

THE PROBLEM OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM IN 1945

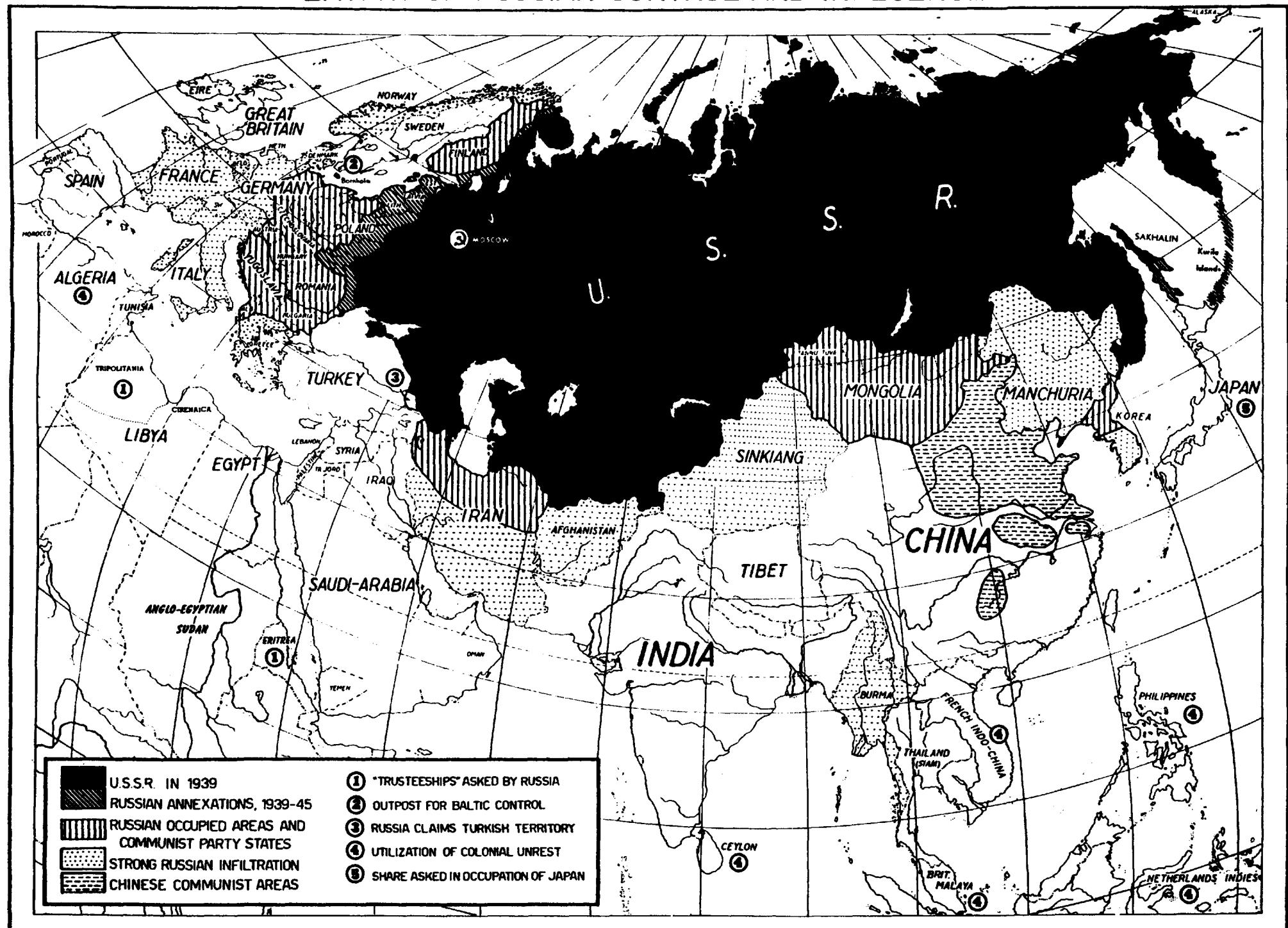
Facts and Recommendations

By

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A Confidential Study for Private Circulation

EXTENT OF RUSSIAN CONTROL AND INFLUENCE



INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

This is a confidential survey of the problem of American Communism. At the outset it is important to note the restrictions which must necessarily govern the use of this Report. The writer faced the choice between a more general study which might be used extensively, and a detailed analysis which names names. The latter alternative was chosen as being the more valuable to the sponsors of the survey. Accordingly, instead of confining the reporting to material which is generally available to the public, the author used accurate but confidential sources. The usefulness of these sources would cease if their names and positions were revealed. This is particularly true when the ultimate source is a well-placed member of the Communist Party.

Because of the accuracy of the sources, it is often possible to name definitely as Communists individuals who would publicly deny their affiliation. The publication of such names would certainly lead to a challenge to produce proof and possibly to a libel suit. Since this writer has solemnly pledged not to reveal confidential sources---an indispensable condition for obtaining information---he would not be in a position to aid any individual who is thus challenged or sued. Because of this, it is recommended in Chapter V that a modified version of this Report be prepared for limited distribution. This edition would be carefully examined to prevent any possibility of the dangers just noted.

The use of confidential sources brings up another problem. How are the readers of this Report to be sure that the investigator was not deceived in his reliance upon certain types of material? Certainly in this field the opportunity to deceive the incautious would be great. Accordingly, as an added check upon the accuracy of this Report, advance copies are to be sent to certain of the group sponsoring the work, where it is known that these sponsors can have it verified by well-informed individuals.

Finally, the nature of this work prevents the author from expressing his thanks in an adequate manner to those who contributed so greatly to the final result. All that can be said is that the devoted few have the deepest gratitude of this investigator for their service to God and country. Great credit must be given to those who prepared so carefully the answers to the questionnaires sent out last December. The answers were factual and accurate, and contributed in a definite way to the contents of this Report. In certain cases, further information was sent regularly in the course of the present year. All this is appreciated, even though thanks are expressed in a general rather than a specific manner.

As a final introductory observation, it must be noted that the investigation was confined strictly to the subject assigned. As a result, an unavoidable distortion of perspective occurred. As an example, in many of the foreign-language fields, Communist-controlled organizations were singled out. No mention was made of non-Communist groups in the same community. Again, while the menace of Communism was stressed, it was not the duty of this writer to note other situations which may be equally menacing. Thus, if widespread unemployment were to prevail in this country within the next ten years, it is possible that some demagogic group other than the Communists might exploit the situation. At this moment, the so-called "hate organizations," many of them anti-Catholic, are not well

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organized or closely federated. But they represent a potential threat. Finally, as was noted by Pope Pius XI in several of his social encyclicals, the many social tensions and injustices which have not been eradicated from modern life constitute real problems. An instance of this would be the substandard life of the Negro population, and this not necessarily in the South, since conditions in many Northern cities are pitiful. Because of the great complexity of the troubles which beset America, the writer has attempted to introduce elements of evaluation and perspective, in addition to factual reporting. This will be particularly the case in the summary which follows.

Summary of the Report. The first chapter of the Report sets a tone for the rest. There it is noted that American Communism is primarily a menace because it is a branch of world Communism. The American Party is a slavish tool of Soviet imperialism. To document this thesis, it was first shown that the Party implicitly follows the Moscow line, and secondly that it has special front organizations and a controlled press to influence the American public towards the Soviet point of view. Thus, in the cases of Poland and the Baltic States, the Balkans, Western Europe, South America, the Near East, and Asia, there are organized campaigns to deceive the American public. The maximum objective is support for the Communist program, and the minimum is the creation of confusion and uncertainty, and a consequent weakening of American foreign policy. As a result, there is a real danger that Communism may be imposed by force of arms over extensive and heavily populated areas. It is evident that the Soviet aim is enforced Communism in most of Europe and Asia, with the rest of the world weakened by propaganda and domestic fifth columns. This point is summarized on page 15.

The second chapter treats of the organization and functioning of the American Communist Party. A distinction is made between Communists, fellow-travelers, opportunists, and dupes. National Communist strength is given as 75,000 members, and a breakdown of important concentrations by dioceses is given on page 18. There follows a brief study of the Communist press and the current Party Line. The technique of the front organization is analyzed. Finally, specific front organizations and programs among the foreign-born, the Negro, the Jews, youth, and miscellaneous groups are treated. A brief summary is offered on page 30.

Chapter III deals with the Communist infiltration of the labor movement. The Party's aims and tactics are first discussed, and then the degree of penetration within the American Federation of Labor is noted. Next a more extensive study of Communism within the Congress of Industrial Organizations is given. Special attention is paid to the Political Action Committee, C.I.O. and the World Federation of Trade Unions. The chapter concludes with a breakdown of the members unions of the C.I.O. in terms of Communist influence. This analysis, on pages 43 and following, led to startling conclusions. The extent of infiltration and control was greater than this writer had previously realized.

In Chapter IV, some of the remaining Communist activities were discussed. It was stated that Communists are as opposed to religion as they always were, but that in the United States, attacks are usually made through

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front organizations rather than directly. Stalin is using the Russian Orthodox Church as a front for his Pan-Slav policies. Next the infiltration of Communism in government was treated. Unfortunately this phase of the study could not be done adequately, because Communists in government have been driven underground by the Hatch Act and the Committee on Un-American Activities. It is reliably reported that they do not even meet in Washington. Their only liaison with the Party is through their home units. Accurate information on Communism in government is available, but this investigator was unsuccessful in efforts to secure access to it. Rather than use inaccurate material, only a brief treatment of infiltration in government and in the Army is offered. The same difficulty prevented a lengthy discussion of Communism in what might be called the "public opinion" field. Scattered facts are given about Communism in the press and publishing business, among teachers, motion picture and radio performers and writers, and the like. Thus, such a conservative publication as the New York Herald Tribune has pro-Soviet Joseph Barnes as foreign editor, Bert Andrews as chief of the Washington Bureau, and many Communist sympathizers among the book reviewers. It is difficult to purchase anti-Soviet books in Brentano's and Macy's. Perhaps these scattered items will fit together more coherently when the activities of the front group, the Independent Citizens' Committee on Arts, Sciences, and Professions, brings Communist sympathizers into the open.

The treatment of Hollywood presents a different problem. Here the writer had an abundance of material compiled with great diligence. Adequate presentation of these sources would have required a separate chapter. Furthermore, the problems of Hollywood are so unique that perspective and insight could be acquired only by a lengthy on-the-spot study. Time was lacking for such an inquiry, particularly when the publication of the Duclos article and the consequent reversal of Communist policy made obsolete much of the material gathered during the first six months of the investigation and forced a renewed study of other fields.

The key section to much of Chapter IV is the discussion of liberals on pages 52-55. The same subject is treated with great discrimination by Eugene Lyons in the Red Decade. Without the aid of the liberal dupe or fellow traveler, much of the important Communist front activity would be impossible. Some liberals seem to be impervious to any kind of Soviet cruelty. Lyons notes their indifference towards Soviet mistreatment of the Russian people, and recently they have been equally complacent about the police regimes of Eastern and Southern Europe. Such are the effects of the pragmatism which has pervaded so much of American thinking.

The final chapter consists of recommendations for a positive program. As a counter to Communist propaganda, certain sources are suggested for direct, factual telling of the story of Soviet imperialism and its American ally. It is also recommended that a revised version of this Report be prepared for priests, and that semiannual reports be given to the Bishops, these reports to deal with trends and developments. A continuing, full-time investigation was deemed inadvisable. The bulk of the recommendations were positive, on the theory that the best defense is an attack. The attack would consist of efforts to promote a positive, complete, religious program for the 100 million who have little formal religious faith, as suggested by Fr. Keller, M.M. It would also be an elaborate program for

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educating the clergy and laity in the social teaching of the Church, and the formation of diocesan social action groups. The various departments of the N.C.W.C. --- Social Action; Education; Youth; Lay Organizations; and Press --- might well co-operate in working out the details of this program. The detailed steps for the first year or two are summarized at the end of the chapter. This is not a summary of the entire chapter, however, as many long-range programs and other problems are studied there.

The Appendix material deserves careful study. It was placed at the end, not because it is unimportant, but merely to keep the body of the Report from becoming too long. Appendix I includes the important details about Communist and anti-Communist literature. Appendix II contains the Constitutions of the Communist Party, its latest annual financial statement, the list of officers on its important national boards, and the lists of delegates and visitors at its 1945 Convention. It might be noted that not all the names listed are publicly known as members of the Party. As is noted in the body of the Report, these lists were obtained from confidential sources close to the secret squads of the New York Police Department. There follows in Appendix III the pertinent data about the more important front organizations. A study of these groups gives some indications of the ramifications of Communist activity. Finally, in Appendix IV, the supporting data for the conclusions on labor are included. Some of the more important Communist or fellow traveler labor leaders are likewise listed. No further appendix material is planned at this writing, but if important information is received in time for inclusion, it will be inserted as Appendix V.

A Report of this nature would be incomplete without a detailed index. Such an index is planned, but cannot be completed in time for inclusion in the present copy. It will be mailed subsequently to all persons receiving the Report. There will be an index of subjects, of names, and of organizations and publications. The delay is unavoidable, since the drastic change in Communist policy last August held up compilation of this Report.

Once again the writer wishes to express his gratitude to those who aided in the investigation. Without such generous help, the results achieved would have been meager and clouded by uncertainty. Such accuracy and detail as this Report achieves must be credited largely to the unnamed but generous persons who gave of time and ability in this cause.

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CHAPTER I

WORLD COMMUNISM AND THE UNITED STATES

In the war so recently concluded, much stress was laid by commentators on the distinction between strategy and tactics. Strategy involves long-range, overall considerations. Tactics are rather matters of short-range planning. In case of conflict, strategic interests are supposed to prevail over tactical advantages. Tempting immediate gains must be foregone if they will interfere with the master plan. Such an approach leads to orderly campaigns and well-planned wars.

The struggle for world communism must be judged in the same light. It is an organized campaign of warfare, led in a manner which is always unscrupulous and often brilliant. Behind this campaign is a series of plans. Most of them emanate from and center about the Soviet Union. They envision the strengthening and glorification of Soviet communism as a step towards world communism. These plans form the strategy of the Communist struggle. Tactics will vary from time to time, and from country to country.

Even a casual study of American Communism will show a close inter-relation between the needs of the Soviet Union and American policies. Thus, when the American Party was founded in 1919, the U.S.S.R. was invaded by Allied forces hostile to Bolshevism. To counter this move, the American Party began on an openly violent and revolutionary level. But in 1921, and lasting until 1928, the U.S.S.R. beat a temporary retreat. The New Economic Policy called for co-operation with capitalism. Accordingly, Communism here embarked upon a "united front" and "boring-from-within" program. When in 1928, Stalin turned the helm violently leftward, his American cohorts preached a new revolutionary upsurge. This lasted until 1935, when the menacing shadow of Nazism clouded Russia's Western sky. Now the American line became Anti-Nazi in its foreign aspect, and united front in its domestic aspect. From this approach sprang the attempts to infiltrate labor and government, attempts which were to cause such bitter controversies over the New Deal and the C.I.O. Then, in August 1939, came the bombshell of the Hitler-Stalin pact. Most American Communists clung staunchly to the Party, although a few Stalinists and most liberal fellow-travelers left in disgust. The ensuing World War was denounced as imperialist, and the notorious Allis-Chalmers and North American strikes resulted. Communists became uneasy bedfellows with the Bundists so recently denounced, as both chanted the theme: "The Yanks Are Not Coming."

When Hitler invaded Russia in June, 1941, American Communists entered upon an unabashed reversal of policy. The imperialist war became a holy crusade. The United States was urged to enter, and then to embark upon a Second Front, no matter how sanguinary would be such an ill-prepared expedition. In the interests of all-out war production (for Russia), Communists forgot the rights of the worker and of the Negro. They became most vocal for the no-strike pledge, for incentive plans, and for other measures to speed production. They neglected union grievance procedure and were lukewarm in pushing the cause of the Negro.

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Once again the Line was to change with dramatic suddenness. The anticipated end of the European War and death of President Roosevelt called for another reversal of policy. Soviet imperialism was now on the loose. The American Party was called upon to support this enforced "democratization" of Europe and Asia, while denouncing American and British interference as "imperialism". The famous article by Duclos, a member of the executive board of the "dissolved" Comintern, was the signal to oust Browder and embark upon a new line. The details of the new program will be presented in the following chapter.

Insistence that the American Communist Party blindly and cravenly follows the policies of the Soviet Union may seem to stress the obvious. But the obvious was not too clear to American public opinion in recent years. West Coast industrialists and such sane radio commentators as Quincy Howe eulogized Communist labor leaders for their patriotism. Soviet military successes were leading to blind adulation of communism. Hence it is important to state and to prove that the one loyalty of the Communist is directed towards the Soviet Union.

An interesting current confirmation of this statement is found in the twelve page article on "Patriotism" by N. Baltisky in the October 1945 Political Affairs. In this article, the writer asserts that the Communist should support war waged by his own country only if the Party judges it to be just. "In no country do the intelligent workers, or progressive peasants or intellectuals, deny their solidarity with the Soviet Union." (p. 953) "Anti-Soviet tendencies are incompatible with patriotic convictions." (p. 954) The implication is clear. If national policies oppose Soviet policies, the true patriot will follow the latter. Such are the sentiments expressed in the official theoretical organ of American Communism.

In the National Plenum of the Communist Political Association, held on March 10-12, 1945, Isreal Amter made repeated references to the International Communist movement, showing definitely that the dissolution of the Comintern was merely nominal. In his speech, he stressed Communist infiltration into the countries which were liberated by the Red armies and organized under the supervision of Soviet authorities. He stressed Ercoli's (Togliatti's) initiative in raising an Italian Army. He noted that Communists aided united front groups in similar undertakings elsewhere. His conclusion was that "After the war, the Soviet Union will emerge as the greatest and strongest country in the world and the influence of the U.S.S.R. will be tremendous. The same is true for the Communist movement. We will be in a position to influence many national governments and we will control large masses of people. We will have a say in the national armed forces the outlook for the future is quite good from our point of view." (Source: confidential informant close to U. S. Army)

From the same reliable source it is known that the Central Committee of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union ordered the change of line predicated upon the Duclos article. The change was to be gradual, but premature publication by the New York World Telegram forced immediate action. Browder's resistance to this change led to his ouster and disgrace. The new line adopted in the July Convention was first approved by the Central Committee in the Soviet Union. Accordingly, it is clear that the present policy is

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one of complete subservience to the Comintern. Browder occasionally tried to hew an independent line. Such deviations were tolerated during the War; but the postwar reaction was swift and final.

