. Avoid all frivolity and care-free behavior. Consider every step and every action.
9. Adapt your way of life to the environment in which you belong according to the documents you carry (pp. 50, 51).

METHODS OF EVASION AND DECEPTION

Many Americans are inclined to minimize the resourcefulness and the cunning of the Communist fifth column. Many, having little substantial knowledge of the nature of this conspiracy, inclined to accept the CPUSA as just another American political party, are misled by its claims. It would be well, therefore, to present an analysis of typical Communist methods of evasion and deception.

Communists customarily resort to double talk and what has aptly been described as Aesopian language, in other words, language intended to give one impression to the outsider and quite another to party insiders. While they constantly assure the Soviet Union and their associates in the United States of their loyalty to the Soviet cause, they seek to give the impression to Americans that they are simultaneously loyal to this country. The 1945 constitution of the CPUSA declares that the "Communist Party *carries forward* [a phrase added to offset any impression of complete endorsement] the democratic traditions of Jefferson, Paine and Lincoln." The very same document declares that—

The Communist Party of the United States is the political party * * * basing itself upon the principles of * * * Marxism-Leninism.

which calls for the establishment of a dictatorship by force and violence in direct contradiction to the principles for which Jefferson, Paine and Lincoln stood.

The preamble to the 1945 party constitution says "The Communist Party upholds the achievements of American democracy". The weasel word here is, of course, "achievements." As William Z. Foster puts it in his 23 Questions About the Communist Party, "We stand second to none in our loyalty to the *American people*." Since the party by its own claim represents the American people this is a pledge of loyalty to itself. The party here does not pledge itself to support the *institutions* of American democracy as they are today. Nor is this implied in the pledge "to defend * * * the democracy of our country." The reference to "*our country*" is particularly presumptuous in the light of the many previous allusions by Communist spokesmen to the "Soviet fatherland" and the party's demonstrated and undeviating loyalty to Soviet policy. In fact, in his 23 Questions, William Z. Foster openly claims that "Socialist

democracy, which is what prevails in the U. S. S. R., is on a higher plane than the democracy of * * * the United States."

Article II of the party constitution carries the pledge to "extend the democracy of our country." This term is a common one in Communist literature. It is simply an admission that the "limited democracy" remaining in our Government according to William Z. Foster, is to be "extended" and exploited to the full to further the advent of communism.

Again to mislead the unwary the preamble purloins certain phrases from our own Declaration of Independence, demanding the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," calmly ignoring the known fact that the lot of millions in Communist countries is to be denied these elementary rights.

Article II presents the party's purpose "to promote the best interests and welfare of the working class and the people of the United States." Naturally the party, self-described as the "political party of the American working class," assumes for itself the right to define what are these "best interests and welfare."

The preamble declares that the party will defend the "United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights against its reactionary enemies." Since the Communists do not consider themselves as reactionaries but as progressives, this provision could not apply to their unceasing efforts to undermine and destroy the United States Constitution. How can William Z. Foster, or the party he heads, be trusted to defend the United States Constitution when he frankly states in his 23 Questions that "the Stalin Constitution of the U. S. S. R. is far and away the most democratic in the world?"

Nowhere in the world has communism, or "socialism," as the Communists sometimes call it, been established by the freely expressed will of the majority. This has been true from the time of the Russian Revolution in 1917 to the satellite countries of the present day. In every case these actions have been applauded by the CPUSA. Nevertheless in article II the CPUSA stands for the "establishment of socialism by the free choice of the majority of the American people." As a matter of fact, the Communists hold this majority in complete disrespect as indicated by their open contempt for the democratic institutions which express the will of this majority.

In order to give the impression that the CPUSA is thoroughly democratic in character, article VII declares that "the highest authority of the Party is the National Convention." The fact is that these conventions can be held only with Moscow's permission in accordance with the constitution of the Communist International, a procedure still in force. Those who have attended these conventions have acknowledged that delegates are handpicked from above and usually approve a single slate of members of the national committee without contest. These gatherings merely rubberstamp decisions previously made in the upper reaches of the Communist hierarchy.

The Communist Party is torn between its desire to assure the American people that it is not affiliated with Moscow's international Communist apparatus and its determination, on the other hand, to demonstrate its affiliation and unswerving loyalty to that organization. Having openly acknowledged its affiliation with the Communist International for over 20 years, the CPUSA on November 16, 1940, "disaffiliated" itself "for the specific purpose of removing itself

from the terms of the so-called Voorhis Act," requiring the registration of foreign agents. On May 22, 1943, the Communist International was formally dissolved as an expedient to placate Russia's allies in World War II, the action receiving the subsequent endorsement of the disaffiliated CPUSA. The sincerity of this move may be measured in the light of the testimony of Louis F. Budenz, former member of the national committee of the CPUSA and former managing editor of its official organ, the Daily Worker. Describing a meeting of the party executives with Gerhard Eisler, alias Hans Berger, representative of the Communist International, Budenz declared under oath on November 22, 1946:

Now, I want to get here to the dissolution of the Communist International * * * This issue (of the Communist) we were discussing was the one that discussed the Communist International. * * * And it was agreed that Mr. Berger should write this piece which he did write, in order to show our comrades that international still lives * * * even with the dissolution of the Communist International.

The article by Hans Berger referred to, entitled "Remarks on the Discussion Concerning the Dissolution of the Communist International," appeared in the Communist (official CPUSA theoretical organ) for November 1943.