It is only in this perspective that American Communism becomes completely intelligible. American Party policies can be explained best in the light of Soviet foreign policy. Thus, we might divide American Communism into four broad spheres of action: general propaganda; infiltration of foreign language groups; infiltration of minority groups; and infiltration of the labor movement. In the first three spheres, the normal procedure is to set up front groups and attract followers into these organizations. These groups can then collect funds, indoctrinate members, and propagandize the general public. They can also bring pressure to bear upon government. In the case of labor, the procedure is rather to seize existing organizations, attempt to divert their funds into front groups, and use their prestige for propaganda purposes. As a secondary program, labor itself is indoctrinated and some few converts are won.

It is of the highest importance that this orientation of Communism be realized. Otherwise, neither the menace of Communism nor the antidote to this menace will be fully understood. We might fall into the pitfall of concentrating upon a tactical phase of Communism and overlooking the strategic pattern. Thus, for example, it is often said that Communists do nothing more than preach the social justice which we should be stressing more sanely and more intelligently. This statement contains much truth, but not the whole truth. During the recent War the Communists dropped completely their program of social justice. Such alert Catholic publications as the Wage Earner, America, and the Labor Leader refused to call them leftists during this period, since their Line was to the right of the National Association of Manufacturers. Yet never was their prestige or propaganda influence upon the public higher. They lost some followers from labor and Negro groups, but they gained among liberals, publicists, and intellectuals. Their front organizations and pressure groups waxed strong and prosperous. They came critically close to swaying public opinion and government policy to their Line in regard to China and Eastern Europe. Accordingly, it seems more correct to consider Communism as a disciplined organized movement, seeking primarily to foster Soviet policies, and using social justice as an incidental tactic.

This pattern of Communist power will become clearer as the Party apparatus is studied in detail in subsequent chapters. As a preliminary step, however, it will be useful to give a brief summary of the trends of Soviet imperialism. Most of this material was not carried in the general American press. The Catholic press carried more articles on the subject, particularly in regard to Poland. The New York Times gave the subject good coverage, while Time was fair. Scattered articles appeared in the Readers' Digest. The best single source on the new totalitarianism is the Social Democrat publication, the New Leader. Indeed, the writer would respectfully suggest that editors, priests, and others interested in following World Communism should subscribe to this valuable source of information. (Weekly: \$3.00 per year; 7 East 15th St., New York 3, N.Y.)

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Soviet Imperialism.

U. S. S. R. and U. S. A. As this report is being written, the failure of the London Conference of Foreign Ministers dramatizes the great differences which have arisen between the Soviet Union and its allies. The failure of the Conference came as a shock only because Communist propaganda had successfully conditioned the American public into believing that all was well behind the "iron curtain" in Europe. Readers of the publications noted above would hardly be surprised at the denouement. As a result, a sharp divergence between Eastern Europe and the Western World is now apparent to all. It would be hazardous to speculate upon the ultimate result of this conflict. Best-informed government opinion expects increasing crises and an eventual showdown when one group or other must yield. During this period, American Communists will act as a Soviet fifth column. Already they are denouncing their own government in bitter language.

At the present moment, the Western democracies enjoy a military edge because of mastery of atomic energy. Apparently, according to President Truman's recent speech, the uniqueness of our position is not so much possession of a formula, but rather the acquisition of the industrial resources and "know-how" needed to exploit a formula which may be known to other powers. General Arnold hints of aviation developments which surpass those known to other nations. In the light of this information, we might well ponder the statement made by the former Soviet official, Victor Kravchenko, in the October 1945 American Mercury. There he writes of a document presented to Soviet officials in America. "It was in effect a detailed set of instructions on the kind of military and economic data about the United States we must look for, how to gather it, how to cover our traces. Although in general it merely reiterated instructions given to me, and to all others, before we left Russia, it was obviously intended as a refresher course and as a reminder." (pp. 455-456)

If such is the situation as described by a former Soviet official, and confirmed by others such as Alexander Barmine, it is not pleasant to contemplate serious differences between the U. S. A. and the U.S.S.R. If Soviet consulates throughout the land are to be reinforced by listening posts manned by representatives of the "democratic" nations of Eastern and Southern Europe, opportunities for observation and propaganda will be multiplied. One might even wonder if there is some connection between these facts and the sudden discovery by the Daily Worker on October 3, 1945 that Soviet scientists have been working almost exclusively on atomic energy since 1930. Speculation on such subjects would be useless. Revelation of facts is the task of those whose business it is to safeguard national security against potential enemies. In this connection, it must be noted that Kravchenko made no mention of a connection between Soviet diplomats and American Communists. Actually contacts between top Communist leaders and top Soviet diplomats are rare and extremely indirect. In this country at least, the Comintern does not ordinarily use top diplomatic channels.

It is a matter of public record that in conflicts of policy between the Soviet Union and the United States, the interests of the former prevail with American Communists. A compilation of the reactions on the part of the Daily Worker, front groups, and controlled unions to such conflicts would be an interesting study. Informants who attended the National and New York

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State Communist Conventions this year noted how open were the expressions of primary loyalty to the Soviet Union. One might legitimately be concerned that such persons are assiduously cultivating American scientists and selling them the glories of the Soviet Union. Particularly dangerous is the "joining record" of Professor Harold Urey, heavy water expert and consultant on the atomic bomb project. Also notable is the solicitude for such scientists expressed by the Daily Worker, which complains that they are under constant surveillance by internal security agents of the United States government. One wonders how the strike situation would be in the event of a conflict between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

The Trend of Soviet Imperialism. The use of the title "Soviet Imperialism" might appear to be name calling and prejudging. Certainly it would not become us to degenerate into the Communist habit of "smearing". Nevertheless, the case against the Soviet Union is so strong that there is no problem of proving the thesis. Rather the difficulty is one of selection and compression. It might be useful, accordingly, to paint a broad picture before going into details country by country.

At the time of writing, Russian expansion in Europe has reached its current height and at the moment is ebbing slightly. In the course of this drive, the Soviets have absorbed Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. They have installed puppet governments in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, and Yugoslavia. They have seriously infiltrated governments in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria, Finland, and Soviet Germany. Their influence is great in Italy, France, and possibly Belgium and the Netherlands. At the moment they are agitating through front groups for the overthrow of the governments of Spain and Portugal, although a non-Communist group is also making a serious claim for control of Spain. Only Britain, Sweden, Norway, and Anglo-American controlled Germany, among the major nations, enjoy relative freedom from control.

Not content with a hegemony over most of Europe, the Soviet Union is agitating for colonies in Africa, joint control of the Dardanelles, and control over Iran. In Asia, Russia controls Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang and by virtue of the treaty with China exercises a virtual condominium over Manchuria. The U.S.S.R. is agitating for joint control over Japan. Communists are fostering the independence movement among colonial peoples in Asia, particularly India. This does not mean, of course, that the independence movement is either Communist inspired or dominated, but merely that they seek to use it for their own purposes. In China, the Communists are making a temporary retreat, but only because the War's end has released Nationalist troops and because of the firm stand by the United States. But only a year ago, Communist propaganda had come within a hair's breadth of orientating American policy towards the Yenan government.

Such is the march of what the Soviets euphemistically term "democracy." In many cases it was in direct violation of Armistice terms which called for joint Allied administration of conquered lands. Instead Allied control commissions were virtual prisoners behind the iron curtain. For many months a news blackout was enforced, long after the fighting ceased. A few resourceful correspondents, such as C. L. Sulzberger of the New York Times and various writers from Time and the New Leader, did get the facts from diplomatic and

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underground sources, but the silence of most of the American press permitted the Communist propaganda machine to work virtually unhindered. Recently correspondents have been permitted into Eastern Europe, but all dispatches are censored through Moscow. The return in October 1945 of the Congressional Committee touring Europe has also cast light upon the new Dark Continent.

Future developments might be watched in the light of the technique used by the Communists. Where the Red Army had not penetrated, domestic Communists have conspired for power. Israel Amter notes in the speech quoted earlier: "Another point which adds strength to this movement is the creation of new labor and political parties under the leadership of Communists... We organized new parties in agreement with Socialists and many other political groups of labor. Thus, we enlarged many fold the membership of our new political grouping. Our leadership and our membership within the newly organized parties everywhere remained a concentrated unit and, in this way, we are always in a position to lead any political party in desired directions."

Thus, we see a program of encirclement and aggression fully as ambitious as that envisioned by the Axis. If the United States was sufficiently concerned over the injustice and tyranny of Hitler to risk war in aiding England, it is difficult to be indifferent to similar programs by the U.S.S.R. Statement of these facts is not war mongering. And in the light of these facts, it is hardly alarmism to classify the American Communist Party and its brood of fronts as a potential fifth column.

The Baltic States and Poland. In proceeding to a detailed study of Soviet imperialism, we note two recurring points. First there is the control or infiltration of the nation concerned. Secondly, there is a propaganda campaign within the United States to justify the existing situation. In this propaganda field, yeoman work is done by the controlled foreign language press and press services in the United States. A brief outline of this technique is given in Appendix I. Again, the normal pattern is to organize front groups for the joint purpose of influencing American immigrants or descendants of nationals of the country concerned, and also the general public and the government. Most of these front groups will be noted in this chapter, and some will be listed at greater length in Appendix III.

The best brief treatment of the Baltic states is found in a special supplement to the New Leader, April 14, 1945. More detailed bibliographies can be obtained from the Lithuanian American Information Center, 233 Broadway, New York 7. The Baltic states were conquered by Russia in 1710 and 1795, but they never lost their desire for independence. They tried to achieve this freedom in 1917, but were repressed by the Bolsheviks. After military resistance, they achieved independence in the Treaty of Riga in 1921. This was lost in 1940, when Soviet troops established puppet governments, later confirmed by "free" elections. With extraordinary prescience, the Soviet news agency in London announced the results in percentage terms (99.2, 97.6, and 92.9%) twenty-four hours before the polls closed. This vote was later interpreted as a plebiscite incorporating these nations into the Soviet Union. Thus Lutheran Estonia and Latvia and Catholic Lithuania were engulfed by atheistic communism. Soviet rule has been extraordinarily harsh. Thousands have been executed. Hundreds of thousands were deported into Russian labor camps working fourteen hours a day and receiving a diet of soup

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and bread. The clergy and intellectuals have been particular victims of the purge. Thus, a leaderless people have been the victims of forced sovietization, and their children have been made the victims of mass indoctrination in communism. These facts can be reconciled with the Atlantic Charter only by strained interpretation.

To justify these conditions in the United States, Communists have such foreign language publications as the Estonian Uus Ilm, the Latvian Amerikas Latweetis, and the Lithuanian Laisve and Vilnis. The latter two claim a combined circulation of 40,000. Among the front organizations which seek to win Lithuanian Americans to the Soviet viewpoint are the Committee to Aid Lithuania (chairman, Anthony Bimba), the Democratic American Lithuanian Council, the Lithuanian Workers' Literary Association, and the Lithuanian Fine Arts League.

The Polish situation has been better publicized and can be summarized briefly. The saga of Poland's heroic resistance during and after the German attack is glorious. Yet the Soviet Union aided in the partition of prostrate Poland and then imposed the Curzon Line as her Eastern boundary. Much of Poland's wealth and several of her important cities lie on the Soviet side of the boundary. More important than territorial problems, however, is the imposition of a puppet government and the imprisoning of the sixteen underground leaders who were lured to Moscow. Even the hardy statesmen at Yalta could not stomach the Lublin government and a pledge was given that a democratic Poland would be restored within its new boundaries. This pledge was not fulfilled. A few members of the London Government were appointed to minor positions, but the essential character of the régime was not altered. Communists, many of them Russian, have all the important posts. This is the government which denounced the Vatican Concordat, after first flaunting its provisions by the deportation of the Archbishop of Vilna, the Bishop of Luck, and the arrest of the Vicar-General of Lublin. In spite of the urgent plea of forty-eight prominent liberals to President Truman before the Potsdam Conference (New Leader, July 21, 1945), little has been done. Relief is still in Russian hands. A few correspondents were permitted to send heavily censored dispatches, but the NKVD still rules supreme.

Because of the strong political influence of Polish Americans, consistent efforts have been made by American Communists to win them over. Their most prominent papers are Glos Ludowy and Nasz Swiat, published in Detroit. The outstanding pro-Communist spokesman is Leo Krzycki, vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, president of the American Slav Congress, and president of the American Polish Labor Council. In the latter capacity, he claims to speak for 600,000 Polish trade unionists, but his actual following is about one-sixth of that number. Nevertheless, the position gives him an opportunity to deceive the unsophisticated public, as is witnessed by his notorious press conference during the San Francisco Conference. It is further believed that he had a definite voice in determining the allocation of half of the \$300,000 which was offered by the C.I.O. for Polish relief. Receipt of this fund was acknowledged by Polpress News in the usual Communist jargon. Polpress News, as is noted in Appendix I, is the propaganda outlet for the Lublin government. It receives regular substantial subsidies from Moscow. Leaders of Polish American Communism are: Dr. Abraham Pensik; Boleslaw Gebert; Ambassador Oscar Lange; and Boleslaw Antoni Gronowicz.

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The Troubled Balkans. Holy Mother Russia has always had Pan-Slav aspirations. But it remained the lot of her unanointed ruler, Stalin, to realize this dream. In Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Austria, and Greece, Communist power is felt in varying degrees. Not much has trickled out concerning the Communist regime of Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu in Albania, but Hoxha has the reputation of being the cruellest of the European Communist leaders. Czechoslovakia has escaped forcible imposition of Soviet rule only by voluntarily accepting Communists in practically all the key positions of her cabinet. The Soviet-sponsored government of Austria formerly included Ernst Fischer as Minister of Education and Franz Honner as Minister of the Interior, both strategic posts. Hungary, although more free than other Balkan states, is being pressured to accept a trade treaty which will give the Soviet Union complete economic control over the nation. Yet conditions elsewhere are worse.

In Bulgaria, the Soviet Union imported George Dimitroff, former head of the Comintern, to preside over a rule of terror, aided by Tzola Dragoytchova, a fanatical Communist trained in Moscow. The initial steps followed the pattern adopted elsewhere, the formation of a fatherland front of all leftist parties, with Communists in control. In a short time there was a bloody purge of the democratic elements, many of whom had been in concentration camps for resisting Hitler. Most notorious was the trial of Nicola Mustanoff, Athanas Buroff, and Dimitri Gitcheff. These democratic leaders were arrested as "war criminals." Dr. George M. Dimitroff, known as Doktor Gehmeh, was actually sentenced to death by the Nazis. But to save his life from the Soviets, he has taken refuge in the American Legation. Aiding in this new trend is the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, formerly schismatic from the Eastern Orthodox groups, but now induced to rejoin the federation fostered by Russia.

In Rumania a National Democratic Front followed a similar program to that of Bulgaria. Real democratic leaders were deposed, and puppets or even Iron Guardists were installed in power. Such anti-fascists as M. Maniu and General Radescu have been proscribed by Anna Pauker (the "Passionaria" of Rumania), M. Patrascanu, and M. Constantinescu-Iasi. In the meantime, the country is being stripped of its industrial equipment and burdened with an economic pact which cements its ties to the Soviet Union.

The regime of Marshal Tito (Joseph Broz) is one of the most thoroughly Communist in Europe. Tito gained power largely through Soviet aid, after a thorough job of slandering Mihailovitch and King Peter. He is now engaged in a bloody purge of the Chetniks, who are believed to constitute a majority in Yugoslavia, but a majority which is poorly armed and which has lost all outside support. The executions are confined, of course, to "fascists" and "German collaborators," in spite of the fact that many of the victims were previously released from German concentration and prisoner of war camps. Sixteen of the most prominent democratic Serbs were being tried for their life on the very day that Tito announced a general amnesty for persons who had "aided the Germans." This, and bombing by American planes (our fliers were told by the British and Tito that they were bombing Germans) was their reward for rescuing six hundred American fliers shot down over Yugoslavia. The Osna (secret police) are hampering the practice of Catholicism in Croatia. When Dr. Ivan Subasitch, Yugoslav foreign minister retained as a concession

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to world opinion, dared to rebel, he was confined to his house. Later Tito announced his "resignation." (For documentation on the Balkans, cf. Leon Dennen, Trouble Zone, N.Y., Ziff-Davis.)

Greece has not yet been taken over by the Communists, but only British intervention prevented a repetition of the bloody fatherland fronts. In Salonika alone, 5000 persons were liquidated by ELAS in three weeks. In the civil war, thousands of hostages were shot, and thousands more perished from cold and hunger in the long trek through the mountains. In contrast to the Balkan practice elsewhere, when the British installed a regent, they promised and are prepared to hold under Allied supervision, really free elections. Only the Soviet Union will abstain from supervising these elections, since it does not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations.

In each of these situations, the American Communist Party has supported the Soviet position. The most glaringly successful example of shrewd propaganda and American gullibility was the case of Greece. Subsequent impartial investigation established the facts mentioned above, yet in both Britain and the United States the storm against intervention was torrential. When Sir Walter Citrine and other British labor unionists who had clamored loudest against Churchill visited Greece, they substantiated the Prime Minister's position completely. Most depressing was the finding that newspaper men covered the fighting from the security of their rooms in the Hotel Grande Bretagne, sending out Communist propaganda without independent investigation. (Time, Feb. 19, 1945, p. 41) In the United States, all the Communist fronts and dupes joined in the hue and cry. The Catholic publication, Wage Earner, discovered that the literature to be distributed at the Wayne County Industrial Council meeting had been printed before the outbreak took place.

Among the foreign language publications supporting the Communist viewpoint and directed towards readers of Balkan extraction are: Bulgarian, Narodna Volya; possibly Rabotnicheskaya Prosveta; Czechoslovakian, Nova Doba, L'Uodovy Dennik, and Pravda; possibly Vek Rozumu; Greek, Hellenoamerikanikon Vima; Hungarian, Magyar Jovo; Rumanian, Romanul American; possibly Foaia Poporului; and Yugoslav, Narodni Glasnik and Slobodna Rec. The most prominent front organizations are the American Slav Congress, American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, and the United Council of South Slavic Americans. The leaders of this group include: Leo Krzycki, Louis Adamic, Zlato Balokovic, George Pirinsky, and Steve Krall. All are quite close to Avram (Al) Landy, who directs foreign language group infiltration for the Communist Party. Also important is the American Rumanian Jewish Organization, fostered by Mary Himoff, who handles Jewish affairs for the Party. For Hungarians, there is the Hungarian American Council for Democracy, headed by Moses Simon (editor of the Hungarian Information Bulletin) and Bela Lugosi, of Hollywood. Dr. John Gyetvay is also prominent. This group has seriously infiltrated Hungarian War Relief. They support Count Michael Karolyi for President of Hungary, since he is content to front for the Comintern agent Matyas Rakosi. Also active is the National Council of Hungarian American Trade Unionists, headed by Julius Emsepak and James Lustig, two members of the United Electrical Workers Union who aid in giving it its pro-Communist taint. Finally, there is the Greek American Council, with branches in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Philadelphia, and Haverhill and Lynn, Mass.

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Western Europe. In Western Europe we find three groups: the conquered, the conquerors, and neutral nations. Primary among the conquered nations is Germany, now partitioned into zones occupied by the Allies. In the Soviet zone, the administration is openly Communist, with the most docile of the Free Germany organization of officer prisoners occasionally fronting for the Party. In the other zones, all depends upon the administering power. In the American zone under General Patton, Communists got short shrift. After his removal, the trend was definitely to the left, although there is no evidence as yet that Communists are favored. However, if the Italian situation may serve as a parallel, it seems that many of the 12,000 Communists in our army found their way into the AMG. Probably more dangerous in the long run is the burden laid upon Germany by the Potsdam Conference. The stripping of German industry by the Soviets can well lead to such bitter poverty that anarchy and poverty through Western Europe may result. In the meantime the Soviet Union controls the food sources of Europe and can exploit discontent to its own satisfaction.

In the United States, the German American, Freies Deutschland, and Volksstimme serve as Communist propaganda outlets. Among the front organizations are the Council for a Democratic Germany, with Albert Schreiner and Karl Frank (alias Willi Mueller, alias Paul Hagen) as leaders; the Association for a Democratic Germany, composed of innocents controlled by the former group; and the German American Emergency Conference, concerned mainly with "educating" German prisoners of war held here. Other German Communists include Max Shroeder; Gerhardt Eisler (alias Hans Berger); Gustav A. Deter; and Albert Norden (editor of Germany Today, a recently founded "front" publication). An interesting source of information on European Communism is The Network, edited by a former Communist, Ruth Fischer (124 W. 85th St., Apt. 4A: \$6.00).

In regard to Italy, similar forces are at work. Top allied officials do not desire to see Italy go Communist. In fact, it is felt that England would prefer a stable Italy as a bulwark against Communism. Opposing this trend apparently are the policies of some personnel administering American policy. The long procession of Communist mayors is hardly a result of an irresistible political trend. Again, it was noted earlier that Togliatti (Ercoli) was heavily subsidized for the purpose of boring-from-within the Italian Army. Furthermore, Communist-inspired policy is similar to that advocated for Germany, the Morgenthau plan of despoliation. In Italy, this takes the form of advocacy of stripping Italy of her colonies, demanding impossible reparations for Yugoslavia, and thus reducing the nation to anarchy. It is a significant indication of Communist patriotism that Togliatti favors the surrender of Trieste to Yugoslavia. Indeed, the Allied Military Government arrested forty-four individuals there charged with fomenting armed Communist rebellion.

In the United States, the principal Communist organ is L'Unita del Popolo, edited by M. Salerno and published by the Italian branch of the International Workers Order. The Overseas News Agency (see Appendix I) frequently quotes Italia Libera and Adunata dei Refrattari, but this writer has no evidence of Communist control. One source claims that they follow Russky Golos, a Russian Communist paper which acts as bell-wether for the controlled foreign language press. The main front organization at the present moment is the IWO, to be described in the following chapter.

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Communist activities in the conquering and liberated nations are too well known to need extended comment. Thus, in France the Communist Party of Thorez and Ruclès is the strongest and the best organized party in the land. Should the socialists accept their proffer of a united front, France is in all likelihood doomed to Communist control. In Belgium, Communists are strong and vocal. In the Netherlands, their membership approaches 100,000 and their paper has a circulation of 500,000. Since these movements are well established, there is no need of supporting American fronts.

Communism in England is somewhat similar to the movements in the United States, Canada, and Australia. The danger is not that it will take over control, but that it may mislead public opinion into agitating for unsound government foreign policies. Paradoxically, the advent of the Labor Party to power was a blow to Communism, since it showed the feasibility of a middle path between extreme left and extreme right. Significantly, it proved a tonic to Continental Socialist Parties, who began to reconsider proposals for a United front with the Communists. Indeed, Professor Laski, so often denounced as a Communist, was a leader in the move to split Socialists away from the Communists, and was accordingly roundly denounced by Moscow. Laski's ideology is often close to that of communism, but he has no connections with any Communist organization. This is a distinction of importance, since the real menace of the Communist movement lies in its disciplined organization. Thus, a liberal fellow-traveler who can be counted upon to follow the lead of the Communist apparatus may often be more dangerous than persons with much more radical views (such as Trotskyite and Lovestoneite Communists) who do not serve any powerful organization. Accordingly, the sum of English trends is that England and the Empire may be counted as barriers against Soviet imperialism, whether or not their motives in doing so are completely altruistic.

In Scandinavia, the proximity of Russia is having its effect in Finland and Norway. Finland has for all practical purposes a Communist government, while Norway is feeling the pressure. Sweden likewise has been the subject of severe Soviet pressure, while Denmark has lost the island of Bornholm to Soviet troops.

Spain and Portugal have been subjected to considerable Communist agitation, largely from outside their countries. The program is to influence the major powers to apply such economic and diplomatic pressure that the governments of Franco, and eventually of Salazar, will fall. France, Mexico, and the United States appear to be the principal focal centers of anti-Falangist agitation. The immediate Communist concern in the United States is to get Franco out, hoping in the meantime to get in a Communist regime, possibly under Negrín. They are opposed to the non-Communist Spanish Committee of Liberation, now centered in Mexico, but seem determined to concentrate upon one fight at a time. It is interesting to note that the Mexican group, representing the Cortez, have sent feelers through Del Los Rios and Del Prieto to Church circles, intimating that the revolution would be peaceful and respectful of religion. In the United States, the principal front organizations for Spain are the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the American Committee for Spanish Freedom, the Joint Antifascist Refugee Committee, and the Spanish

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Refugee Appeal. Representative John Coffee, who often fronts for Communist causes, has introduced a resolution (HR-100) calling for breaking of diplomatic relations with Spain. The Joint Antifascist Refugee Committee attempted to raise \$500,000 to aid "refugees." Communist controlled unions, Leverett Gleason (editor of Readers' Scope), Samuel Novick (president of Electronics Corporation and sponsor of William Gailmof, pro-Communist news commentator), Herman Shumlin (Broadway producer), and Lillian Hellman (playwright) all contributed substantially. Gleason also contributed to a similar fund-raising campaign by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. These points are noted merely to indicate the interlocking nature of Communist fronts. Moreover, it might be noted that Communists in trade unions are counting heavily on their contacts so they might obtain the proposed one million signatures to a petition for the Coffee resolution.

In regard to Portugal, much activity centers around New Bedford, Mass. The main front organization is the Portuguese American Committee for Democracy. In organizing this Committee, Dr. J. P. Migueis said that the Vatican, which has consistently supported Salazar, has been largely responsible for maintaining the dictator's prestige and position in the world through the organs and institutions of the Catholic Church. Chairman of the Committee is Dr. Joao Camoesas, Minister of Education in the Portuguese pre-Salazar government.

South America. The centers of Communist agitation for South America are Mexico and Cuba, with the United States being subjected to front organization pressure to conform with the Party Line. In Mexico the Soviet Embassy and consulates are the primary foci of activity, with considerable aid being given by Vincente Lombardo Toledano, Communist labor leader of the Confederacion de Trabajadores de America Latina (CTAL). The Cuban movement was described in the New York Times on April 1, 1945. The writer notes among the propaganda facilities "a powerful radio station with the only international channel assigned to the island, an excellent newspaper, direct cable service that furnishes news hot from the Moscow press, not only to the Communist organ but to many other newspapers free of charge; an organization which extends down into the smallest village of the island; publishing facilities for books, pamphlets, and literature; as well as training schools." The Soviet Legation in Cuba has a staff of fifty members, including a press attache --- more diplomats than there were Soviet citizens in Cuba when relations were established in 1942, and this for a nation with no trade relations with the Soviet Union. Naturally activity is much better organized in Mexico.

In the United States, Communist activity is directed primarily against the dictatorial government of Argentina. The primary front organization is the Council for Pan-American democracy, described in Appendix III. The Communists, a traditionally humorless group, are simultaneously bombarding the State Department with pleas for action against Argentina and Spain, and protests against interference with the internal affairs of China and the Balkan states. Communists are likewise active in promoting full independence for Puerto Rico, and are agitating among Puerto Rican nationals in New York City.

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The Near East and Asia. In the Near East, the Soviet Union is sponsoring a separatist movement in Northern Iran. It is likewise putting pressure upon Turkey to give the Soviets partial control of the Dardanelles. In the same political orbit, although removed geographically, are the attempts to foster independence movements in the colonies of Great Britain and the Netherlands. While many independence groups in India have the welfare of the country at heart, best available information is that the Communist move is aimed at embarrassing Great Britain so that she cannot concentrate upon the Continent of Europe. It is significant that the activity of colonial groups dominated by the Communists is in inverse proportion to the warmth of Soviet friendship with Great Britain. There are no important front movements in the United States directed towards these ends.

Elsewhere in the Orient, the Soviet Union is concerned about Korea and Japan. Northern Korea has been occupied by Soviet troops. Initial reports are that the results are similar to the pattern established in the Balkans. In regard to Japan, the first move is a campaign to install a joint Allied control of the nation, in contrast to the present American control. While both the United Kingdom and Australia, both of whom made relatively substantial contributions -- in the light of available strength -- to the final victory, are satisfied with MacArthur's rule, the Communist press is baying that the Soviet Union must be permitted condominium. They even have the insolence to credit a major share of the victory to the U.S.S.R., since it followed so quickly upon the latter's entry into the fray. Apparently Tass has not informed them as yet of Japanese peace feelers, through Russia, months before Soviet entry into the war. A group with even a touch of humor would realize that the "conquest" had all the recklessness of Mussolini's heroic triumph over France. Other American activities include the very important front group, the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, with Frederick V. Field as the chief spokesman, the Council for a Democratic Japan, and promotion of Andrew Roth's Dilemma in Japan. The Communist connections of Amerasia were well publicized recently when six persons were arrested for alleged rifling of State Department documents.

The Chinese situation may well be studied in Communist schools as a masterpiece of propaganda, comparable in its sphere to the classic military campaigns of General Lee. To those inclined to discount the effectiveness of Communist propaganda, it might well serve as an object lesson. If one were to compare the article in the Readers' Digest by Max Eastman and J. B. Powell, the text of Congressman's Judd's address or its summary in Time, the special supplement "Comintern versus Koumintang" in the New Leader, May 26, 1945, and various articles in the Catholic Digest with the material put out by Edgar Snow, Owen Lattimore, Agnes Smedley, and the Institute of Pacific Relations, it would be difficult to realize that the same country was being discussed. Some of the material given out by wishful-thinking fellow travelers (that the Yenan government was not really Communist; that it was independent of Moscow) has since been repudiated by the Chinese Communist leader Mao. As to the rest, it would be impossible to go into details here. It is sufficient to note that a careful study of both sides of the question, using such sources as those noted above has convinced this observer of the

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almost total falsity of the Yenan claims. On the basis of the facts it is impossible to believe that this government would have supported the Communists over against Chiang Kai Shek, yet such a policy was almost adopted. Had America opted for a Communist China, the next step in Stalin's Drang nach Osten would have been India. In our lifetime, an overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world would have been under the iron dictatorship of atheistic communism. This point is stressed since many Americans tend to underestimate the effectiveness and danger of Communist propaganda, and consider Catholic concern with the problem as mere sectarian prejudice.

The current situation in China is one of readjustment after victory. Future events must be judged in the light of two agreements reached during the past year: the Sino-Soviet treaty of August 14, 1945 (text in New York Times, August 27, 1945) and the partial agreement between the Chungking and Yenan governments achieved in October, 1945. The treaty between China and Russia was considered by most observers to be much better than had been expected. It had previously been thought that the U.S.S.R. would find excuse for armed intervention in favor of Yenan. Expert opinion inclines to the view that the shift of American policy in favor of Chiang was the deciding factor, since with Japan reeling the United States would be in position to give considerable aid to the Nationalist government. Nevertheless, the treaty was not the innocent document which casual readers judged it to be. Manchuria is the industrial heart of China, and the granting of virtual condominium over the Chinese Eastern Railway and the South Manchurian Railway, the naval base of Port Arthur, and the port of Dairen means the concession of extraordinary privileges to the U.S.S.R., in contrast to America's "Open Door" policy. It is to be noted that the Open Door policy was the basis of our diplomatic clash with Japan, which led to the attack on Pearl Harbor. It is further important that these clauses are quite similar to those of the 1924 treaty, which led to serious friction and the Sino-Russian war of 1929. Trotsky noted about the Russian employees of the Chinese Eastern Railway that they were "the permanent representatives, the junior diplomats of the Soviet Union in the very heart of Manchuria." The Soviet Union has succeeded in controlling nations with much less extensive penetration than is granted in this treaty. In the light of past events, it would seem the part of prudence not to rejoice prematurely over China's independence. Unless South China can become industrially strong and politically unified, there is reason to fear lest Manchuria and North China may ultimately "develop" an independence movement in the manner of Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, and that the behemoth of the North may engulf China's hundreds of millions. The fact that the Chinese as a nation do not want communism is quite irrelevant. The inhabitants of Poland and the Balkans did not want communism. Events reported in late October---civil war, Communist control of Manchuria, Soviet despoliation of the same,---all confirm the worst.

The primary front organization for American relations with China is the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, with Frederick V. Field as the main spokesman for the Communist viewpoint. A new front is being organized, to be called The Friends of Chinese Democracy. Such conservative institutions as the United States State Department and the Foreign Policy Association have also been infiltrated on this issue. Thus, T.A.Bisson, of the Institute of Pacific Relations, is talking for the Baltimore Foreign Policy Association on the subject of

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the Far East. Some, but not all, F.P.A. Bulletins have been slanted in accord with the Party Line. In addition to the names mentioned in the course of this section, those of Mrs. Edward C. Carter, Arthur Upham Pope, Martin Popper, Mrs. Edgar Snow, and Freda Kirchway (editor of The Nation) have been available for "fellow-traveling" purposes.

Conclusion. This brief outline of World Communism is, of course, the merest sketch of the problem. Of necessity, there were many unsupported statements and conclusions, although every effort was made to document the main points. On the surface, world considerations might appear to be alien to the assigned theme of this study. Yet, American Communism would be unintelligible unless it were viewed against the background of Soviet Imperialism. The term "Soviet imperialism" is used advisedly, since we are confronted with Communism imposed by the Red Army or by armed minorities, not with the winning over of peoples to the Communist ideology. From this study two conclusions seem inescapable. First, that Soviet imperialism has expanded greatly the number of persons and nations under the rule of atheistic communism. Eastern and Southern Europe appear to be lost. In Western Europe, including Italy but excluding Great Britain, the advent of Communism is an immediate threat. The issue could be decided either way during the next decade. In the Orient, the march is on. A democratic Japan in union with a strong China could stem the tide, but a crushed Japan or a weak China would in all likelihood succumb. It is likely that the United States will be the deciding factor in this outcome. Thus, the maximum possibility within the next two decades would be Europe completely sovietized and Asia on the road to total subjection. These are possibilities, not yet probabilities. In each case, the wisdom of American foreign policy will probably be the deciding factor. This leads to the second conclusion, that American Communist fronts are striving mightily to influence American policy. As a maximum objective, they hope to win support for or at least acquiescence in Soviet policy. As a minimum objective, they hope so to cloud issues and confuse the public and interested groups that no positive policy will develop. With a hesitant uncertain America reverting to isolation, the U.S.S.R. will have its free hand. On many critical issues --- China, Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, Spain, Germany, and Japan --- they have come close to complete success.

If complete success is achieved, America will be practically isolated in a world dominated by Soviet power. Under those circumstances, it is likely that Communist propaganda in South America will reap increasing harvests. This would be an uncomfortable position for any American -- even one without religion and with no regard for the misery of those denied basic human rights by Soviet rule. All this, of course, is stating the issue in terms of maximum danger. But we have in our midst over seventy thousand highly organized and well trained zealots who are working for maximum goals. This number should not be compared with the disorganized self-centered mass of 130,000,000 Americans. The only fit comparison would be with other groups, equally zealous, trained, and organized in pursuit of higher ideals. When this other legion can be identified, counted, and observed in successful action, we may then be in better position to discount the insignificant Communist minority.

A late report received after this Chapter had been written notes active Communist movements in India, Indonesia, Malaya, Burma, the Philippines, Korea, as well as China and Japan. (Cf. The Network, October 1945).

Chapter II

THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

In the preceding chapter, our concern was with the movement of world Communism, and its reflection in American Communist activity. The picture which would be given by the first chapter taken alone, however, would hardly be accurate. The American Party is something more than a loose group of front organizations, springing up to support the Soviet policy of the moment. World orientation serves to point up the real menace of Communism, but activities so directed constitute but a fraction of Communist efforts. The remaining chapters will be concerned with the domestic organizations and activity of Communists, with suitable asides where world problems are involved.