In September 1947 the information bureau of the Communist parties was established. In a statement appearing in the Daily Worker on November 3, 1947, the national board of the CPUSA formally announced that the Communist Party "should not affiliate" because of the "present political situation in the United States" which was described as "anti-Communist hysteria and war incitement." It did not say that it *has* not affiliated. The statement acknowledged, however, that "the establishment of an Information Bureau by nine Communist Parties of Europe is of great significance." It is in this light that the statement in the preamble declaring that "the Communist Party holds as a basic principle that there is an identity of interest which serves as a common bond uniting the workers of all lands" should be judged. To mislead those who interpret this document literally, the preamble adds the assurance that the party "recognizes further that the true national interests of our country * * * require the solidarity of all freedom-loving peoples and the continued and ever-closer cooperation of the *United Nations*," in order to give the impression that the U. N. and not the Cominform represents that international "common bond." The fact is that there have been convincing proofs of the CPUSA's actual affiliation with the Cominform as demonstrated by—

1. Complete adherence to and endorsement of Cominform policy.
2. Printing of Cominform directives in official organs of the CPUSA, such as the monthly Political Affairs.
3. Printing of CPUSA statements of policy and reports on activity in the official Cominform organ For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy.
4. Fraternal greetings and support sent by the CPUSA to conventions of foreign Communist parties openly affiliated with the Cominform.
5. Fraternal greetings and support sent to the CPUSA by foreign Communist parties affiliated with the Cominform, and by the Cominform itself.

6. Support by the CPUSA of world movements endorsed by the Cominform such as the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Peace Congress, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Union of Students, and the World Federation of Democratic Lawyers.

7. Sale of Cominform literature by CPUSA bookshops.

Public exposure of the CPUSA as a conspiracy with an underground, illegal apparatus, engaging in espionage and other treasonable activities, has induced the party to incorporate into its constitution various formulations calculated to give the impression that the party is entirely legal and aboveboard. Article IV, section 10, declares that—

every member is obligated to fight with all his strength against any and every effort, whether it comes from abroad or from within *our* country * * * to impose upon the United States the *arbitrary* will of any group or party or clique or conspiracy, thereby violating the unqualified right of the *majority* of the people to direct the destinies of *our* country.

This statement is honeycombed with semantic boobytraps. Since the Communists claim to represent the enlightened will of the majority of the people, they would never plead guilty to being arbitrary, to violating the will of the majority, or to representing a clique or conspiracy. In article IX, punishment is prescribed for "conduct or action detrimental to the *working class* and the *nation*," the interpretation of these terms being left to the determination of the disciplinary review commission of the CPUSA. It is as if an organization of gangsters had formally adopted a constitution describing itself as a league of honest, law-abiding Americans; or an extortion racket operating under the name of Merchants Protective Society.

In 1948 the House Committee on Un-American Activities published a report to show that the CPUSA is an advocate of the overthrow of the Government by force and violence. In 1952 the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee published documentary proof along this line. In 1949, 11 top leaders of the CPUSA were convicted under the Smith Act on the charge of teaching and advocating the overthrow of our Government by force and violence. In part, the Government's case was based upon quotations from seven Communist classics which a defendant, Carl Winter, declared are obsolete. Nevertheless these very works were recommended by Political Affairs in 1947 and are openly sold in Communist bookshops. In a further effort to escape the incriminating force of its basic documents, article XIV of the 1945 constitution declared:

The Communist Party is not responsible for any political document, policy, book, article, or any other expression of political opinion except such as are issued by authority of this and subsequent national conventions and its regularly constituted leadership.

In effect, this would constitute a formal repudiation of all the works of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin which are standard references for party speakers, writers, and teachers today. Its purpose is undoubtedly to invalidate this mass of evidence.

When charged with advocating the overthrow of Government by force and violence, the party usually resorts to the formula used by William Z. Foster in his 23 Questions: "The danger of violence * * * always comes from the reactionary elements," who would oppose the

revolutionary designs of the Communists. According to this logic, a pedestrian who is provoked to violence in opposing the forcible efforts of a highwayman to rob him of his possessions is primarily responsible for such violence. Experience has shown that the Communists have initiated violence in every country in which they have been active to the point of actual control as in Russia, China, and the various satellite states.

A prize example of evasion is that furnished by William Z. Foster, chairman of the CPUSA, in answering questions as to what he would do in the event of war between the United States and the Soviet Union. These answers are, of course, typical of what may be expected of party members generally in dealing with this question, which is an acid test of their loyalty.

In the early days of the Communist movement, their spokesmen were more forthright. Thus, William Z. Foster in his work *Toward Soviet America* published in 1932, predicted positively:

The danger of imperialist war against the U. S. S. R. is now most acute. * * * The capitalists clearly intend to thrust war upon the Soviet Union. * * * It is a situation that should arouse every worker * * * to rally in defense of the Soviet Union.

On September 29, 1939, during the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, Foster appeared before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities. He was asked by the chairman:

In the event of war between the United States and Soviet Russia, would your allegiance be to the United States or Soviet Russia?

Foster's replies run the entire gamut of evasion. We present them in part:

I say it is a hypothetical question. * * * I am for the defense of the United States. * * * If the United States entered this war on an imperialist basis, I would not support it. * * *

Mr. Foster again appeared on May 27, 1948, before the Senate Judiciary Committee. Again he was asked what he would do in the event of an American conflict with the Soviet Union. Here are his typical replies:

* * * any war that may be developed between the United States and the Soviet Union can only be an imperialist war at the instigation of Wall Street, and we Communists are against all imperialist wars. * * * Russia would never attack America. * * * Because a socialist government is not an aggressive government. * * * [Referring to the Soviet attack on Poland:] That was just Russian land that the Polish Government had. * * * [Referring to the Soviet attack on Finland:] Finland was the tool of reactionaries of every stripe. * * * I have stated that we are not going to fight against the Soviet Union * * * [Referring to obedience to military orders:] That would depend on the circumstances. * * *

TRIAL AND HEARING TECHNIQUE

Basing itself upon Lenin's theory that the Government consists of "special bodies of armed men, who have at their disposal prisons" and "repressive institutions of all kinds," for the oppression of the vast majority of the population, the Communist Party, USA, which looks upon our Government as the "enemy," has devised various methods for evading exposure and prosecution which have been employed from time to time before congressional committees and the courts. These methods include the following:

1. Denial that the CPUSA advocates overthrow of government by force and violence (Schneiderman case, case of 11 Communist leaders, case of the "second string" 13).

2. Denial that the party is an agent of a foreign power.

3. Denial of party membership (Alger Hiss, William W. Remington).

4. Denial of legal authority to compel answers to questions regarding party affiliation (Hollywood Ten).

5. Refusal to answer questions regarding party affiliation, claiming privilege under the first amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing freedom of speech.

6. Refusal to answer questions regarding party affiliation, claiming privilege under the fifth amendment on grounds of possible self-incrimination.

7. Refusal to furnish official records on grounds that such a request is beyond the legal scope of the committee or agency (Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee).

8. Charge that the agency or committee is illegally constituted.

Nor has the above exhausted the Communist bag of tricks.

Johannes Buchner, in his authoritative pamphlet *The Agent Provocateur* in the Labour Movement, previously referred to, presents detailed instructions for Communist conduct before the police and in court:

* * * no statement incriminating any comrade, no names, no addresses, not a single fact which could possibly be used directly or indirectly against the Party, its organs or individual members of the organization. No explanations in this respect. Absolute denial even when personally confronted with the persons and despite the evidence given by police spies and agents provocateurs. Whoever infringes, even but a little, these fundamental rules must instantly and mercilessly be ejected from the Party (p. 51).

This directive furnishes a key to understanding the consistent hostility of Communist witnesses before investigating bodies and the courts.

Buchner warns against getting involved in talks and discussions "even about seemingly distant topics, such as views of life, etc."

Should the authorities not know for certain that the individual is a party member and have no proofs to that effect, then says Buchner: since a categorical refusal to make any statement would convict you of being a Communist, you may permit yourself a few short statements calculated to obtain credence, but *only with regard to your own person*.

He discloses the essentially conspiratorial nature of the party by advising that "We must always conceal our plans and our ways of work from the class enemy," meaning, of course, the Government. (p. 51.) He adds later, "therefore always be on your guard, be a conspirator, carefully control yourself and others" (p. 54).

Communists are cautioned to note whether they are being followed when leaving a police station or their own homes (p. 24).

As a rule, those charged with certain crimes before a court of law concentrate upon proving their innocence. Not so with the Communists. They have other aims of a propaganda nature described by Mr. Buchner:

A Communist must utilize a political trial to help on the revolutionary struggle. Our tactics in the public proceedings of the law court are not tactics of defense but of attack. Without clinging to legal formalities, the Communist must use the trial as a means of bringing his indictment against the dominant capitalist regime and of courageously voicing the views of his Party.

A study of the trial of the "first string" Communist leaders and the tactics employed by the defense will disclose that these were primarily the tactics employed, which resulted in the citation of defense lawyers for contempt. It was the motivating factor in the selection of Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Party, to defend himself despite his lack of legal training.

It is sometimes assumed that lawyers defending Communist cases are just like any other lawyers who take cases as a matter of business and who are not to be held responsible for the views of their clients. But Mr. Buchner makes it clear that lawyers in Communist cases belong in a different category. "The aid of such barristers," he declares, "as deprecate the importance and the function of the Party in their pleading, must be decisively rejected" (p. 52).

The International Labor Defense, described by Attorney General Biddle as the "legal arm of the Communist Party," and now functioning as the Civil Rights Congress, published a pamphlet some years ago entitled "Under Arrest! How To Defend Yourself in Court! What To Do When Arrested and Questioned!" which gives additional pointers which are recommended for study in special classes organized for the purpose.

Introducing this pamphlet, Helen Stasova, international secretary of the International Labor Defense (International Red Aid), with headquarters in Moscow, declared, "We must give directions to the workers on how to defend themselves."

Symbolic of their distrust of the dignity and sanctity of our courts, the Communists do not rely upon legal defense. Believing that the courts are primarily instruments of the ruling class, the Communists rely primarily upon mass action to terrorize the courts to act in behalf of their defendants. Thus the pamphlet boasts that—

The principal work of the International Labor Defense consists in arousing the widest mass protests, as the chief effective method with which to wrest the working class militants from the bosses' clutches (p. 6).

In accordance with this practice, mass picket lines were conducted around the Federal Court Building during the trial of the 11 Communist leaders in 1949.

According to this approach, the policeman "is a servant of the boss class. * * * He is your enemy." Hence the instruction for dealing with him or his superiors:

* * * you shall not give the names of your fellow workers, the names of organizations that you belong to. * * * And if you are a foreign-born worker, no information of any sort, of the date you landed, the name of the boat, etc. Give your name. That is all. You should not even furnish an address (p. 9).

If charged with assaulting a policeman, the defendant is advised not to deny the act but to assert "your right to defend yourself" (p. 16).

"Have no faith in fake promises of the cops or district attorney," is a warning issued by this pamphlet (p. 11). Defendants are urged to demand a jury trial so as to "have much more opportunity to raise class issues" (p. 13).

The key to the defiant attitude of a Communist in the courts lies in the precept laid down to "make capitalism the defendant, and yourself the prosecutor" (p. 16). In his own eyes and those of his associates, his defiance makes him a hero of the class war. Thus "the capitalist courtroom" must be used "as a forum from which

the workers on trial expose before their fellow toilers the true nature of the courts—as a tool in the bosses' economic and political oppression" (p. 29).

Written in the days when the Communists had not fully adopted their present Trojan Horse tactics, the pamphlet is franker than William Z. Foster on the question of force and violence, declaring:

* * * the masses of workers will be fully justified, historically and socially, in using means, including force and violence, in defense against capitalist force and violence and in a revolutionary situation, to dislodge capitalism and replace it with a classless social order. * * * (p. 17).

Despite their activities as a Soviet fifth column, Communists are advised to quote the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Woodrow Wilson in support of their right to revolution (pp. 18, 19).

Reminiscent of the procedure followed to the letter by the defense in the trial of the 11 Communist leaders in 1949, causing weeks of delay, we find the following:

Before the jury panel is sworn in by the clerk, get up, and state that you challenge the entire panel of prospective jurors on the ground that it is composed of people whose social and economic interests will prejudice them against you, the defendant (p. 20).

Characterizing the various sedition laws, criminal anarchy statutes and criminal syndicalism acts which have been adopted by various States, the pamphlet refers to them as "class laws, brazen and undisguised, forged by the capitalist state to suppress the struggle of the masses" (p. 25).

Defendants are warned against too great reliance upon attorneys since they are "limited by the technical rules of the courts" (p. 15). "No pussyfooting" is to be tolerated from attorneys. "An attorney," it is pointed out, "should be employed only for instruction and technical defenses," the defendant reserving for himself the right to present "the class issues."