The Communist Orbit. In the general sphere of Communist activities, four classes of individuals will be observed. First are Communist Party members, currently about 75,000 in number, with about 12,000 in the armed services. These members are enrolled in the Party according to the procedure outlined in the Constitution (see Appendix II). According to the present policy, they would normally belong to small clubs with less than one hundred members. This is a new policy, adopted ostensibly to promote greater effectiveness, but possibly to facilitate underground movement should that be necessary. In industrial regions there are shop sections or, where the plants are small, industrial sections drawn from several plants in the same industry. Above the clubs there exist city, state, and national organizations. Each club should have a chairman, secretary, educational director, press director, labor secretary, literature agent, and dues-membership secretary. On the higher levels, the top ruling bodies are the state or national committee, with as many as fifty-five members; the state or national board, consisting of about twelve members selected from the committee; and the state secretary or the national secretariat of four members. As noted in Appendix II, the national secretariat currently consists of William Z. Foster, Eugene Dennis, John Williamson, and Robert Thompson. There is also a National Review Commission, for the purpose of preserving the integrity of Communist doctrine and purging unworthy members.

The second major group may be called "fellow travelers" or "Communist sympathizers." Those terms are applied to persons who unswervingly follow the Party Line through all its tortuous twists and turns. Often such persons are concealed Communists. In fact, columnists such as Woltman and Sokolsky will frequently use such terms to characterize individuals whom they know to be Communists, but could not prove to be such in a libel suit. Other terms appropriate for such individuals are "pro-Stalinist," "Party Liner," "pro-Communist," "left-winger," and the like. The Communists themselves used the term "progressive," to identify such individuals. Prominent names which might be placed in the category of fellow traveler would be Lee Pressman and Len De Caux of the National C.I.O., and Harry Bridges, Louis Merrill, Micheal Quill, John Abt, Ruth Young, Herbert March, and Julius Emspak of the various C.I.O. unions. Alger Hiss of the State Department would fit into this niche. It occasionally happens that an individual in this group is not a Party member, as one publication found to its sorrow in a libel suit brought by Jerome Davis. Nevertheless, it would be sound policy to treat members of this group in the same manner as actual open Party members, since they never deviate from the Party Line.

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The third group consists of opportunists who follow Communist policy for personal gain. The differentiating mark of this group is that their affiliations are political and ad hoc, not ideological. Usually such individuals are in union or civic politics, although in some phases of the writing and theatrical professions an occasional leftist pronouncement is a distinct asset. The reasoning behind this state of mind is that the Communists are a vocal and determined organized minority, and such a minority can usually prevail in a confused political situation. Thus, both Richard Frankensteen and Sidney Hillman are too intelligent to be Communists, but they have found Communist support useful. While at the moment Hillman is thoroughly mired in Communist politics, he has frequently opposed them and has been denounced bitterly by their press. The Communists, of course, are not deceived by this support, but they also gain by having an ally who is not tainted with open or suspected membership. It frequently happens that individuals become so entangled in Communist support, that they are compelled to follow the ideological line or lose everything.

Finally, there are the tools or dupes of the Communist Party. In this category would be found the "ingens multitudo" who populate the membership lists and petition sheets of front organizations. This would be the liberal wing of the group. Their "joinings" and "signings" have filled many pages of Dies Committee reports. Yet, as will be noted in Chapter IV, many of them are quite innocent victims of Communist deceit. That is why it is so dangerous to pin the Red label on ordinary members of front groups (as distinct from controlling and active officers). The other wing of this group is composed of weak individuals who are pushed into prominence by the Communist Party for one reason or other. Usually they are weak labor leaders, such as Albert Fitzgerald of the United Electrical Workers, who could maintain their positions only with Communist help. On the other hand, the Communists seek such individuals, partly because they may attract a following, but mainly because dissatisfaction resulting from Communist policy can be blamed upon them. They are then removed and other dupes are installed. They are to be distinguished from the opportunists noted above in that they are used by the Party, whereas the other group feels that it is using the Party. The opportunist is intelligent and independent, whereas the dupe is weak and uninformed.

Persons sophisticated in labor politics but opposed to Communism will not fall into the trap of labeling these last two groups as Red, and thus offering them unalterable opposition. They will oppose them so long as they are tied with the Party, but often they can win them over to a new and apparently more powerful political orbit. The problem of the liberals is more complex, and will be treated in Chapter IV.

Communist Membership. The Communist Party is normally in a state of flux, constantly gaining and losing members. This change was particularly noticeable during 1944, partly because less care was used in selecting members. Turnover was particularly high among the Negroes, since the Party lost interest in their welfare during the drive for all-out war production. During 1944, the regions showing the greatest gain were: New Jersey, 84%; Illinois, 72%; and Michigan, 41%. Net gain for the country as a whole was 23%. The only region with sizable membership showing a net loss was Maryland. New policies of selective recruiting will probably reduce the size but increase the quality of new membership.

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Readers of this report who may be interested in knowing Communist strength in the various dioceses might consult the list of delegates and visitors attending the National Convention (Appendix II). By calculating one delegate or visitor for each five hundred members, an approximately accurate list will be achieved. In a few states, notably New York and Pennsylvania, a slight error will occur by using this method. Pennsylvania had two alternates and one honorary delegate (Mother Bloor), while New York had several alternates and many local functionaries attending. A table of dioceses, according to approximate strength of Communism, is given below. Figures obtained by this method tally accurately with confidential reports of Communist strength, percentages figures based on assigned Daily Worker quotas (except for the West Coast, where the People's Daily World circulates), and reports from diocesan questionnaires, especially those where the Ordinaries had access to information of unquestionable accuracy. Where there is concentration outside the see city, the area is listed in parentheses.

TABLE I.

COMMUNIST STRENGTH BY DIOCESES

New York-Brooklyn,	27,500	(Manhattan 10,000; Bronx, 6,500; Kings, 8,500; Queens, 2,500)
Philadelphia	7,000	
Chicago	6,000	
Cleveland	5,800	(also Akron)
Detroit	3,500	
Los Angeles	3,000	
San Francisco	3,000	
Fort Wayne	2,000	(mainly Gary)
Milwaukee	2,000	
Newark	2,000	
Seattle	2,000	
Baltimore-Washington	1,500	
Boston	1,500	
Pittsburg	1,500	
Buffalo	1,000	
Camden	1,000	
Hartford	1,000	(mainly Bridgeport)
Indianapolis	1,000	
Omaha	1,000	
St. Louis	1,000	
St. Paul	1,000	(mainly in Minneapolis)

According to Peter Cacchione, about 50% of Communist organizations and 85% of Communist leadership are concentrated in New York City. The aim of the Party, however, is to achieve a 60% concentration in the Middle West, where the basic industries are situated. Most reliable figures available indicate that as high as 64% of Communist membership is Jewish; 14% Negro; and 22% from other groups.

Membership figures cited above are probably lower than those commonly cited by other sources. They represent paid-up membership, active in the Party. They might be increased by the 12,000 in the Armed Forces, by families,

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relatives, and other persons under strong and direct influence by the members, and by sympathizers and dupes who can be substantially controlled. The writer believes that it is a fallacy to judge Communist strength primarily in terms of membership. A high percentage of Communists are leaders. Even those who lack leadership caliber are often well-trained and capably led. They devote most of their time and energy to the work. In the social field, they cannot reasonably be compared with the thirty million Catholics in this country. A more reasonable comparison would be with the number of Catholic priests and laymen who have a comparable interest in social problems, and who devote approximately the same percentage of time as that demanded of Communists. We might also compare Catholic publications devoted primarily to social questions with the incomplete list of Communist publications in Appendix I.

Indoctrination of Members. Each recruit to the Communist Party is supposed to master the "science" of Marxism. For this purpose, the Party has schools, discussion clubs, and the like. In these schools, members are taught not only Marxism, but also history, economics, the labor movement, and current events, all from a Communist viewpoint. They learn parliamentary law and tactics for organization and agitation. At times they have been trained in military science. In addition to this basic training, members are supposed to subscribe to the Daily Worker and the Worker (Sunday). Since the circulation of these papers is close to 22,000 and 80,000 respectively, it is clear that not all Communists are faithful readers. The circulation figures for Political Affairs (formerly The Communist), the theoretical organ of Communism, are still lower (8,000). The New Masses stresses the cultural viewpoint, and Science and Society the intellectual. Most Communist publications run an annual deficit, as will be noted in Appendix I. These deficits are made up by fund drives, and occasionally by Party "angels." The select few agitators who work with the Comintern will get the authentic Party Line through the Agitators' Notebook, printed in Russian but circulated and translated abroad.

In addition to the strictly closed Party schools, there are general schools open to the public, but completely controlled by the Party. Among the more prominent of these is the Jefferson School, in New York City. The staff is heavily peopled with Communists, and the courses follow the Line. A Jewish branch, the School of Jewish Studies, opens on Oct. 22, 1945. In Chicago, the school is the Abraham Lincoln School (formerly the Workers' School) equally well penetrated with Communist personnel. Newark, N. J. has the New Jersey Labor School, under Doxey Wilkerson, a well-known and able Negro Communist. In Philadelphia, the title is the Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art. Los Angeles boasts of a People's Educational Center, while the San Francisco counterpart is the California Labor School, which is the first Communist-controlled school to be accredited for returning veterans. Boston is to be educated in democracy through the Samuel Adams School. Each of these schools attempts to sponsor a summer school and a camp. As far as possible, they attempt to enroll local labor unions as sponsors and to secure members of these unions as students. Four new schools are planned for Pittsburgh, Detroit, Milwaukee, and Seattle. On the whole, the Communists seem well satisfied with these schools as infiltration and front organs, as well as sources of additional training for their own members. A brief summary of the school program is found in Lettergrams 167-171, issued by the National Republic, Washington, D.C. The writer would caution extreme care in the use

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of Mr. Steele's material. While Steele is personally well informed on these problems, a careless reader of his publications could easily confuse Communists and liberals, and communism and social reform. They are not recommended for use by any one but specialists in this subject. The New Leader is much more accurate.

All Communist teaching is dominated by the existing Party Line. The Line is a tactical adaptation of the strategic theory of Marxism, in the light of a particular historical situation. It can and often does change drastically. It is likely, however, that the current Line, adopted in July 1945, will persist for a considerable period of time. The Line, entitled "Present Situation and the Next Tasks," was ostensibly the fruit of several thousand resolutions sent in by local Party groups, but actually was drawn up in accord with and approved by the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow.

The new Line transfers the hatred engendered against Fascism to the so-called roots of Fascism, namely, "the extremely reactionary forces in the United States and England, which are centered in trusts and cartels." American finance capital is now sponsoring a new imperialism, which aims to counter the forces of freedom springing up spontaneously in the countries conquered or liberated by the Red Army, or roused up by the Communist coalitions in other lands. These forces are foes of the Soviet Union. They have influenced the State Department to support the forces of reaction, rather than the pro-Soviet governments in Europe and Asia. They would scuttle the San Francisco Charter and the agreements of Teheran, Crimea, and Potsdam. Accordingly, the Truman Administration must be pressured into forming a Soviet-American coalition, and rebuking capitalist imperialism. The Labor movement and the Negro people must supply this pressure. "It is imperative that maximum unity of action be developed among the CIO, the AFL, and the Railroad brotherhoods and that their full participation in the New World Federation of Trade Unions be achieved." In the A.F. of L. progressive forces should overthrow the entrenched leadership. At the same time, labor must strengthen its ties with the veterans, the working farmers, the Negro people, youth, women, intellectuals, and small business men, and with their democratic organizations.

This line is then expressed in a series of slogans. A few of the more pertinent are quoted, since Communists often give themselves away by verbatim quoting of the official slogans:

"Carry out in full the decisions made by the Big Three at Teheran, Crimea, and Potsdam."

"Punish the war guilty without further delay, including the German and Japanese staffs and monopolists. Death to all fascist war criminals. Make Germany and Japan pay full reparations."

"Strengthen the World Labor Congress as the backbone of the unity of the peoples and the free nations. Admit the World Labor Congress to the Economic and Social Council of the World Security Organization."

"Put an end to Anglo-American political intervention against the peoples, as in Greece, Belgium, and Italy... Grant the right of self-determination to

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Puerto Rico and the Philippines... Break diplomatic relations with fascist Spain and Argentina... Remove from the State Department all profascist and reactionary officials."

"Use the Bretton Woods Agreement... Grant extensive long term loans and credits, at low interest rates, for purposes of reconstruction and industrialization."

"No scrapping of government-owned industrial plants. Guarantee the operation of these plants at full capacity for peacetime purposes."

"Extend and improve the system of democratic orientation and discussion in the Armed Forces. Draw more personnel from labor's ranks into orientation work. Eliminate all antilabor and antidemocratic material and teachings from the education services conducted in the Armed Forces."

"Outlaw Anti-Semitism... Support... immediate abrogation by the British government of the imperialist White Paper. Support the upbuilding of a Jewish national home in a free and democratic Palestine..."

Later the manifesto goes on to say: "It is now incumbent upon us to give militant leadership to the struggle for Negro democratic rights on all fronts, especially intensifying our educational work among white trade unionists. We must rebuild the Communist organization in the South. We must develop and bring forward a strong corps of working class Negro Communist cadres in the great industrial centers of the nation." (The Worker, Aug. 12, 1945)

There are some indications that the new Line marks a reversion to the initial theory of Marxism, holding for violent revolution. An indication of this is found in Minor's recommendation that Americans study Volume 23 of Lenin's collected works. In this volume is found Lenin's "Letter of American Workers," which calls for a proletarian revolution. (Cf. New York Times, June 16, 1945, editorial page). On the other hand, during the summer conventions, delegates were warned against premature agitation and "left sectarianism."

Front Organizations. A distinction is made within the Party between "Party Apparatus" and "Mass Organizations." The former refer to strict Party groups, such as their publications and schools. The latter is used to denote front organizations and controlled labor unions. In the first case there is strict Party control, by the device of "democratic centralism." This formidable sample of Communist jargon refers to the fact that all Communist ruling groups are elected by a democratic, secret ballot, and are subject to recall. Once the higher group has taken a decision, however, the lower group is bound to strict obedience. Naturally, the control of mass organizations must be less strict. It is rather a matter of leadership, persuasion, and deception.

The Front organization presupposes a cause, an organizer, and a receptive group. The Communist Party supplies the first two, and the groups interested in the cause furnish the adornment for letterheads, funds, and mass membership. The front technique permits the Party to indoctrinate and solicit funds from groups which it could never reach under its own name. Such groups are quite useful for propaganda purposes. They are possible only because the

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great masses of people are relatively innocent and naive. They take appeals for worthy causes at face value. Especially gullible are certain liberals who become professional "joiners." They lend their names to any cause which appears idealistic, without inquiring as to the forces behind the organization. Some of the best workers for front groups are fellow travelers who for one reason or other will not join the Party, but are glad to aid in its activities. Once the organization is formed, the busy liberal rarely troubles to discover whether or not the organization lives up to its profession, or what happens to its funds. He would be sadly disillusioned if he sought the help of the International Labor Defense to protect a worker expelled for fighting a Communist faction in a union.

Some organizations are fairly permanent, while others spring up on a specific dramatic issue. Some of the latter would include the "Committee to Oust Bilbo" and the "Committee to Aid Recy Taylor." The bases for these are offensive letters written by Senator Bilbo and an unatoned crime committed against Mrs. Recy Taylor, an Alabama Negress. Such temporary fronts stir up racial groups and win them to the Communist Party. They are also useful for fund raising and for training new Communists in organizational methods. The more permanent fronts aim at long-term objectives in settled groups. The main front groups are concerned with: 1) foreign policy, especially the influence of national groups and promoting friendship with the Soviet Union; 2) general propaganda, particularly through the use of writers, teachers, commentators, and other molders of public opinion; 3) minority groups, such as the Negro, Jewish groups, and the like; 4) professional groups, such as lawyers and doctors; 5) miscellaneous fronts, such as consumer groups, investors' groups, and the like.

Front groups are often interrelated, with the same names appearing on many letterheads. Usually a few prominent names of persons either sympathetic to Communist causes or unusually gullible are used to prime the pump, and then others are enlisted on the basis of names on the organizing committee. Posts of honor and prominence go to such individuals, but the Communists retain posts which carry real power, such as Organizational Director, Editor, Executive Secretary, Treasurer, and Educational Director.

To the Communist, the main functions of front groups are propaganda and fund raising. It will be noted that the financial budget of the Communist Party, listed in Appendix II, is surprisingly small. But when it is realized that each of hundreds of fronts and publications is supposed to be self-supporting, then the total funds available for Communist purposes are seen in better light. The Spanish fronts alone try to raise in a year ten times the budget of the Communist Party. These groups can tap trade union funds, money from wealthy persons, "liberal" funds such as the Garland Fund and the Robert Marshall Foundation, and other sources which would not be available to the Party as such. As a result of this, it would be utterly impossible to estimate the amount of money actually used for Party purposes each year. One would need the complete budgets of all front organizations, the amount of money diverted from controlled unions, the salaries paid Communist organizers who work full-time for the Party while holding sinecure jobs in controlled groups, and the like. Two points are evident: first, that the total funds spent for Communist inspired and controlled activities reach totals which must be expressed in tens of millions; and secondly, that there is no need of importation of funds from

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Moscow. On the contrary, it is more likely that this country exports funds to certain foreign groups, such as the Communist refugees of Loyalist Spain and other Communists who can be aided by relief funds under Communist control.

A point of highest importance in regard to front organizations is that they are organized, not merely infiltrated, by the Communist Party. This distinction is vital in determining our reaction to such groups. Common sense as well as the ban laid down in the Encyclical on Atheistic Communism would dictate aloofness from groups organized and controlled by Communists. No matter how laudable their professed purposes, one can be sure that in practice their activities will be directed towards strengthening Communism. This writer feels that no Catholic should join a strict front group. On the other hand, where Communists infiltrate an existing organization, such as a labor union, the situation is entirely different. Here is a legitimate organization, directed towards an essentially good purpose, and accidentally infected to some degree with Communism. Such a group has members who are faithful to its original purpose and highly suspicious of attacks upon it, no matter who well intentioned. Normally in such cases, the better policy is to train and organize the sound majority so that it can control the vicious minority. Withdrawal of anti-Communist groups usually gives the Communists a free hand with no enlightened leadership to oppose them. This point will be elaborated upon subsequently.