William L. Patterson, former national secretary of the International Labor Defense and presently executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, has written an illuminating article entitled "The International Labor Defense and Courtroom Technicians," for the Labor Defender of May 1933, official ILD organ. The tactics laid down then form a pattern for those followed in all recent Communist trials. The instructions laid down by this well-known Communist are most explicit:

The class struggle begun on the streets or in the shop is carried into the courtroom. * * *

Many of the friends and even members of the ILD have seriously questioned its methods. * * * International Labor Defense lawyers are engaged to serve it chiefly on the basis of their ability as "courtroom technicians."

A lawyer has to concern himself only with the juridical aspects of the case. He is not asked to engage in the political defense of the accused, but his legal defense of the accused, because of the nature of the cases the ILD is engaged in, becomes at once political * * *.

The ILD believes that only mass pressure can bring about the release of a class war prisoner; that pressure must be supplemented by legal defense. The legal defense must be of the most expert character. Every legal technicality must be used. The more far reaching the knowledge of the lawyer retained by the ILD, the more easily and effectively can the worker be shown that the guaranties of justice extended him by the ruling class are meaningless.

COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

Communists speaking openly in the name of the Communist Party and frankly as disciplined agents of the Soviet Union could make very little progress in winning converts in the United States. Wherever and whenever they have secured power in any country, it has been the result of a calculated policy of deception. One of the most important instruments of Communist deception is the front organization. Without the aid of its numerous front organizations, the Communist Party would be an isolated, insignificant sect. With the aid of its network of fronts, the Communist Party can and does exercise influence far out of proportion to its actual membership. It is in a position to establish contacts not otherwise available.

A Communist front organization may be broadly described as an organization formed at the initiative of the Communist Party of the United States or another country or the Communist International (Cominform) and operating under Communist instruction for the accomplishment of one or more current aims.³ The actual aim of the Communist front is not openly stated but is concealed behind a high-sounding and attractive reform objective. In exceptional cases like the American Youth Congress the Communists have taken over an organization originally organized by non-Communists and have transformed it into a Communist front. A front can be local, national, or international in its scope.

The building of front organizations has been laid down as a primary directive by Otto Kuusinen, secretary of the Communist International, for all Communist parties in the following words uttered at the Sixth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International held in Moscow:

The first part of our task is to build up, not only Communist organizations, but other organizations as well, above all mass organizations, sympathizing with our aims, and able to aid us for special purposes. * * * We must create a whole solar system of organizations and smaller committees working actually under the influence of our Party (Communist (magazine), May 1931, pp. 409-423).

The real purposes of the Communists in building a front organization are never those which are publicly stated to attract adherents. The actual objectives which we cite herewith, may be varied and may overlap in the case of any given organization.

1. As part of Soviet psychological warfare against the United States, Communist fronts seek to paralyze America's will to resist Communist aggression by idealizing Russia's aims and methods, discrediting the United States, spreading defeatism and demoralization. At the present historical juncture in world affairs, all Communist fronts serve this primary purpose. Specializing in this field, however, there have been such organizations as the American Peace Crusade, the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, the Congress of American Women, the American Youth for Democracy, and the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

2. Certain organizations specialize in pro-Soviet propaganda such as the magazine New World Review (formerly Soviet Russia Today),

³ The Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 describes the Communist-front organization as follows in sec. 3 (4) (p 4): "The term 'Communist-front organization' means any organization in the United States (other than a Communist-action organization as defined in paragraph (3) of this section) which (A) is substantially directed, dominated, or controlled by a Communist-action organization, and (B) is primarily operated for the purpose of giving aid and support to a Communist-action organization, a Communist foreign government, or the world Communist movement referred to in sec. 2 of this title."

the National Council of American Soviet Friendship and the American Russian Institute.

3. Where the Communist message cannot be carried most effectively by the Communist Party among particular groups in the population, special fronts are formed for the purpose, such as American Youth for Democracy, Labor Youth League, Congress of American Women, the National Negro Labor Council, International Workers Order (foreign-born groups), American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, and the various foreign-language papers of the Communist Party.

4. Sometimes fronts are used to appeal to special occupational groups still with the same broad general purposes in mind including, by way of example, the National Lawyers Guild, the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, the Photo League, and Farm Research.

5. To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the Civil Rights Congress; Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act; Trade Union Committee for the Repeal of the Smith Act; National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case; Bridges, Robertson, Schmidt Defense Committee; Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; the National Lawyers Guild; Spanish Refugee Appeal; and the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these fronts offer a bulwark of protection.

6. Communist dissimulation extends into the field of political parties forming political front organizations such as the Progressive Party and the American Labor Party. The Communists are thus enabled to present their candidates for elective office under other than a straight Communist label.

7. With an eye to religious groups, the Communists have formed religious fronts such as the Methodist Federation for Social Action, the Protestant (magazine), and the American Jewish Labor Council.

8. All Communist fronts are expected to serve as instruments of Communist espionage seeking out information and passing it through proper channels and serving as an occupational cover for espionage agents while their premises serve as convenient mail drops.

9. Communist operatives on the payrolls of the various Communist fronts are given a livelihood and valuable organizing experience at the expense of sources outside of the Communist Party. Thus the International Workers Order with assets of over \$1 million employed party stenographers, clerks, organizers, speakers, writers, teachers, janitors, and others in connection with its 2,000 lodges.

10. Certain Communist fronts are organized for the purpose of promulgating Communist ideas and misinformation into the bloodstream of public opinion. Examples of such organizations are the Allied Labor News Service, Federated Press, and the Labor Research Association.

11. Schools under patriotic and benevolent titles indoctrinate Communists and outsiders in the theory and practice of communism, train organizers and operatives, recruit new party members and sympathizers. These are no ordinary schools seeking mere culture or academic degrees. Such schools, whether open or secret, are operated

by Communist Parties throughout the world under the supreme direction of Moscow under a common pattern. Schools of this type have been:

Abraham Lincoln School, Chicago	Michigan School of Social Science,
Jefferson School of Social Science, New York	Detroit
California Labor School, San Francisco	Ohio School of Social Sciences, Cleveland
Samuel Adams School, Boston	Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art
Seattle Labor School, Seattle	School of Jewish Studies, New York

In Canada such Communist indoctrination was conducted chiefly by study groups whose operation is described by Canadian Royal Commission in its report of June 27, 1946:

A further objective, pursued through the study group, is gradually to inculcate in the secret membership of the Communist Party a habit of complete obedience to the dictates of senior members and officials of the Party hierarchy. This is apparently accomplished through a constant emphasis, in the indoctrination courses, on the importance of organization *as such*, and by the gradual creation, in the mind of the new adherent or sympathizer, of an over-riding moral sense of "loyalty to the Party." * * *

The indoctrination courses in the study groups are apparently calculated not only to inculcate a high degree of "loyalty to the Party" and "obedience to the Party," but to instill in the mind of the adherent the view that loyalty and obedience to the leadership of organization takes precedence over his loyalty to Canada, entitles him to disregard his oaths of allegiance and secrecy, and thus destroys his integrity as a citizen (pp. 74, 75).

12. Communist fronts change in accordance with the current party line. Thus when the party line was stridently anti-United States in the early 1930's, the Communists launched the American League Against War and Fascism. In the face of the growing menace of Adolf Hitler in the late 1930's, they projected the American League for Peace and Democracy advocating collective security with the democracies against fascism. During the Stalin-Hitler Pact (1939-41), however, they created the American Peace Mobilization which picketed the White House against lend-lease and the defense program. After Hitler attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, and Russia became an ally, this organization was transformed into the American People's Mobilization which supported the war effort. Immediately after World War II, the line changed again and fronts immediately blossomed out against the American defense program and against our foreign policy, such as the National Committee To Win the Peace, the American Peace Crusade, and similar organizations.

13. Front organizations enable the Communist Party to mobilize what appears to be a body of public opinion outside of the party in support of their campaigns, projects, legislation, or demands. In many cases the statement of such an organization is printed by the press without investigation. The names of leading sponsors command attention. These organizations claim to speak in the name of great masses of Americans whom they do not actually represent. Since one front organization will support another, they manage to pyramid their membership claims to fantastic proportions.

14. Front organizations serve as a valuable recruiting ground for new party members and supporters.

15. Certain fronts are formed to provoke racial friction such as the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, Council on African Affairs, National Negro Labor Council, and others.

Benjamin Gitlow, former Communist Party candidate for Vice President of the United States, former member of its politbureau,

and a former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, has explained how a front organization is formed.

A front organization is organized by the Communist Party in the following fashions: First, a number of sympathizers who are close to the party and whom the party knows can be depended upon to carry out party orders, are gotten together and formed into a nucleus which issues a call for the organization of a particular front organization which the party wants to establish. And generally after that is done a program is drawn up by the party, which this provisional committee adopts. Then, on the basis of this provisional program, all kinds of individuals are canvassed to become sponsors of the organization, which is to be launched in the very near future. A provisional secretary is appointed before the organization is launched and in every instance in our day the secretary who was appointed was a member of the Communist Party. * * * And as president of the organization we would put up some prominent public figure who was willing to accept the presidency of the organization, generally making sure that, if that public figure was one who would not go along with the Communists, he was of such a type that he would be too busy to pay attention to the affairs of the organization. * * *

On the committee that would be drawn together, a sufficient number of Communists and Communist Party sympathizers, who would carry out party orders, was included, and out of this number a small executive committee was organized * * * which carried on the affairs of the organization, so-called, and this small executive committee, with the secretary, really ran the organization. And this small committee and the secretary are the instruments of the Communist Party, with the result that when manifestos or decisions on campaigns are made, those campaigns are ordered by the Communist Party (hearing of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, vol. 7, pp. 4716, 4717, 4718).

Various American fronts are each affiliated with a parent international front from which they receive directives, literature and other aid and to which they give unreserved and active support. Representatives of American fronts are to be found at international conferences of these organizations. These organizations interlock and cooperate closely. The following international Communist fronts are among those functioning at the present time:

- World Federation of Democratic Youth
- International Union of Students
- World Federation of Democratic Women
- World Peace Congress
- World Federation of Scientific Workers
- International Organization of Democratic Journalists
- International Association of Democratic Lawyers

These operate in close harmony with the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions.

Since Communist fronts have a way of changing names from time to time and from place to place, no specified list can serve as a permanent safeguard to insure their detection. Safety from their machinations can be guaranteed only through ceaseless vigilance and detailed knowledge. We, therefore, present for the guidance of the American people certain criteria which will be useful in spotting a Communist front.

1. Since Communist fronts must start with a working nucleus of party members or reliable sympathizers, and since the party depends for its continued control of these organizations upon this nucleus, the presence of certain names frequently found as sponsors and officials is often a good clue. We present herewith a list of the most active and typical sponsors of Communist fronts in the past.

LIST OF MOST TYPICAL SPONSORS OF FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