Foreign Language Front Organizations. In the preceding chapter, a number of Communist front organizations for foreign-language groups were noted. These are largely ad hoc groups, organized for some purpose connected with current Soviet foreign policy. In addition, the American Communist Party has permanent organizations for influencing the foreign born. On the permanent level, they usually try one or more of four tactics. The first and preferable method is to win them as members of the International Workers' Order, a fraternal organization of workers which offers sickness and death insurance. This group has about 180,000 members and assets of about two million dollars. It is subdivided into national or religious groups, such as the Finnish or the Jewish. Its secretary is Max Bedacht and its president Rockwell Kent. The I. W. O. is a thoroughly Communist organization, more a branch than a front. In the earlier days, when Communists admitted their antireligious bias, the I. W. O. frankly appealed to "Organize workers' children, or the priests will get them." It deplored the fact that the I. W. O. with low-cost insurance, lags behind "religious insurance rackets." Regrettable was the information that "four Catholic fraternal organizations alone increased their Juvenile Sections last year by nearly 8,000 children. These religious orders do not recruit children to help improve their physical existence. They want them to save their "souls." As long as they can save their souls, they can chain their bodies more securely to the slavery of capitalism." (Daily Worker, May 21, 1934, p. 4) Such frankness today would hardly be permitted: antireligious propaganda (in English) is left to the front groups to be noted in Chapter IV. (It might be noted parenthetically that Communist foreign-language publications are much more openly anticlerical and irreligious than their official -- not front -- English language press)

Once workers are in the I. W. O. they are urged to attend meetings, lectures, and classes where they are indoctrinated with the Communist Line. As a result, its 1,700 lodges are profitable recruiting centers for the Party. On the other hand, where workers cannot be gotten into this group, the

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Communists have three other tactics. One is to infiltrate existing foreign-language societies and try to win important positions. If this fails, it is possible to organize a splinter group with the same purposes as the recalcitrant society and thus try to destroy what they cannot absorb. If neither of these is successful, it is possible to form a superconference, a sort of holding company, to unite existing different organizations. An example would be the All-Slav Congress. In this position, one faction can be played against another, and the balance of power preserved. The net result is a substantial gain in Communist influence.

The success of Communism among the foreign-language groups is not much greater than its success elsewhere, with the possible exception of the Jewish community. As elsewhere its propaganda efforts are much more productive than its recruiting programs. On specific foreign issues, the degree of success is normally less with foreign-language groups involved than it is with the general public on the same issues (such as Poland), largely because the former are better informed. But the attrition effects of constant propaganda, the confusion and indecision engendered in the minds of the less well informed, and the consequent lack of united pressure upon the State Department, all these indicate that real fruits are being reaped as a result of Communist activities in the foreign language field.

Negro Fronts and Programs. Communist work among the Negro has varied considerably in intensity and effectiveness. Like all other activities, it has been attuned to the existing Party Line. When the Line was revolutionary, then the basic and real injustices and exploitation suffered by American Negroes could be utilized to the fullest. At such times, real advances were made by Communism among the Negroes. At other times, as during the War, when Negro grievances were being ignored, the Communist Party was able to make little headway. Then they concentrated on civil liberties issues which could be dramatized, such as the rape of Mrs. Recy Taylor by six white youths. Another tactic during this period was an intensive drive by the International Workers Order to recruit Negroes. But these efforts were only mildly successful. At one period during the War, the turnover of Communist Negroes approached 100%. They were losing as many as they gained. At the present moment, however, the winning of the Negro is a major objective of Party policy. Because of this fact, a brief analysis of their program for the Negro would be useful.

The theoretical basis for the Communist approach to the Negro question is that oppression of Negroes is but a species of the broader evil of colonial imperialism. Before a Communist Party is admitted into the Communist International, it must subscribe to twenty-one points, the eighth of which follows in part:

"Every party desirous of belonging to the Third International should be bound to denounce without any reserve all the methods of 'its own' imperialists in the colonies, supporting not only in words but practically a movement of liberation in the colonies. It should demand the expulsion of its own imperialists from such colonies and oppressed nationalities, and carry on a systematic agitation in its own army against every kind of oppression of the colonial population."

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On the basis of this general program, the Executive Committee of the Third Communist International in October 1930 laid down the basic directive for the American Party. Since there is evidence that this document is now being studies as the primary guiding directive for agitation among Negroes, it is reprinted in full from The Communist (Feb. 1931, pp. 153-167)

1. The Negro question in the United States is that of an "oppressed nation."
2. The slogan of the Communist Party must be: "The Right of Self-Determination of the Negroes in the 'Black Belt'." ("Black Belt" refers to the most heavily Negro populated area in the South stretching west from Virginia to the Mississippi River.)
3. Negroes have been deprived of their equal rights which should be obtained for them and the struggle therefor is one of the most important of the proletarian class struggle in the United States.
4. With particular regard for the struggle to obtain the right of "self-determination" for Negroes in the "Black Belt," there was urged,
 - a. "Confiscation of the land and property of the white landowners and capitalists for the benefit of the Negro farmer."
 - b. "Establishment of the state unity of the 'Black Belt'".
 - c. The "complete and unlimited right of the Negro majority to exercise governmental authority in the entire territory of the 'Black Belt' as well as to decide upon the relations of their territory and other nations, particularly the United States....."
 - d. The free republic of the Negroes in the "Black Belt" is not to be considered a separatist government, although autonomous, but is to be linked with the rest of proletarian America.
5. The Party adapts its tactics relative to Negroes to correspond with the mood of the general public. It must not be too radical that Negroes will not recognize that the Party demands their own. In all of its work among Negroes the Party must follow the dictates of the Communist International relative to the "colonial question" accepted at the Sixth Communist International.
6. Negro Communists must see to it that radical Negro leaders not Communists abandon their chauvinistic tactics and work with the white revolutionists.

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It is known that this program is being taught in Communist schools (e.g., Pettis Perry in the Los Angeles Workers' School). The leading Communist Negro functionary, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., in The Worker, July 2, 1945, lists as one of the most regrettable errors of the Browder regime the liquidation of "the cardinal principle of the right of self-determination for the Black Belt." In the New York State Communist Convention, which concluded August 12, 1945, a resolution was passed on the Negro question. Among the phrases used was: "national liberation struggle of the Negro people in the South." It is notable that the New York State Convention devoted a very considerable portion of its time to discussion of the Negro problem, particularly in the South. Louis Burnham (of Alabama) gave a lengthy speech which keynoted the discussion. The result was an agreement that the North would give substantial financial support to a program of agitation and propaganda in the South. The Southern Communist Party was to be revived and strengthened.

Much of the Communist program for Negroes is the same as that sponsored by thoroughly reputable organizations. Indeed, Herbert March of Chicago, addressing the National Communist Convention on July 27th, 1945 noted that a joint committee, consisting of representatives of his union (Packinghouse Workers), the Catholic Churches of the community, and all fraternal organizations in the community had undertaken a campaign against "white chauvinism" in the community. He further noted that his Union had undertaken the publishing of a speech on the FEPC, written by Bishop Sheil, for distribution in the entire Catholic community. But over and above such programs shared by many non-Communists, the Party has distinctive programs of its own. One is the right of self-determination, noted earlier. Another is the "special seniority" provision for Negroes in industry. On the grounds that Negroes, because of discrimination, were the last hired in war plants, normal union seniority clauses would lead to the discharge of Negroes first. Hence under these circumstances, Communists propose discharging by racial quotas. Thus, if a plant were to reduce its employees to 50% of their former number, the Communist program would call for a discharge of half the low seniority Negroes and half the low seniority whites. Other points particularly agitated by the Communists are the Recy Taylor case, "Jim Crow" in baseball, and the ouster of Senator Bilbo to cure the nation of the "Bilbonic plague."

The two primary Negro Communist front organizations are the National Negro Congress and the Southern Negro Youth Congress. Details of both these organizations are given in Appendix III. In addition, a number of groups spring up to exploit particular issues. These fronts are usually short-lived and can be discovered by regular reading of the Daily Worker. In addition to these fronts, the Communists are trying seriously to infiltrate the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Major efforts are being made along this line, and they have achieved local successes. Perhaps a good quick test for the degree of infiltration in a given group is to note names. Max Yergan and Paul Robeson are found in most of the Communist fronts, while A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is the leading anti-Communist. Randolph, however, frequently gets caught by Communist fronts in other fields.

Communists are currently trying to infiltrate liberal Southern groups, particularly the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Such names are Pauline T. Dobbs and Mary McLeod Bethune are generally suspect. In the

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Nashville Convention in 1942, attended by this writer, the vocal Communist minority appeared to be snowed under in all strictly Party Line issues. On the other hand, some Party Line phrases now appear occasionally in The Southern Patriot, published by the Conference. The Permanent Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor "plans to synchronize all its work in Mrs. Taylor's behalf with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and with other progressive Southern bodies." (Daily Worker, Dec. 24, 1944; underscoring added to emphasize revealing phrase. In Communist "doubletalk" progressive means Communist or Communist-infiltrated.) These indications are by themselves rather minor; but they should warn friends of the Conference about Communist intentions.

The principal Communist paper for Negroes is the People's Voice, described in Appendix I. This paper was captured by them when Marshall Field withdrew his subsidy, and substantial financial aid was afforded by the Party surreptitiously. Recently its editor, Adam Clayton Powell, clashed with the political commissars for the paper, Max Yergan, Benjamin Davis, Jr., and Doxey Wilkerson. It is doubtful whether he will succeed in ousting them, especially since he is politically indebted to the AIP-Marcantonio machine. According to Communist sources, the leading anti-Communist Negro paper is the Pittsburgh Courier, especially the column of George S. Schuyler. (Cf. column by Alphaeus Hunton, Daily Worker, March 8, 1945). Frank Crosswaith has also written several articles exposing Communist machinations among Negroes. At this writing, Communist efforts have won them 10,000 current Negro members.

Communism Among Jews. The study of Communism among Jews is difficult for two reasons. The first is that Jews are sensitive to any discussion of them as Jews, at least when subjects unfavorable to them are involved. The second is that wild exaggerations on the subject have made them particularly touchy on this point. In regard to the first point, there is definite evidence of Communist appeals to them as Jews. The Jewish Peoples' Fraternal Order is the Jewish Branch of the I.W.O. Any fair study of the problem must take note of this fact, just as in the preceding chapter the Communist attempts to infiltrate foreign language groups were noted. On the second point, while it is a fact that a large percentage of Communists are Jews, yet less than one per cent of Jews are Communist. Furthermore, the most effective opposition to American Communists comes from David Dubinsky, The American Jewish Committee, the Jewish Labor Committee (which withdrew from the American Jewish Conference when it admitted the Jewish I.W.O.), the predominantly Jewish Liberal Party of New York, and the Social Democratic group of New York. The anti-Communist Jewish Labor Committee represents 500,000 Jewish trade unionists, in contrast to the "tens of thousands" claimed by the newly organized pro-Communist Trade Union Committee for Jewish Unity. Again, the Bulgarian Jewish Communists on Jan. 8, 1945, withdrew from the World Jewish organizations, characterising Zionism as "chauvinist and bourgeois," and banning Hebrew studies in Bulgaria (New Leader, Feb. 10, 1945.) All these facts indicate that Communism is recognized as a real problem among Jews. Rather than adopt an ostrich-like attitude on the problem, it would seem that the best service to Jews would be to recognize and co-operate with Anti-Communist Jewish organizations and their publication Forward.

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At the present moment, the Communists are making strong efforts to win over the Jewish community. The latest formulation of the Line is found in Political Affairs for October, 1945. The article by Alexander Bittleman stresses the fact that "progressive Jewish trade unionists must become the actual leaders of these mass struggles and a leading factor in the anti-fascist and progressive unity movements of the American Jews." They will now support Zionism. (pp. 930-931). One of the main agencies for infiltration was the Jewish People's Committee (for United Action Against Fascism and Anti-Semitism), a group formed in 1936 when the American Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Congress refused to admit Communist organizations. However, the resolutions adopted in the 1945 New York State Communist Convention bracket the Congress with the I. U. O. as "democratic" organizations. Also recommended to Party members was the newly formed "Jewish School for Jewish Studies", which is thoroughly staffed with Communists and Party Liners. At the moment, the Party is striving to capture the delegation of 100 Polish Jews, to be sent to Poland for a survey, under the auspices of the American Federation of Polish Jews.

The chief co-ordinator for Jewish Communist activity is Mary Himoff, who works particularly among "mass organizations." According to a reliable and well-informed Jewish source, she recently stated "There are thousands of Jewish organizations in the United States with hundreds of thousands of members. We Communists are trying to organize all of them into giant mass organizations, which we will eventually control, and many of which we are presently directing." She also stated that the Jewish people are "definitely swinging towards the left and becoming friendlier to the Soviet Union and to the Soviet Government." Among the mass organizations indicated is the American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists, and Scientists, which is one of the important front organizations for the Jewish Community. Another cultural wing is the Committee of the Ikuf, which publishes Jewish Culture, and is organizing a book club as a means of spreading Communist literature. For mass appeal, the Morning Freiheit Association was formed on September 30, 1944. The Morning Freiheit is an important Yiddish Communist paper. One of its editors is Abraham Chapman, whose brother Emmanuel is a well-known Catholic professor. (See Appendix I) Icor is another Jewish cultural front.

The main attraction the Communists offer to the Jewish people is the argument that Communism stands for complete equality of races, religions, and cultures. They portray the Soviet Union as the ideal state where complete cultural autonomy exists. So bitter is the average Jew against discrimination, that he tends to accept uncritically any group which claims to work against it. It would be interesting if authentic information could be given such groups about existing Antisemitism in Russia. Millions of Jews have been sent to the bleak Asiatic state of Birobidjan. Pogroms against Jewish refugees or returning Jews are commonplace in Soviet Ukraine, Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. (Cf. Solomon M. Schwartz, "Antisemitism in Russia," Common Sense, August 1945). Displaced persons being repatriated to Poland are fleeing back in terror. (New York Times, Oct. 7, 1945). American Jews forget that when they were agitating against the Nazis during the early years of the War, the U.S.S.R. had a friendship pact with Hitler. During the great pogroms in Palestine in 1929, American Communists, in accord with the Soviet Line, supported the "Revolutionary program" of the Arabs. Even the Freiheit printed articles and cartoons against the Palestinian Jews. Such is the sincerity of Communist interest in the Jews.

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The propaganda of equality explains why many financially successful Jews support the Communists and serve as an important source of funds. It explains the appeal of Communism for Jewish intellectuals and artists in New York and Hollywood. Antisemitism and discrimination is exploited to the full by Communists. Unfortunately this situation feeds upon itself and grows with agitation. The Communist variety of fight against antisemitism is so offensive that it normally increases the evil. This satisfies the Communists, who then have increasing reason to agitate. Not all Antisemitic movements are Communist, of course, but there is evidence of serious infiltration of the Foundation of Catholics for Human Brotherhood. Perhaps the indicated remedy is close co-ordination between socially minded Catholics and anti-Communist Jews to get the facts before our people and to head off the growing evil of antisemitism.

Communism and Youth. The interest of the Communist Party in youth groups is, of course, notorious. Agitation over Communist sponsored or infiltrated youth movements during the 1930's was common. At the present moment, the principal front organization is the American Youth for Democracy, a successor to the Young Communist League. The AYD is described at length in Appendix III. At this writing, Communists are bitterly disappointed in the AYD. Its membership has declined to 8,000, half of this in New York City. Its magazine, the Spotlight, had to suspend for lack of funds. Of course, much of this difficulty is traceable to the fact that the AYD was founded in the midst of war (October, 1943), when American youth was preoccupied elsewhere. At both the National and the New York State Conventions the issue was discussed at length, and there was strong sentiment for revival of the Young Communists League. Nevertheless, the decision was against immediate revival and the matter was referred to the new National Committee. Insofar as any decisions were taken at the Conventions, they were to strengthen the AYD and to devote more emphasis to the recruiting and training of youth as regular members of the Communist Party. It might be well to watch closely the American Youth for a Free World, American branch of the London World Youth Council.

Another Communist youth program is the publication of a new series of Young World Books by International Publishers. These books are for boys and girls of the ages nine to sixteen, and will deal with science, history, social sciences, and modern fiction, with an appropriate Marxist slant. Four books are to appear this coming year, at a cost of about one dollar each.

Miscellaneous Communist Fronts. Since the Communist Party is prolific in producing front organizations, it would be impossible in this Report even to name those existing today. One list of Communist fronts and publications, active within the last ten years on a national or a substantial local scale, included over a thousand names. It is recommended, however, that readers of this Report peruse carefully Appendices I and III. The descriptions given there afford some idea of the complexity and scope of front activity. Of the fronts not hitherto mentioned, particular attention might be paid to those which publicize the Soviet Union, such as the American Russian Institute, Inc., and the National Council of Soviet American Friendship, Inc. In the latter organization, it is notable that an extraordinarily wide field of activity is covered. Particularly significant is the sentence: "the Science Committee has been successful in exchanging scientific data with the Soviet Union as well as arranging exchange of scientists between the United States and the

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Soviet Union." Perhaps the best commentary on that sentence is the biblical: Qui potest capere, capiat. In addition, as will be noted in Chapter IV, the Council has been successful in propagandizing teachers and other groups influential in fields of public opinion.

In the fields of law and legislation, the National Federation of Constitutional Liberties and the National Lawyers' Guild are both important. Technically these groups are concerned with legislation, but recently they have been the primary Communist mouthpieces for a number of issues before the public eye. Of the two organizations, the Federation is more likely to deal with purely Communist issues. The Guild is usually in the same position when it issues public statements, but, as will be noted in Appendix III, many of the programs advocated in the Lawyers' Guild Review are liberal rather than Communist. At one time, many members of the Guild were merely liberal lawyers who resented the extreme conservatism of the American Bar Association. Most of this group resigned, however, when the real nature of the organization became known.