Adams, Josephine Truslow (teacher, Swarthmore, Pa.)
Barsky, Edward K. (physician, New York)
Bass, Mrs. Charlotta (editor, California Eagle)
Benson, Elmer (former Governor, Minnesota)
Bryson, Hugh (Marine, Cooks, and Stewards Union)
Burgum, Edwin Berry (teacher, New York)
Carnovsky, Morris (actor)
Darr, John W., Jr. (minister)
Davis, Jerome (educator, New Haven, Conn.)
DuBois, W. E. B. (author, New York)
Dunn, Robert W. (writer, New York)
Emerson, Thomas I. (law school instructor, New Haven, Conn.)
Evergood, Philip (artist)
Fairchild, Henry Pratt (teacher, New York)
Fast, Howard (writer, New York)
Gellert, Hugo (artist, New York)
Gold, Ben (former president, International Fur and Leather Workers Union)
Gropper, William (artist, New York)
Hammett, Dashiell (writer)
Hathway, Marion (social worker, Pittsburgh)
Havighurst, R. J. (teacher, Chicago)
Hellman, Lillian (playwright)
Hendley, Charles J. (teacher, New York)
Hughes, Langston (poet)
Hunton, Alpheus W. (writer)
Hutchins, Grace (writer)
Imbrie, James (banker, Trenton, N. J.)
Jerome, V. J. (writer, New York)
Kenny, Robert W. (attorney, Los Angeles)
Kent, Rockwell (artist)
Kingsburg, John A. (social worker)
Kirchwey, Freda (editor, Nation)
Kreymborg, Alfred (poet)
Lamont, Corliss (author, teacher, New York)
Lampell, Millard (writer)
Lawson, John Howard (writer)
Lovett, Robert Morss (teacher, Chicago)
Lynd, Robert S. (teacher, writer, New York)
Maltz, Albert (writer)
Mann, Thomas (writer)
Mather, Kirtley F. (teacher, Cambridge, Mass.)
McAvoy, Clifford T. (former deputy commissioner of welfare, New York)
McManus, John T. (newspaperman)
McMichael, Jack R. (minister)
McWilliams, Carey (writer)
Miller, Clyde R. (teacher, writer, New York)
Morrison, Philip (scientist)
Mulzac, Hugh N. (steamship captain)
Parker, Dorothy (writer)
Patterson, William L. (organizer)
Pauling, Linus (scientist)
Pennypacker, Anna M. W. (Philadelphia, Pa.)
Pope, Arthur Upham (art expert, New York)
Rautenstrauch, Walter (teacher, New York)
Refregier, Anton (artist)
Reynolds, Bertha G. (social worker, New York)
Robeson, Paul (singer)
Russell, Rose (teacher, New York)
Schuman, Frederick L. (teacher, Williamstown, Mass.)
Shapley, Harlow (astronomer)
Shipley, Guy Emery (minister, New York)
Shumlin, Herman (dramatic producer, New York)
Spofford, William B. (minister, New York)
Steel, Johannes (writer)
Stefansson, Vilhajalmur (explorer)

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES IS DEAD

Stern, Bernhard J. (teacher, New York)
Stewart, Donald Ogden (writer)
Stewart, Maxwell S. (writer, New York)
Stone, I. F. (writer, New York)
Stover, Fred W. (farmer, Iowa)
Straus, Leon (furrier, New York)
Struik, Dirk J. (teacher, Massachusetts)
Sugar, Maurice (attorney, Detroit)
Thompson, John B. (minister, Chicago)
Trachtenberg, Alexander (publisher)
Travis, Maurice (Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union)
Uphaus, Willard (minister)
Van Kleeck, Mary (social worker, New York)
Ward, Harry F. (minister, New York)
Warne, Colston E. (teacher, Amherst, Mass.)
Weltfish, Gene (anthropologist, New York)
Wilkerson, Doxey A. (writer)

2. Does the organization receive publicity and promotion in such Communist publications as the Daily Worker, Daily People's World, Masses and Mainstream?

3. Does the organization hold meetings in halls or does it have its offices in premises ordinarily used by Communist organizations?

4. Is literature of the Communist Party and other front organizations to be found at headquarters and at meetings?

5. Are speakers and entertainers employed who are frequently associated with other Communist fronts or with the Communist Party or its press?

6. Are facilities used in common with the Communist Party or its front organizations (printers—see printer's union label, mimeograph services, addressing, stationers, picnic grounds, accountants, real-estate agents, doctors, lawyers, artists, promotion agents, public-relations counselors, radio commentators, etc.). Accountants especially can be instrumental in enabling the Communist Party to keep careful track of the organization's finances and activities.

7. Great care should be taken in determining the character of those who actually run the organization ignoring such figureheads as the honorary chairman. What is the loyalty record of the executive secretary, of resident and functioning members of the executive committee, members of the staff, the organization secretary, educational director, editor, etc.?

8. Does the organization, and especially its official organ, follow the Communist Party line on issues and campaigns publicized in the Daily Worker? Does it invariably support and defend the Soviet Union? Does it adhere to its avowed purpose or inject issues of the above character?

9. Does the organization cooperate with other fronts and with the Communist Party in election campaigns, May Day parades, peace campaigns, petitions, tag days, and other projects promoted in the Daily Worker?

10. Does the organization cooperate with Communist-controlled unions?

11. Does the organization furnish direct or indirect revenue to the Communist Party, its publications, its fronts or establishments through orders for printing, stationery, advertisements, donations, and services of various kinds?

12. Is the organization repudiated as Communist-controlled by such outstanding organizations as the American Federation of Labor,

the American Legion, or its own former constituents? What is its history? How long has it existed?

13. Does it furnish regular financial statements issued by well-known and reliable public accountants?

14. Is the organization actually controlled by its membership or by an outside Communist clique or group?

15. Does it interchange mailing lists with the Communist Party, its front organizations, or its publications?

It would be well for alert Americans to be aware of the tricks employed by Communist fronts when faced with the threat of exposure or prosecution. We list some of these which have previously been employed.

1. After lengthy and arduous investigation, the front will suddenly change its name so that the job will have to be done all over again. Front organizations change their names from time to time and are variously labeled in different cities and neighborhoods. Sometimes fronts will merge to avoid exposure or prosecution. At times they have been known to assume a name similar to some well-known and respectable organization. An example is the Methodist Federation for Social Action which has no official connection with the Methodist Church. Another is the now defunct A. F. of L. trade-union committee for unemployment insurance which was forced to desist from using this name as the result of an order secured by the American Federation of Labor before the Federal Trade Commission. By way of illustrating the various guises assumed, the following Communist fronts were active in the recent peace offensive after World War II: American Peace Appeal, American Peace Crusade, American People's Congress and Exposition for Peace, American Students Repudiate Aggression in Korea, American Youth Peace Crusade, East Harlem Women for Peace, Young People's General Assembly for Peace, Committee for Peaceful Alternatives, Maryland Committee for Peace, Minute Women for Peace, Irving Peace Theater, National Assembly Against UMT, Mid-Century Conference for Peace, National Delegates Assembly for Peace, National Committee To Win the Peace, New York Peace Institute, Peace Information Center, Veterans for Peace, World Peace Congress, etc. New names are constantly cropping up.