The Communists have dabbled with consumer fronts, the most prominent being Consumers Union. (See Appendices I and III) Another group was the League of Women Shoppers. In addition a dozen others were formed about 1935, but they have not been active recently. The general objective of the program was to undermine capitalism by proving that the profit system produces inferior goods at exorbitant prices. It was also hoped to make consumers labor conscious, so that they would boycott goods produced under inferior labor conditions. On the whole, they say little that is not also said by such non-Communist groups as the advocates of the co-operative movement. It is only rarely that straight Communist propaganda creeps into their publications. There is no evidence that the ratings of articles by Consumers' Union is influenced by other than technical considerations.

Conclusion. This study of the structure of the Communist Party might be supplemented by Appendix II, where the Constitution and governing bodies of the Party are given. Also of interest is a list by states and cities of delegates to the National Communist Convention in 1945, obtained from a confidential source close to the New York Police. It is reliably reported that the Police make a practice of placing informants in the Party, with instructions to work their way into positions of responsibility.

From the data presented in this and the preceding chapter, the Communist Party appears as a well-disciplined although small group, which multiplies its effectiveness enormously through the use of front organizations and controlled publications. By these methods, relatively large sums of money can be obtained for propaganda and agitation. Furthermore, pressure behind any given issue can be built up enormously through the enlisting of "innocents" and the cumulative effect of publicity by interlocking front organizations. To parody an elder statesman: Never before in human history have so many been controlled so often by so few.

The remaining chapters of this section will outline further ramifications of Communist activity in important and influential fields.

CHAPTER III

COMMUNISM IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The discussion of Communism in the labor movement is undoubtedly the most difficult phase of the entire problem. More than in any other field, emotions and prejudices are likely to be aroused. There is little possibility of universal agreement either as to facts or the interpretation of these facts. Sometimes, as will be noted later, it is possible to obtain apparently conflicting facts on the same question from sources which are thoroughly reliable and sincere. The material presented here was obtained from observation of the Communist press, from officials high and low in all branches of the labor movement, from Government conciliators, and finally from certain confidential trade union sources which had access to inner Communist councils.

Aims. From the Communist point of view, there are a number of objectives to be sought in the labor movement. One long-range, ultimate aim would be the control of industries strategic for general strikes and revolutions. In all countries, Communists are ordered to seize control in transportation and basic industries. There are many important gaps in this pattern of control for the United States; as will be seen later when specific unions are discussed. Thus, for example, their strength is negligible in the coal and railroad fields, provinces which would be important for any ultimate revolutionary aim. Likewise, they have no foothold with the telephone workers, the most important branch of communications. In fact, the recent telephone strike was in protest against a provisional decision of a NLRB trial examiner, favoring the Communist-demonated United Electrical Workers, C.I.O. Thus, as of mid-October 1945, the strike wave which is causing concern is as often centered in anti-Communist unions as those dominated by the Party.

One of the more immediate objectives of Communists in regard to the labor movement is the seizure of control of local and national unions for the purpose of propaganda and the plundering of union funds. Every effort is made to obtain strategic positions, such as educational director, legislative director, and other positions which permit influencing members or the public. If a local or national unit is completely controlled, it is possible to place Communist functionaries on the payroll. They are thus paid for nominal services, while devoting full time to Party work. The Union telephone is used for toll calls, its mimeographing facilities for the issuance of propaganda, and its funds are appropriated for donations to front organizations. The propaganda objective explains the Communist penchant for seizing control of city and state labor legislative bodies (industrial union councils). Such groups are valuable for publicizing issues of the moment for and pressuring legislatures.

At this moment, a major Communist objective in labor is the obtaining of complete control over national and international labor political action. Thus, they wish to have at their disposal the Political Action Committee of the CIO (PAC) and the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). While there is considerable controversy over the actuality of their control at the present time, there is no question about their desires in the matter. To them, these organizations would be ideal weapons for influencing governments.

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Finally, the Communists wish to recruit Party members from trade unions. In the recent conventions they stressed this point. In fact, it was decided to appoint a hundred member National Trade Union Committee to work out Communist policies in the union field. No information has yet been received as to whether such a committee has been formed. At any rate, the emphasis is definitely upon greater representation from labor. Intensive recruiting campaigns are planned for Pittsburgh, Detroit, and other important centers.

Tactics. To understand Communist penetration of trade unions, it is essential to appreciate Communist tactics. These have varied considerably during the last twenty-five years, but at the moment the method is definitely one of infiltrating and seizing existing unions. Communists today do not form separate unions. In taking over a going organization, they use definite techniques which are extremely successful in young unions consisting largely of untrained members. The going is much harder when they are confronted with old-time union men.

Unless Communist tactics are understood, serious errors will be made in the attempt to counter efforts at penetration. Thus it will be seen that neither denunciation of Communists on the one hand, nor the preaching of social justice without counterorganization on the other hand, are likely to succeed in dislodging a Communist group in control of a union. Nor can they be ousted by anti-Communist higher leadership in many unions, since in rapidly expanded unions trained leadership is spread too thinly to keep a grip over the locals. Indeed, many Communists received their foothold precisely because of the scarcity of trained organizers.

Communist union tactics have two objectives: controlling policy, and seizing power. Policy is controlled normally through the union meeting. For these meetings Communists caucus beforehand and determine programs and techniques. The strategy used will depend upon the political maturity of the union. Where it is green and there is no organized opposition, no elaborate machinery is required. A handful of Communists scattered through a meeting can propose and second a resolution to donate \$1,000 to the American Youth for Democracy, make several speeches on the subject, lead off bursts of applause, and call for the question. If there is a politically conscious opposition, more work is required. Then efforts are made to pack the meeting with members who can be influenced, sometimes leaflets are distributed, and a real campaign conducted, provided the issue warrants it. Should this fail, the tactic is then to drive members away from the meeting by long, tedious speeches and constant bickering. Then the controlled minority becomes a majority. Paul Weber, tof the Detroit A.C.T.U. could testify to meetings where important issues came to a vote at 2.00 a.m. It is the after-midnight meeting which sends a telegram to President Roosevelt demanding in the name of 40,000 members of Local 43, IULISWA, that he free Browder from prison or dismiss deportation charges against Harry Bridges. In addition, all the tricks of parliamentary law are used to confuse untrained unionists and impose the will of a minority on an unorganized majority.

To seize power, individual Communists try to win prominence and favor within the local union where they work. They are prominent in meetings, active in union organizing, zealous in seeking out and settling grievances, and thus likely to be favorably noticed by the workers. At the same time,

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they cultivate disgruntled minorities and politically ambitious "outs". In a short time, they are usually elected to minor offices, such as shop steward or trustee. With the added prominence, they perfect their organization, especially seeking opportunists anxious for honor and prestige. Simultaneously they institute an undercover campaign of "smearing" and "character assassination" against the existing officers. They make impossible demands and exploit unredressed grievances, no matter how preposterous. Whispering campaigns are begun. Rumors are spread that the officers are "company stooges." Then when election rolls around, Communists have a slate which represents minority groups such as Negroes, embodies some popular but weak officers, and possibly has a few Communists in strategic positions. At the same time, they try to promote several independent slates to split the opposition vote. In the confusion, they are often successful in gaining power. Once in power, they attempt to expel the opposition leaders from the union on trumped-up charges, and thus remove potential danger to their tenure. The weak President depends upon them for advice and thus can be used at will. If the regime is unsatisfactory, as it usually is, they can drop the unpopular officers and put in a new slate of dupes the following year. By the same tactics, they try to capture the delegates to the national convention and thus have a say in electing national officers. If they can thus control enough locals, they can expel anti-Communist officers, as James Carey found out to his sorrow when he was rudely removed from office with the United Electrical Workers. Carey's mistake was the sponsoring of an anti-Communist resolution at the convention. It must be noted that in all these activities, Communists have the advice of the local Communist organization and the aid of previously controlled unions.

The point which is outstanding in all these activities is the part played by organization. Issues and programs are decidedly subordinate. Of course, the Communists try to sponsor as many popular issues as possible. Likewise, an anti-Communist group would be foolish to come out with mere "Red-baiting" program without any understanding of the needs and just desires of the workers. But if necessary, organization can prevail even without popular issues. Such was the case during the War, when the Communists almost completely neglected the grievances of workers and still held power.

In labor, as elsewhere, Communists are masters of exploiting the "balance of power" strategy. Whenever possible, they either split a union into factions or take advantage of an existing split. Then the votes of their disciplined minority will be given to the group which is most willing to co-operate. By this technique, they are often able to play a decisive part with control of only a minority vote. This explains the alliances between Communists and opportunists in the labor movement, such as Richard Frankensteen of the Auto Workers and Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. It just happens that at times certain opportunists are in positions where an organized voting group is needed, and they will pay the price. An interesting example of Communist use of this technique may be noted from the better-known field of politics. The American Labor Party of New York is trying to gain a balance-of-power position between the Republicans and the Democrats, so that their dominating vote can be used to control the policies of the much larger parties.

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Communism in the American Federation of Labor. The problem of Communism has never become a serious national issue in the A. F. of L. There are two reasons for this situation. The first is that the constitutions of the A. F. of L. unions give relatively more power to the national union and less to the constituent local bodies. As a result, national officers are better able to stamp out Communism by executive action. If necessary, they can suspend the autonomy of the local body and appoint an administrator to clear up the situation. The very centralization of power which has led at time to autocracy and other abuses is the most effective protection against Communism. The second reason for slow penetration is the fact that in the older A. F. of L. unions, the members are trained and experienced unionists. They are not easily fooled by a clique of clever parliamentarians. Many of the locals are sufficiently small in size, in contrast to giant mass-production industry locals, to permit personal knowledge and appraisal of officers. As a result, there has been relatively little penetration by Communists on a national scale.

In the A. F. of L. there are several local situations where Communists have complete power over local and even occasionally national unions. Such a condition obtains as a rule because of geographical concentrations of Communists in a given locality. Such would be the case in New York. In other situations, Communists have made extraordinary efforts to capture locals, as happened with many motion picture locals in Hollywood. Cleveland and San Francisco are other districts where there is some Communist strength in the A. F. of L. The most dramatic current example of attempted penetration was the attempt of Communists to seize control of the International Longshoremen's Association, currently headed by Joseph Ryan. Harry Bridges came East to direct this fight in person, and Nathan Witt is attorney for the insurgent group, with William E. Warren formerly leading the "rank-and-file" members. The Communist controlled C.I.O. unions connected with maritime work, namely, the National Maritime Union, the American Communications Association, Marine Cooks and Stewards Association, and also the unaffiliated but Communist Marine Firemen's, Oilers', Watertenders' and Wipers Union, were all actively supporting the insurgent group and incidentally tying up shipping. Warren later admitted that "Blackie" Myers of the N.M.U. contributed \$25,000 to the rank-and-file. What makes this situation somewhat obscure, however, is the fact that the Communists are exploiting a real grievance. Mr. Ryan is an autocrat and is alleged to rule by means of a murderous "goon squad" which terrorizes the waterfront. It is interesting to note that a second insurgent group, non-Communist in character, is beginning to take shape. It is also significant that in addressing the New York State Communist Convention on Saturday, August 11, John Steuben said: "We propose to go back to the waterfront. Joe Ryan has had it too easy for several years." (Confidential trade union source)

Comments on the A. F. of L. in both Conventions, obtained from a unionist who attended and took good notes, are worth summarizing, since they may aid in understanding future developments. The main Communist objective is to oust the alleged reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L. and to force that body to enter the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). In doing this, Communists feel that they have some chance of penetrating the building trades unions, hitherto most conservative. As proof of this, Steuben cited the changed attitude towards Comrade Louis Weinstock (Painters), who is "now a recognized leader in the building industry." The

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Communists have little hope of influencing the needle trades unions, where the Social Democratic group under David Dubinsky plays a decisive role. The Communists consider Dubinsky their most effective foe. The third group, the teamsters, is characterized as vacillating, but they hope to make definite progress here. Finally, there are the Communist-controlled local unions, namely, the painters, bakers, meat cutters, hotel and restaurant workers, and, to some degree, even the machinists. A later speaker, Jane Hoffman of the cultural section, noted controlled unions (not all A.F. of L.) in radio, film, publishing, theater, music, commercial and fine arts, and the like. The actual title of some of these unions are: the Dramatists Guild; Radio Writers Guild; Authors Guild and Screen Writers Guild of the Independent Authors League of America; Actors Equity Association; Chorus Equity; American Federation of Radio Artists; Guild of Musical Artists; Guild of Variety Artists; Radio Directors Guild; American Federation of Musicians; Scenic Artists; Screen Actors Guild, Int. Alliance of Theatre Stage Employees, and many others, all A. F. of L. (N.B. This is a report from the New York State Convention: it does not necessarily indicate national control, although the statement could substantially be made of Hollywood as well) (A source in Los Angeles reports these additional A. F. of L. unions controlled: American Federation of Teachers, Local 430; Screen Cartoonists Guild, Local 852; Film Technicians Local 683; and Screen Office Employees Guild, Local 1391).

In the National Convention, the tone was less exultant. Weinstock apologized for their poor showing. Steuben noted that in Philadelphia, Cleveland, and Detroit, only one Communist business agent for the painters was to be found in each city. He considered Chicago as absolutely deplorable, with not a single Communist in A. F. of L. executive positions. Even in Cleveland, according to Arnold Johnson, only 300 A. F. of L. members were Communists. Harold Johnston of Seattle noted infiltration of the Machinists Union there. In conclusion, Weinstock urged intensive work by Communists in the Teamsters, Machinists, Food Workers, Building Trades, and Building Service Trades unions. If such a move occurs in the Teamsters, it will be interesting to watch Tobin's reaction. In the past year, he has given an endorsement of the Crimea Conference and a scathing attack on religious penetration of the trade union movement. The occasion for the attack was the action of a New Orleans priest in protesting against an act of injustice.

In summary, it must be remembered that most of the trouble promised the A. F. of L. is precisely in the stage of promise. There is no indication that it will necessarily be successful. Of the large unions, the one that might bear watching is the Machinists Union, mainly because it has become a mass organization quite similar to C.I.O. unions, and hence is more easily penetrated. Otherwise, the controlled unions are important, not so much because of their influence in the A. F. of L., for this is negligible, but rather because of their potentialities for affecting public opinion. Cultural considerations, however, are more properly reserved for the following chapter. A listing of the more prominent Communist holdings in the A. F. of L. will be given in Appendix IV.

Communism in the National C.I.O. In the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Communist problem is more serious. Before entering into details, however, it would be useful to note briefly the structure of the organization. The C.I.O. is a representative body which handles legislative,

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public relations, and like functions for its member unions. Technically it is the servant of its forty or so constituent unions. Its officers are elected in an annual convention held by these unions. These autonomous unions in turn are the service agencies for their member locals. They handle organization problems, publicity and propaganda, and legislative work. They often aid in collective bargaining and other problems which may require wider experience than that possessed by local officers. Often they have research staffs. Officers of the unions are elected in annual conventions attended by delegates of the various locals. Under certain extraordinary conditions mentioned in their constitutions, it is possible for national officers to suspend the autonomy of a local and administer its affairs.

These points are significant in regard to the Communist problem, since authority basically comes from the bottom up, not from the top down. Accordingly, if Communists take over a local, let us say, of the Automobile Workers, Mr. Murray of the National C.I.O. has nothing to say on the matter, and Mr. Thomas of the UAW relatively little authority in the situation. In practice, a strong and resourceful union president can exercise much more than his constitutional authority. It is quite unlikely that Philip Murray, as president of the Steelworkers, would tolerate a Communist steel local in Pittsburgh. But all this is extraconstitutional, and would not be possible if the Communists captured enough locals to raise a real row in the annual convention. Men who are basically anti-Communist, such as John Green of the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, have had to submit temporarily when the Communists gained a substantial foothold and a possible majority in their union. Those who chose to fight, such as James Carey of the United Electrical Workers, were voted out of office. The moral of all this is that Communist capture of unions is largely an organizational problem on the local level. If democracy is to be preserved in unions, and surely this is desirable, then the only final answer to Communism in labor is the training of the decent and nonpolitical majority so that they may run their own affairs skillfully and well.

In the National C.I.O. we may distinguish between staff officers and the executive board. The former handles routine matters and day-by-day decisions. The latter is the policy-making group between conventions. The Board reflects accurately the Communist strength in the members unions and hence is to be judged by the material given at the conclusion of this chapter and in Appendix IV. It has always been said that in straight policy matters, the right wing group could swamp the left wing. This, however, is difficult to reconcile with the breakdown of membership and voting strength given later. The data given there rather leads to the conclusion that the left strength on the executive board is preponderant. This would amount to overwhelming left strength if the votes of Mr. Hillman and Mr. Thomas were to side with this faction, something not inconceivable in the light of some recent decisions they have taken. The same division would apply to national conventions, except that there the local industrial unions under Mr. Haywood have 131 votes, and the industrial union councils under Mr. Brophy have 168 votes. The former would in all likelihood favor the right wing, but one would not feel so sure of the councils. Unquestionably the powerful and large right-wing unions give basic strength to the C.I.O., and the left would not dare to drive them back to the A.F. of L. Hence in practice, each group seems to fear the other, and compromise rather than clear-cut decisions is likely to be the result.

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As for the staff of the National C.I.O., the "big three" consisting of Philip Murray, James Carey, and Allen Haywood can be considered as anti-Communist. On the other hand, the Communists control two very important positions, with Lee Pressman as general counsel and Len De Caux in charge of the national C.I.O. paper. When top C.I.O. officials are queried on this point, they reply that they are aware of these affiliations, but that they do not permit the policies of these individuals to enter into their official duties. On the whole, De Caux keeps the worst Communist propaganda out of the C.I.O. News, but this negative achievement hardly seems to merit his retention, especially since the paper is dull and poorly edited. Pressman is in a much more strategic position, since he gives advice and aids in drawing up statements, documents, resolutions, and the like. Those who know him state that he is unquestionably an able lawyer and that the case for retaining him on the grounds of ability would be strong. Replacement from members of the legal staff of member unions might not be satisfactory, since many of them are likewise Communists (Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Transport Workers; Auto Workers, etc.) It is hard to believe, however, that all able labor lawyers are Communist. Incidentally, since some question the Communism of Pressman, the writer has seen an affidavit by an editor of a nationally known general magazine stating that this editor was in one of the primary Communist cells to infiltrate the early New Deal (AAA in 1935), and that among his companions were Alger Hiss, John Abt, and Lee Pressman. It is reliably stated that this editor plans to release such a statement if Alger Hiss becomes permanent secretary of the United Nations Organization.

It is doubtful that Pressman and his cohorts are necessarily effective in determining labor policy at the National C.I.O. On the other hand, there are indications of success on political matters and international affairs. P.A.C. and the W.F.T.U. are complex matters, to be discussed presently. But Lee Pressman, as chairman of the C.I.O. Resolutions Committee, was able to push through at the 1944 Convention resolutions endorsing the united front of Socialists and Communists in Italy; a relief ship for Tito's Yugoslavia; a hard peace for Germany; the Lublin government of Poland; the CTAL in South America; the retention of Harry Bridges; and like Party Line resolutions (Daily Worker, Dec. 1, 1944; New Leader, Dec. 9, 1944). In addition Philip Murray has endorsed the fight for Harry Bridges. He contributed a lengthy article in the Soviet paper, War and the Working Class (Daily Worker, Dec. 26, 1944). This fact occasioned much glee in the American Communist press, with one article in The Worker (Dec. 31, 1944) written by Mr. Louis F. Budenz. Finally, in the effort to prevent internecine warfare between the right and the left, Mr. Murray has sponsored a number of compromises, which in at least two important cases saved the left-wing group from a beating. The Unions in question were the giant United Auto Workers and the then large Marine and Shipbuilding Workers. This information was received first-hand by the writer from a top C.I.O. official who had something to do with the affairs and also from a well known authority on union politics, Mr. Roy Hudson, formerly chief of trade union activities for the Communist Party. Recently, Mr. Murray endorsed the re-election of Michael Quill for New York Councilman.

Plausible explanations have been offered for each of these events. It is argued by Murray spokesmen that Convention resolutions are meaningless formalities (but they have propaganda value abroad and even here). The friendship with Soviet trade unions only paralleled the existing close political and military relationship of the United States with the Soviet Union. Defense of Harry Bridges is justified on the grounds that attacks on him are really indirect attacks on trade unions. Finally, the policy of compromise

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with the left-wing group is dictated by the fact that the C.I.O. is already engaged in a bitter struggle with the A.F. of L., John Lewis, and many employers. Under these conditions, it is argued, it would be folly to weaken the C.I.O. by all-out ideological warfare. These spokesmen suggest that it would be better to fight Communism in the member locals of the different unions. Then there would be no problem at the top.

An outside observer is inclined to be sympathetic with the predicament of Philip Murray. He inherited the Communists from John L. Lewis, who needed organizers in the beginning and thought he could control the Communists. Murray's ability to purge them is limited at best. But with all credit for good will and difficult situations, it does appear that mistakes in judgment have been made. If some Communists had to be retained in the National C.I.O. as a sop to member unions, it was not necessary to give them such key positions. One of the most serious errors of omission was the failure of many C.I.O. unions to train competent officers. As a result, the Communists were able to push forward men which they trained. In general, the right-wing leadership is spread thin and is overworked. The result is the existence of serious problems of indiscipline and Communism in many locals.

In connection with the National C.I.O., one might mention the state and city industrial councils. These are representative bodies which often handle public relations work for the various locals of their district. Usually they handle legislation and lobbying. Recently they have been given charge over the Political Action Committee units of their locality. Since these councils deal so little with direct labor problems, they have often fallen by default to the Communists, who use them for propaganda purposes. Among the more important controlled councils are those of New York City and Detroit. It often happens that Communists control such councils, even when the predominant sentiment in a region is right-wing. Here as elsewhere it is the indifference and ineptitude of the majority which permits a disciplined and organized minority to prevail.

Another side issue which may be pertinent here is that of the Communist controlled labor press services, namely, Federated Press and Allied Labor News. Federated Press is located at 25 Astor Place, N.Y.C., and is headed by Carl Haessler, and pretty thoroughly staffed by Communists. Its picture and news services stress favorably the Communist controlled unions, but it is clever enough not to mention the Communist Party as such. The Allied Labor News is located at 1133 Broadway, N.Y.C. and does on the international front what Federated Press does on the domestic front. The cost of news and picture service from FP is about \$26.00 a month, and from A.L.N. is \$10.00 a month.

The Political Action Committee-C.I.O. One of the most controversial features connected with the National C.I.O. was the formation of PAC to influence the 1944 elections. There were controversies as to its legitimacy, its origin, its effectiveness, and alleged Communist control. Arguments as to its legitimacy do not belong in this Report. It is a labor pressure group and parallels business, farm, and veteran pressure groups. While the country might be better off with more groups interested in general welfare and fewer devoted to special interests, it would be unreasonable to expect labor to make a unilateral sacrifice. On the matter of the origin of PAC there is a

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controversy which cannot be solved by facilities at the disposal of this investigator. Sources close to Philip Murray report that he originated the idea and delegated to Hillman the carrying out of the program. On the other hand, trade union informants close to Earl Browder state that some months prior to the formation of PAC, he initiated a discussion as to the advisability of an organization of this nature. Actually the question of origin is quite secondary, and is mentioned only to indicate how thoroughly controversial is the subject.

On the subject of control of PAC, the fight is really joined. Those who claim that there was no Communist control of PAC argue that the top C.I.O. has the final say in policy matters and that it is not Communist dominated. They further argue, correctly, that Sidney Hillman is not a Communist, but that on the contrary he has often clashed violently with them. A final point is that the PAC program was one which could be accepted freely by non-Communist groups. The conclusion reached was that the PAC functioned as an agency to educate workers and to get out the vote. Incidentally, it might be noted that several of the excerpts from Catholic publications quoted as favoring PAC were dealing with the theory of PAC or with the charge that Hillman was a Communist. They were not necessarily endorsements of the entire agency and its actions as it appeared at election time.

Those who alleged Communist control of PAC argued that the top C.I.O. officialdom did not in fact exercise detailed scrutiny over PAC's actions, but rather that most decisions were left to Mr. Hillman. Hillman in turn, it is reliably reported from a trade union source, was profoundly influenced by the judgment of Mr. John Abt, his counsel and a very able Communist. This same source, who has access to top Communist officialdom, reports that such officials as Browder, Green, Williamson, and Hudson met regularly with Abt to give him orders on the conduct of PAC. Browder, reporting these weekend meetings, deplored the fact that Abt was stubborn at times and only yielded after prolonged argument. That Hillman accepted this advice was evident on many occasions, particularly when he turned the New York American Labor Party to the Communists, and attempted to turn the Detroit PAC over to a united front group which would include heavy Communist representation. In addition to such influence at the top, Communist control extended into the lower levels. In such cities as New York, Cleveland, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, and Baltimore there was Communist control with a certain amount of right-wing window dressing. In Chicago, Erie, and Duluth there was heavy Communist infiltration, without control. On the very lowest levels, where the "leg work" was done, Communists tended to monopolize the pamphlet passing and doorbell ringing in every city, save Detroit, where they were strong. These were the people who interpreted and applied the program which many found unexceptionable. Incidentally, in regard to this program, many of the tests applied to public officials (vote on the poll tax, Dies Committee, etc.), were only indirectly connected with labor problems, although a good case could be made for their legitimacy. Finally, in regard to Hillman himself, it is argued that he is an opportunist and that for the moment he feels it is to his advantage to work closely with the Communists.

With the new militancy in the Communist Line and its ever-greater orientation towards foreign problems, it is likely that the Communist hand in PAC will reveal itself more closely in the future. If possible, of course,

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Pressman and Abt will try to discover issues which are not specifically Communist and which can be palmed off to the workers. But with issues becoming sharper both in the domestic and the foreign spheres, it is likely that deception will become progressively more difficult. In regard to the past, it is the opinion of this investigator that the statements made in the preceding paragraph are factual and that Communist influence in PAC was greater than was generally suspected. On the other hand, it may be noted that those who reacted against the Dies Committee statement were arguing logically in holding that the conclusion reached was not justified by the facts presented. Had these writers obtained access to the data presented subsequently to this investigator through diocesan questionnaires and other sources, they undoubtedly would have modified their conclusions. It might be observed that Father William Smith, S.J., was more astute than many in picking up information on this question. An excellent example of the effectiveness of PAC literature is found in The First Round, by Joseph Gaer (Duell, Sloan & Pearce).

After the 1944 election, PAC was decentralized and more control was given to state and local industrial councils. Possibly this occurred because PAC failed to fight the May-Bailey Labor Draft Bill, which was opposed by the official C.I.O., but was sponsored by the Communist Party. It is not felt, however, that the change will lead to any substantial difference in the matter under discussion. A final note is that after the election the astute Catholic Publication, The Wage Earner, brought out many facts about Communist infiltration in PAC. These facts were not presented prior to the election, since it was felt that the antilabor press would misuse them.

In this connection, it might be useful to mention the Communist position in the New York City election campaign of 1945. This is not a question of PAC, but is introduced merely because of the general similarity of the topic to those under discussion. In this campaign, the Communist Party was successful in pushing an undercover alliance with Tammany to elect William F. O'Dwyer for mayor. While Mr. O'Dwyer has issued the customary statement repudiating the Communists and while Tammany was forced to withdraw its endorsement of Benjamin Davis, a Communist, for councilman, it is known from well-informed Democratic sources in New York that the tie-up continues. Mr. O'Dwyer even admitted to Liberal Party questioners that he had been approached in California by a Communist delegation and had accepted their support. At the moment, Bella V. Dodd, director of political action for the New York State Communist Party, meets regularly with Paul O'Dwyer, brother of the candidate. Communist aid is funnelled through the American Labor Party, the chairman of which, Eugene Connolly, met with high Communist officials to plan the campaign strategy. At the New York State Communist Convention, Bella Dodd gave a lengthy speech on the elections, according to our trade union informant, in which she discussed the Communist attitude. She boasted that everyone will be watching them to see their effectiveness. Significantly she stated: "People like Sidney Hillman will be watching us. I've had calls asking for guarantees that we are going to be active in the election and not merely fighting our internal battles." Discussing the English elections, she predicted a fight to control the American labor vote and stated that the Communist aim was that they should control and guide the labor movement and "the labor political action." She then gave reasons why they should support "Bill" O'Dwyer rather than Goldstein or Morris. On the Council elections she stated that the task was to elect "Ben and Pete and Mike" (Benjamin Davis,

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Peter Cacchione, and Michael Quill). Bella Dodd was particularly unabashed in her support for "Mike", the only one of the three who does not acknowledge membership in the Communist Party.

All this is significant because of the balance of power tactics used by the Party. The 25,000 New York Communists, with their families and others under their influence, are probably a minority in the American Labor Party. Being organized, however, they control the ALP. The ALP in turn probably can swing the balance between the Democratic and the Republican parties where there is a close contest in the city and in the state. This gives it strong bargaining power with both groups. Finally, so great is the political influence of New York State, that it is unlikely that any candidate or policy offensive to New York would be chosen in a national election. All these possibilities assume complete effectiveness of a balance of power program. It is unlikely that such perfect balance will be always present. Nor is such an ideal situation completely duplicated elsewhere, although in many industrial states the labor vote can be decisive. But the reality of such situations indicates the possibilities of extending Communist power in a manner not indicated by the mere counting of numbers.

The World Federation of Trade Unions. The WFTU might be called an international PAC. In fact, in several speeches abroad Sidney Hillman and Reid Robinson frequently made such a parallel. The same comparison also applies to the problems presented by this Report. There are similar controversies over the origin, program, and control of the WFTU. On the one hand, it is clear that the CIO felt keenly its exclusion from the previous international labor bodies, which admitted only the more representative union from each nation. The International Labor Organization and the International Federation of Trade Unions invited only the A.F. of L. to represent the United States. It was only natural then that the C.I.O. would sponsor a new organization which would be more widely representative. On the other hand, the Soviet Union was completely excluded from the same organizations, and likewise desired a medium to express itself on international labor matters. It too was equally desirous of promoting some group to replace the defunct Red International of labor, the Profintern. Hence with both groups having equally understandable reasons for wishing a new world labor organization, there is bound to be confusion as to who is to profit the more.

The same division applies within the United States. While Murray and the right-wing group were legitimately active in promoting a new world labor group, the Communists acted as if it were their idea. Thus, in September 1944, the National Committee met to decide upon the advisability of a world congress of labor. Browder reported that the C.I.O. would go along, but that the A. F. of L. objected to Soviet participation. Subsequently it was reported in the New Leader for Nov. 25, 1944 that an official of the Foreign Economic Administration, stationed in London, was endeavoring to twist American policy into supporting such a group. This official pushed only Communist trade unions, and aided David Afrom to infiltrate the International Labor Organization in a key section dealing with world labor bodies. Finally, in a closed Communist meeting, a high official stated, according to our usual trade union informant, that the "World Trade Union Congress" is to unite workers politically, with the Soviet Union at the lead. He felt that most delegations would follow such a plan and that dissidents would drop out, leaving the new

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organization a revolutionary international. This significant statement was made: "From reports we receive from our Communist leadership, we note that the postwar Communist movement will be based on united front mass activities on an international scale, and on international working class solidarity which will be based on the World Trade Union International". Such is the Communist objective. The unsolved problem is: who is actually directing the WFTU?

In the WFTU the largest single group is that representing 26,000,000 Soviet "trade unionists." This would give the Soviet about 200 votes to 100 for the United States. While England and the United States could barely out-vote the Soviet Union, this is nullified by the votes of the "democracies" of Eastern Europe and Toledano's CTAL. France's Confederation Generale de Travail has several leftists and fellow travelers among its leaders. Thornton of Australia is, of course, a Communist. On the other hand, the British Empire, with its usual sagacity, has suddenly discovered flourishing trade union movements in many of its more primitive colonies. But when everything is cast into the balance, it seems likely that Communist votes will prevail. Nor is it certain that the C.I.O. votes will always be anti-Soviet. In complex international problems, the astuteness of Abt and Pressman might well deceive a right-wing majority in the American delegation. The New Leader on Sept. 29, 1945 argues that a majority of the French delegation is Communist and that Saillant (subsequently elected as general secretary) has become a faithful fellow traveler. It is known that he visited Moscow as representative of French Trade Unions prior to the London meeting which organized the WFTU.

The present situation may be summarized as follows: Sir Walter Citrine, who is considered anti-Communist, is president; Louis Saillant, pro-Communist, is general secretary. The executive Committee consists of twenty-six members: U.S.S.R., 3; U. S. and Canada, 3; Britain, 2; France, 2; Latin America and the West Indies, 2; Near East and Middle East, 1; China, 1; Australasia, 1; Indian and Ceylon, 1; Africa, 1; Scandanavia, 1; Western Europe, 1; Southern Europe, 1; Central Europe, 1; Eastern Europe, 1; trade departments, 3; and the general secretary a member ex officio. To this observer, this gives the left wing a 13 to 10 majority, with the trade departments an unknown quantity. In the calculation, the U.S.-Canada vote is considered right wing. A full list of members appears in the People's Daily World, Oct. 12, 1945. The nine-man executive board has at least five left-wingers, counting Hillman on the left. Other indications of left-wing control are the resolutions adopted by the October Conference in Paris. Toledano's resolutions on Spain and Puerto Rico were adopted after a bitter fight. The Conference asked to participate in the administration of German and Japan. These are political, not labor resolutions. It is notable that John Cort, of the New York A.C.T.U. came back from San Francisco more than dubious over the new group. Cort is considered friendly to labor.

It is too soon to pass a definitive judgment on the WFTU. The facts given above suggest left-wing control of the body. Since the C.I.O. delegates have not returned at this writing, being conducted on a junket to the Soviet Union where an American-Soviet Trade Union Committee was strongly urged (N.Y. Times, Oct. 15, 1945), it is not yet possible to get first-hand reports. At previous meetings, the right-wing group was heartened by the way that the

FOOTNOTE: Since this stencil was cut, the writer has conferred with an highly placed official who attended the Paris meeting and called it Soviet-controlled

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Soviet groups deferred to the C.I.O. Such news would be more encouraging if the listener had not known that John Abt had previously been in secret consultation with the Soviet element. The best information available at this writing, and this from sources recently attending the Paris meeting, is that the W.F.T.U. is firmly controlled by the Soviet and its satellite countries, and that world labor is thus being used for political purposes of Communism.

Controlled Unions in the C.I.O. It has long been an axiom among the friends of the C.I.O., including the present writer, that the total membership and power of the Communist-controlled unions of the C.I.O. was negligible. As a result, the conclusions reached from the tabulation in Appendix IV were quite surprising. By examining each union in terms of its record and that of its officers, it was found that there are five large and one small right-wing unions, with a voting strength in the executive board and the convention of 64 votes. At the other extreme, there were seventeen unions where left-wing control is generally conceded, with 99 votes. Between these extremes there are three groups of unions where some uncertainty prevails: four of these unions, with 16 votes, lean to the right; five, with 28 votes, lean to the left; and four, with 17 votes, are disputed territory in the matter of political leanings. The final category might be called the problem unions. These are the large unions with basic right-wing membership, but where some special considerations have often led their officers to side with the left. This group currently boasts 55 votes. This exhausts the voting groups of the executive board of the National C.I.O., which governs that body between conventions. In conventions, there are two additional voting units: the industrial union councils, with 168 votes; and the local industrial unions, with 131 votes. The former would incline to the left, and the latter to the right.