2. The names of prominent citizens who have been duped into the organization who are usually inactive and unaware of what is going on, will be cited as proof of the organization's respectability.

3. Individuals who expose the character of Communist fronts will be threatened with libel suits, smears, physical assault, blackmail, and ouster from official positions. Legal advice is always valuable as a safeguard.

4. The organization will claim a membership which cannot be accurately verified.

5. Communist fronts, when identified as such, will immediately and vigorously deny the charge.

6. A favorite device is to arrange for the defense of the particular front by a non-Communist publication. For example, when the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was exposed as a front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, it was defended in

the Harvard Law Review by Walter Gellhorn, of Columbia Law School.⁴

7. Ofttimes, after a Communist front has been successfully launched by a provisional committee, a new committee, will be substituted to conceal the origin of the organization.

8. A favorite Communist gambit is the claim that since an individual belonged to a given front organization *prior* to its citation as such by the Attorney General, the individual should not be held responsible. This asks us to ignore the fact that a front organization is by definition subversive and, except in the very few cases where organizations originally formed by non-Communist forces were taken over by the Communists thereafter, all front organizations were subversive from their inception. The important date is not when the organization was cited, for its subversive character does not date from the day of its listing by the Attorney General.

9. Recently there has developed a tendency to decry references to defunct organizations. This is unrealistic because the fact of membership in an organization which was subversive loses none of its evidentiary value when the organization goes out of existence. No information about a live and active conspirator should be considered as dead or irrelevant. (It should be pointed out in this connection that in the early 1940's Alger Hiss was listed in congressional files as a member of the national committee of the *defunct* International Juridical Association. There were no other front associations for this man at the time. This Communist link was ignored by the State Department and Alger Hiss was left to conduct his nefarious activities until 1948 when Whitaker Chambers appeared on the witness stand.)

WITHIN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The CPUSA is the only party which coordinates its activity in the political field with its activity in the trade unions. In other words, while political parties place their reliance upon voting strength, the CPUSA seeks support in the field of industry through the trade unions. Every base established by the Communists in our unions is in fact a Soviet bridgehead within our own economy. A strike organized by a small Communist minority in a vital industry can have a more far-reaching effect than a vote of the majority of the population. In his book, *Toward Soviet America*, William Z. Foster has frankly set down some of the principles which guide the CPUSA in this process of penetration of American labor.

1. "Its principle is to make every shop a fortress for communism" (p. 254). This aim must be kept in mind in sharp contrast with that of the average American trade unionist whose primary desire is better wages and working conditions.

⁴ Mr. Gellhorn wrote the committee on January 17, 1956, as follows:
"As author of the article in question, I specifically disclaimed the purpose 'to serve in the role of defense counsel, as it were, for the Southern Conference. He [that is, the author] is not connected with the conference, has no authorization to speak for it, and has access to no special body of knowledge about its activities.' And again, at the end of the article, I stated: 'At the very outset of this discussion the author disclaimed any intent to appraise the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. What we have sought to appraise is the report of the committee which denounced the conference.' In the face of these specific statements, coupled with the whole tenor of the Harvard Law Review article, the implication of the quoted Handbook statement is clearly inexact in fact and unfair to me in effect. The fact of the matter is that neither the Southern Conference for Human Welfare nor anyone else induced my writing of the article to which reference is made. The article was motivated solely by my own sincere conviction that the methods of the House committee at that time (1947) deserved scholarly analysis."

2. "It concentrates its work upon the heavy industries and those of a war character" (ibid.). In its magazine, the Communist, for February 1934, the CPUSA, quoting a decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, outlines what such concentration entails:

Communists must * * * concentrate their forces in each country, at the vital parts of the war machine of imperialism * * * Communist Parties must by all means in their power ensure the practical organization of mass action (increasing the work among railwaymen, seamen and harbor workers, preventing the shipping of arms and troops, hindering the execution of orders for belligerent countries * * *) * * *

During the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, the Communists carried out these mandates by fomenting strikes through unions under their control in North American Aviation of California; the Allis-Chalmers of Wisconsin, engaged in important manufacturing equipment for the Navy; and in various arms and ammunition plants in Connecticut. During the Korean war, the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, also Communist controlled, conducted a strike which tied up the major part of the copper industry.

3. Joseph Zack Kornfeder (known in the Communist Party as Joseph Zack), former national trade-union secretary of the CPUSA, has testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on September 30, 1939, as follows:

Mr. WHITLEY. Does the Communist Party use its connections with the trade unions of the various industries for the purpose of carrying on espionage activities? * * *

Mr. ZACK. The Soviet Government will utilize its American organization for whatever purpose they find convenient * * * there are secret organizations that manage to pick out individuals out of the ranks of the Communist Party to use for that purpose.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of any specific instances in which they have used their trade-union connection to obtain industrial secrets?

Mr. ZACK. Yes. While I was in charge of the Trade Union Unity League I was once asked to supply an engineer, a chemist * * * I was asked to do that by Max Bedacht, who was then in charge of this phase of their secret activity.

Testimony of Rear Adm. Adolphus Staton, retired, before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on March 2, 1954, dealt with Public Law No. 351 involving radio operators in the Communist-controlled American Communications Association during World War II. In the course of this testimony, the minutes of a meeting held in the office of Secretary of Navy Frank Knox on May 19, 1942, were incorporated into the record from which we quote relevant portions:

Admiral (S. C.) Hooper then stressed the danger of Communist Party cells in the transportation and communication industries and in the armed services, and how the Communist Party was striving with all its power to establish such cells * * *. The contributory effect of foreign cells in a country's system of communication was amply demonstrated in the fall of Norway and of France, stated Admiral Hooper, giving details of each.

* * * He emphasized the particular danger of a cell among radio operators and brought out the example of the Spanish Fleet at the very start of the 1937 revolution, when some 700 officers were murdered by the Communist Party cells in the fleet because of the fact that the radio operators delivered the announcement of the Communist revolution to their comrades rather than to the responsible ship's officers. * * *

Admiral Hooper further stated that * * * the American Communications Association was Communist Party controlled and the nucleus of the Communist Party cell in United States communications. * * *

Marcel Scherer, a founder, International vice president, and national organization director of the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians, later business manager of local 1227 of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers and international representative and educational director of District 4 of the UEMWA, who admitted under oath his part in organizing a local union at the atomic radiation laboratory of the University of California in 1942 or 1943, has been identified in sworn testimony as a former student at the Lenin School in Moscow. Here training was given in the "science of civil warfare, revolutionary uprising," "sabotage," and similar matters. Sworn testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities shows that he was in contact with Clarence Francis Hiskey and Steve Nelson, both involved in atomic espionage.

4. American workers owe a great deal to the fact that labor and management have become convinced, through long experience, of their interlocking interests and the need for cooperative and friendly relations. In his work, *Toward Soviet America*, Foster makes clear in the following passage that the Communists are determined to disrupt this relationship, cost what it may, that their demands can never be satisfied:

The capitalists and the workers are class enemies, with mutually hostile interests. * * * Communist action is based upon the slogan of "Class Against Class"; that is, the working class against the capitalist class (p. 252).

Stability in industry and in our society as a whole has been built up over the years through a system of collective bargaining, which is an anathema to the Communists according to the First International Congress of Revolutionary and Industrial Unions in Moscow in 1921:

The belief in the sanctity of collective bargaining * * * must be met with a resolute and decided resistance on the part of the revolutionary trade union movement. The revolutionary trade unions * * * must realize their (contracts) relative value and clearly define methods which will abolish these contracts when it proves to be profitable to the working class.

5. American labor looks upon our Government with devotion and respect. It is the object of the Communists, however, to pit the forces of labor against the American Government as indicated by Foster's statement from the same work that "the aim always is for the workers to lead and for the attack to be directed against the capitalist class and its government" (p. 253). The *Labor Fact Book for 1931* published by the International Publishers, a Communist publishing house, gives some idea of how this is done:

The Communist Party and the Trade Union Unity League call for persistent and repeated mass violations of injunctions as the only way to compel the courts to limit the use of the injunction weapon against the workers. A campaign of mass violation was begun in New York City in October, 1930 * * * (p. 154).

Clashes with the police are encouraged, as exemplified by the following account from the *Daily Worker* of May 31, 1937, pages 1 and 3:

Chicago police kill 4 pickets, 100 wounded at Republic Steel. * * * Chicago Communist Party urges citywide protest denouncing the blood bath at Republic Steel plant as one of the worst police outrages in recent history. Morris Childs, secretary of the Communist Party, called all workers to join * * * in citywide protest.

6. Labor has learned to voice its demands through its chosen leaders. Employers and Government officials endeavor to establish

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stability in industry through negotiations with these officials. But William Z. Foster, in the name of the CPUSA, has sworn undying enmity toward these labor leaders in the following explicit terms;

"They are enemies within the gates of the working class and must be treated as such. They head the labor movement only in order to behead it. They are a menace and an obstacle to all struggle by the workers. * * * They must be politically obliterated" (ibid, p. 256).

7. Although labor organizations in the United States have fraternal ties with foreign labor groups, they do not operate under foreign discipline. Communists do not possess such freedom. This has been demonstrated by William Z. Foster in his description of the Trade Union Unity League (TUUL), at one time the labor auxiliary of the CPUSA:

The TUUL is the American section of the Red International of Labor Unions. * * * Its relations towards the Communist Party are those of mutual support and cooperation in the struggle * * * (ibid., p. 258).

The 1931 Labor Fact Book points out that "the Red International of Labor Unions was organized in July 1921 at a Moscow congress * * *" and that this international body aims "To coordinate and regulate the struggle of the working class in all countries * * *" (p. 212). As a result there have been cases of international coordination of strikes and organization of Communist-led unions in the copper, maritime, sugar, and other industries.

In 1945 the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) was organized with the Communists in control, replacing the Red International of Labor Unions. In his book, The History of the Communist Party of the United States, William Z. Foster points out that—

The powerful unifying tendency of the WFTU was also felt in the United States" (p. 477).

and that the Communists supported this movement. It was repudiated as Communist-dominated by both the AFL and CIO. Foster adds:

The Communists also have always been indefatigable workers for trade union unity. * * * They have ever sought to link up the labor movement of the United States with that of other countries. In late years this has meant active backing of such organizations as the Latin American Confederation of Labor and the World Federation of Trade Unions (p. 561).

Communist unions have, however, made no formal or open affiliation with the WFTU.

American labor has based its demands purely on the basis of its economic and social needs with due consideration to national emergencies during wartime. Flowing from their international ties and discipline, Communist-dominated unions and labor groups have adapted their policies strictly to the exigencies and need of Soviet diplomacy and interests. During the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact from 1939 to 1941, strikes were encouraged by Communist-dominated unions in vital war industries. As soon as Russia became an ally after Hitler's attack, a no-strike policy was adopted by Communist-dominated unions. Labor Fact Book 7 praised the no-strike policy of our national trade unions during this period (p. 112).

After the end of World War II, the Soviet Union readopted its policy of hostility toward the United States, and Communist unions in the United States reinvoked a vigorous prostrike policy.

8. Members of Communist-dominated unions have testified that the finances of these organizations are frequently siphoned off for Communist causes, front organizations, campaigns, and publications. Communist officials are placed on the union payroll. Union services are placed in the hands of Communist lawyers, accountants, printers, mimeographers, and meeting-hall managers.

COMMUNIST-CONTROLLED UNIONS

Unions expelled by the Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1950 because they were held to be directed toward the achievement of the program and purposes of the Communist Party: United Office and Professional Workers of America; Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers of America; International Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards; American Communications Association; International Fur and Leather Workers Union; International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; United Public Workers of America; United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America; United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers of America; International Fishermen and Allied Workers of America.

CONCLUSION

In issuing this handbook for Americans showing the operations of the Communist Party, USA, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee hopes to help alert the American people to the real nature of the enemy in our midst and the insidious character of the methods employed. The principles set down are intended as a guide rather than a set of hard and fast rules to be mechanically applied. We must realize that we are dealing with a movement which is constantly fluid, constantly varied and elusive. There can be no artificial substitute for constant intelligence and alertness.