If the picture just painted seems confusing, it is almost purposely so. The writer feels that it is dangerous to make glib generalizations about the political leanings of C.I.O. unions. There are right-wing unions whose officers for reasons of expediency are siding with the left (Hillman and Thomas). There are unions where Communists have considerable strength on the local level, yet whose officers are apparently right-wing (Shipyard workers; Woodworkers). Many unions will shift according to issues. Thus, if the Communist Party Line leads to a proposition which is contrary to good unionism (e.g., the labor draft during the War), only the extreme left is likely to favor it. On the other hand, if the issues are not labor issues, and Pressman makes them look sufficiently attractive (e.g., opposing peacetime conscription), then it is possible that all but the two extreme right groups will favor it. Here is the real danger of left-wing power in the executive board and in the convention; that fringe and political issues will be brought up, and that labor's power will be used to support the Communist position on these matters.

In the right-wing group, the leadership is both opposed to Communism and rather strongly entrenched. The sizable unions in this group are the American Newspaper Guild, the Textile Workers, the United Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Workers, the United Rubber Workers, and the United Steelworkers. Scattered locals of these groups are Communist. Some of them are important, such as the New York and Los Angeles Newspaper Guilds and Locals 1 and 65 of the Retail Workers. But there are no immediate indications that Communist strength in any of these unions has cumulated to a stage where they can threaten the tenure of officers or dictate policy. By contrast, those labeled as probably right are generally small, new unions where no permanent trend has developed. Taking the two together, one gets a sure right-wing vote of 80.

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At the extreme left, we have one large and many small unions. The large Communist-controlled union is the United Electrical Workers, which is closely held both at the top and in most of the locals. Of the small unions, several are important because of the strategic nature of the industry affected. Thus, when Joseph Curran threatens to hold up shipping because of a political issue (bringing back high-point troops from Europe---this enuntiated on Nov. 1, 1945, immediately after his return from Moscow---Apparently the Soviet wants American troops out of Europe), he shows the power of the National Maritime Union. Other marine and transport unions, as well as communications unions, could interfere seriously with either peacetime industrial effort or wartime activities. Communist infiltration into the secretarial field (Office and Professional Workers) and the building service fields (mostly A.F. of L.) has been found most useful for the purposes of getting information. Even unions hostile to Communists often employ UOPWA clerks and secretaries. The Federal Workers have access to government files where they are employed. If Communists had clear control of unions which are today uncertain or disputed (Oil Workers, Utility Workers), their power would be even greater. The Die-Casting division of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter workers is very important in time of war. Finally, the Longshoremen are strategic, as was noted when a Communist-supported strike tied up New York harbor. Accordingly, it appears that the small Communist unions would be important as a political weapon, should the Soviet Union decide to use labor pressure upon the United States. Such suggestings are not war-mongering, since the Curran threat is but the most open of the many threats which have appeared in the Daily Worker. On confused political issues (but not, of course, where the interests of the United States are openly involved), it is probable that the left group could muster enough votes from the uncertain and disputed groups to amass a total of 120 votes.

The problem group includes the powerful United Automobile Workers, whose war membership soared past the million level; the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; and the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers. The Auto situation is highly confusing, with a Reuther right-wing faction battling a Frankensteen-Addes left-wing group, and R.J. Thomas, the president, as a balancing force. Within the past year, however, Thomas swung sharply to the left because he felt that Reuther was threatening his position. In appointments, caucuses, and public statements he has revealed this tendency. Thus, the Daily Worker, on Oct. 31, 1945, has a lengthly account of his letter to President Truman. There he takes the Communist position on such "labor matters" as "exact observation of the Potsdam principles in Germany," "international control over the development of atomic energy," "the danger of maintenance of overwhelming armament by the United States," and his opposition to military training "as a threat to our democracy." In the case of Hillman, the left swing involved deliberate choice rather than a desperate effort to retain a job threatened because of poor administration. Hillman's union is thoroughly right-wing and he is strongly entrenched. Hence his recent honeymoon with the leftists is pure opportunism, without the excuse of self-preservation. John Green, of the Shipbuilding Workers, faces a still different problem. The secretary of the Union, shrewd, fellow-traveling Philip Van Gelder, built a left-wing political machine which took over the convention last year. At this moment, Green is battling to regain power. On a straight labor issue, these three unions would probably add their 55 votes to the 80 right-wing votes. But on international affairs, domestic political matters, and other such questions much discussed in PAC and WFTU circles, it is at this writing probable that only Green would vote with the right, and that the remaining 41 votes would side with the leftist groups. On organizational questions, where policy was only indirectly involved, this middle group would in all likelihood be in a position to incline the balance either way. At the present moment, it is practically certain that Thomas and Hillman would side with the left in such a situation.

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Thus, it is not possible to answer simply whether or not the Communists have controlling power in the C.I.O. Much depends on the issues which arise. To take an extreme case, they would not be able to depose Philip Murray and replace him by a known Communist. They could not win any issue where the overwhelming majority of workers were definitely opposed to their stand. On the other hand, where issues can be confused so as to salve the consciences of opportunist or fellow-traveling union officers, where questions arise about international matters, political problems, or other situations only indirectly connected with labor, they can usually have their way. The technique of obfuscation, so successfully practiced with front groups, works equally well here.

The task of reaching these conclusions was difficult, because the period of the investigation was largely a period of war. At this time, the interests of the left and the right so fully co-incided that it was difficult to discern the strength of each group. With the conclusion of the War, issues are arising and sharp divergences are inevitable. It will be to the interests of Pressman and Abt to smooth over difficulties and to try to gain an appearance of unanimity. This would be particularly the case with the next C.I.O. Convention, where Presidents of unions may not always be able to control their delegates if the issues are sharply defined as between left and right.

Finally, it must be noted that political loyalties of a union may fluctuate in the course of years. This is particularly the case where there are strong factions battling for control. Many of the unions listed as doubtful or disputed were definitely left-wing a few years ago. Likewise, other unions have shifted to the left. Probably the extensive changes brought about by the end of the War will affect the political complexion of all but the extremes of right and left, and this in an unpredictable manner. All that can be done at this moment is to try to distinguish exclusively Party Line policies, and to note the unions which consistently follow the Line.

Summary. The data presented in this chapter indicate at least that the Communists have a strong political interest in capturing the labor movement. Their primary purpose is political, propaganda, and financial. They also hope to gain members from the ranks of labor. At the moment they are weak in the A.F. of L. The C.I.O. situation is more confused, and their strength greater than is often realized. With the data analysed above, Communist infiltration into PAC and WFTU should not be the puzzle which it might otherwise seem to be. At the same time, it must be remembered that all their achievements rest upon the shallow foundation of mass indifference and ineptitude. Dealing with indifferent and untrained workers, Communists estimate that they need not more than five per cent of the members to be Communist, and they will control a local. But where workers have been trained and inspired to fight for their rights---and the A.C.T.U. and Catholic priests interested in labor have so trained and inspired them---they have been able to put down this disruptive minority. The problem of Communism in the C.I.O. will be solved at the local, not the national level. The Church could aid materially in the right solution of this difficult problem.

CHAPTER IV
COMMUNISM AND THE PUBLIC

The title of this chapter is not particularly happy. What is sought is a portrayal of Communist influence in broader spheres than those discussed in the two preceding chapters. The movements discussed thus far have appealed to fairly distinct groups and have tended to confine themselves to specific issues. In this chapter a miscellaneous set of subjects will be treated, having in common a more universal appeal than those hitherto analysed.

Communism and Religion. Little need be said about the theoretical Communist attitude towards religion. Marxism is essentially materialistic and atheistic. Any temporary accommodation on the part of the Soviet Union is a deviation from this basic principle, usually because of some motive of expediency. In the United States, however, the Communist Party does not stress this aspect of its teaching. It is not customary in the regular Party English-language press to attack religion. At the most, there are indirect snippings, such as letters to the editor complaining of the clergy and the hierarchy, attacks on Father Coughlin or individual Churchmen, but rarely attacks on the Church itself. Even the Soviet attacks on the Vatican are portrayed as rebuffs to "political Catholicism", not to religion itself. It took heroic restraint to preserve this attitude when Mr. Louis Budenz returned to the Church, but the public abuse was reserved to their former editor, rather than the Catholic Church. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, in The Worker, Oct. 21, 1945, indulged in a restrained (for her) attack on Msgr. Sheen, but this was mild compared to the actual private reactions within Party circles. Earlier this same Miss Flynn had a charming article entitled "What is a Red, Mr. Murphy?" which proved that good Irishmen could be Communists. On Dec. 3, 1944, The Worker reprinted in full a speech by Bishop Sheil. On Sept. 23, 1943, Israel Amter wrote a lengthy article in The Daily Worker to prove that Catholics and Communists can work together in trade unions. Even when it was necessary to attack the Pope, (Sept. 1944) or the American Bishops (April 17, 1945), the attack was on political Catholicism. Thus the pretense is carried on.

In the United States, Catholicism is attacked in three principal ways; the foreign-language press; front groups, such as the Protestant; and through other Churches, particularly the Orthodox Eastern Church. Attacks in the foreign-language press are more feasible, partly because anti-clericalism might be more indigenous in such groups, and partly because there is less danger of publicity and exposure of the backers of such propaganda. Attacks, particularly upon the Vatican, appear regularly in most of the publications noted in Chapter I and Appendix I (conclusion) and are digested by the Overseas News Agency. Occasionally, however, these attacks are found in English language publications for foreign groups. One of the most vicious was the Nov-Dec. 1944 issue of War and Post-War (now Trends and Tides), edited by Louis Adamic. The article dealt with the "danger" that the U. S. might become a Catholic State. It continued with a subtle collection of truths and half-truths, arranged and distorted to prove that the Church is dictating over the most important phases of American life. There was enough material in this brief article to furnish the basis of a

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large book, and it was cleverly enough compiled to deceive most readers. The editor, Adamic, leads most of the Slavic front organizations.

The Protestant made the headlines not too long ago when Kenneth Leslie obtained 1600 signatures to a statement opposing Vatican participation in any peace conference. One can only speculate how many Protestant ministers were influenced by this propaganda, but were unwilling to affix their signatures to the petition. The statement contained the usual innuendos about Political Catholicism and the Church as the agent of Fascism and National Socialism. It cleverly appealed to bigotry and distrust of the Church latent among so many of the Protestant clergy. But such is the steady diet offered to the readers of the Protestant. Its main program is to attack Fascism and simultaneously to identify the Church with this evil. At the same time it always glorifies the Soviet Union. (Leslie wrote on "The Catholics and Russia" in Soviet Russia Today, Sept. 1945) It invariably follows the Party Line. For example, it supported the second-front agitation, organized a pro-Lublin Polish Committee, attacked the American-Jewish Committee (which is anti-Communist), publicized the People's Institute of Applied Religion (Appendix III); praised Communist books; and otherwise acted as an agent of the Party. Because of its Communism and anti-Catholicism, the magazine has been attacked by prominent Protestant and Jewish groups, such as representatives of the National Conference of Christians and Jews; the Federal Council of Churches; the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith; and well-known individuals. Nevertheless, it is effective in many circles.

Communist infiltration into Protestant Churches has been sporadic and minor. They normally can get a good scattering of Bishops and Clergy to sign for most front organizations, with Bishop Francis J. McConnell and other Methodist groups being the most frequent contributors. They definitely influenced a Conference of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Jan. 23-26, 1945, as reported in Economic Justice, issued by the National Religion and Labor Foundation. They control a small Episcopalian publication, The Witness, and thus affect many of the younger clergy. The main danger in this field apparently is the naivete of many of the younger ministers, who have good intentions but are badly instructed on labor matters. A group to watch is the Communist front called the People's Institute of Applied Religion (Appendix III). Recently they held a meeting in Baltimore to discuss "Religious Fifth Columns in the Trade Unions." Speakers were largely Communist, and the main subject of discussion was a "fascist" Catholic priest who once wrote a book entitled Economics and Society.

There is no evidence whatever to connect Jehovah's Witnesses with the Communist Party.

Soviet attacks upon the Vatican have been very frequent during the past two years. The "line" is that noted earlier: the linking of the Church with fascism and the consequent condemnation of the Pope. It is interesting to note that Red Star quoted Agora Press, New York, which published the viciously anti-Catholic Crux Ansata by H. G. Wells; and Behind the Dictators by the renegade priest L. H. Lehmann (editor of the Converted Catholic Magazine). Pravda, Izvestia, and War and the Working Class, as well as the Moscow Radio and The Bolshevik all joined in variations upon the same general anti-Vatican theme. In fact, The Bolshevik, in April 1945, accused

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the Church of inspiring Hitler's attack upon Russia. Boris Stein, former Soviet Ambassador to Rome, was the author of many of these attacks. During the past summer (July 9, 1945), Pravda attacked the Catholic Press in the United States as "gangsters" trying to provoke a third world war. Even the Commonweal, not noted for "Red-baiting", was pilloried.

Finally, the Kremlin is using the Orthodox Eastern Churches as a weapon against the Vatican, and a spearhead of Soviet Pan-Slavic imperialism. On Sept. 4, 1943, Stalin granted the Church permission to elect a new Patriarch. Persecution was ended and the militant atheists had to suspend publication "for want of paper." Paper was found, however, for printing Missals and religious textbooks. In the conclave (sobor) held in Moscow in February, 1945, it was proposed that a World Council of Orthodox Churches be organized, primarily to unify these Churches against Rome (New Leader, April 7, 1945). Metropolitan Benjamin is the American representative of this group, but his bid and that of Patriarch Alexei was rejected by the Metropolitan Council of the Russian Orthodox Church in America (N.Y. Times). The reason for rejection, it is interesting to note, is that the American Church refused to profess loyalty to the Soviet Union. Metropolitan Benjamin is less squeamish, and frequently leads attacks upon the Vatican. It is felt that he will make efforts to unite Protestant groups in similar tactics. Another function of the group was revealed in the Daily Worker of October 19, 1945, where delegates of the Armenian Ecclesiastical Congress hailed Soviet Armenia. Rather significant was their indication that Armenians desired the return to the Soviet Union of the Armenian provinces of Kars and Ardahan, militarily strategic sections of Turkey. Unless Turkey yields to this pressure, these statements might be considered as prophecies of another invasion by the Soviet Union, to "protect itself" against its imperialistic neighbors.

There was no public discussion of religion in the recent American Communist Conventions. Nevertheless, the trend back towards orthodox Communism and the abandoning of the Browder conciliatory tactics might well indicate a more militant attack upon the Church. Communists realize, as do most other groups, that the Catholic Church is one of the few powerful groups which are alert to its evils and active against its machinations. It is reasonable to expect at least an intensifying of the activities outlined above. Beyond that, however, no information is currently available to this writer.

Communism and Government. 1) General. The general subject of Communism in government is most difficult to write about at the present moment. There are two primary reasons for this problem. The first is that the Hatch Act, forbidding government employees to engage in political activity, forced the already secretive Communists to be even more under cover. They could not be ferretted out by means of their activities in front organizations, as was formerly the case. The second reason is that the Truman Administration is gradually cleaning house and shuffling bureaus, so that known Communists are lost temporarily in the process. It might even be suspected that one of the purposes of the proposed reorganization of government might be the elimination of precisely this type of person. It is known that the two key figures of the present Administration, Mr. Truman and Mr. Byrnes, are anti-Communist. A purge of such elements, provided they can be identified, would be not at all improbable.

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As a general statement, it may be stated that Communists did penetrate into key positions of government during the last ten years. Perhaps the infiltration was not so serious as Mr. Roosevelt's enemies charged, but it was much more extensive than his friends were wont to admit. There was no indication that Mr. Roosevelt, or Mrs. Roosevelt, or their close advisers, Messrs. Hopkins, Wallace, Niles, and Frankfurter, consciously sponsored Communists as such for government posts. On the other hand, they all belonged to that school of liberals, to be discussed subsequently, which did not think that the question of Communism was very important. They would employ and recommend persons considered liberal and active, without worrying about possible political views. Because of this, they were assiduously cultivated and flattered by the Communists. Persons close to the Party reached their ears, such as Josephine Adams, intimate of Mrs. Roosevelt, or Harold Young, confidential secretary to Mr. Wallace. By this device, Communists gradually worked their way into key positions. Once in such positions, they were anything but liberal in their recommendations for subordinates. To the extent that their positions permitted, they staffed their agency with Party members or reliable fellow-travelers. By these devices, Party policies and Party personnel were worked into government.

Another source of Communist infiltration into government was civil service. It frequently happened that trained and intelligent members of minority groups, particularly Jewish and Negro groups, were unable to obtain suitable private employment because of religious or racial discrimination. With their ability, they were able to obtain high ratings in civil service examinations. The sense of injustice bred of discrimination made them often easy prey for Communism. In this way, they were able to enter government service, and were recognized and pushed ahead by Communists who entered by the method outlined in the preceding paragraph.

In government, Communists try to gravitate to positions most suitable for aiding the Communist Line. During the Thirties, they favored reform agencies, such as Labor and Agriculture. The War period saw them moving into propaganda, price control, and foreign policy groups. Now their tendency is to enter the State Department and other groups which might have the power to influence American foreign policy.

2) Specific Agencies. As was noted earlier, it is difficult in this transition period to note where the Communists will land. Since a large number of them attempted to infiltrate important war agencies, they are now forced to make a change. One of the most heavily infiltrated group was the Office of War Information. The New York and several of the foreign branches were almost completely controlled. In this position, they were able to color American propaganda along Communist lines. Elmer Davis was apprised of the situation by competent authorities, but was too "broad" to do anything effective about it. Since the O.W.I. has been dissolved and taken into the State Department, the Communist press has been clamoring that the best officials have been dismissed and only "second-rate" functionaries have been retained. This would apparently indicate that a purge of the Communist element has taken place.

Another infiltrated organization, now in the State Department, was the Foreign Economic Administration. At one time things were so bad that Mr. Crowley was reported to have stated that he could find out more about his

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office in the Daily Worker than from his own subordinates. It is not known whether such left-wingers as Michael Greenberg and Allan Rosenberg will be retained by the State Department.

It is reliably reported that Communists were heavily represented in the legal staff of the Office of Price Administration, particularly the New York office. Many of the difficulties of the OPA, and the charges of regimentation and impracticality, sprung from this group. It was hostile to business and inclined to regulate without consultation. This group likewise will soon be moving.

Communists have infiltrated many of the so-called "old-line" agencies. At the moment their greatest objective is the State Department. The recent publicity given to the arrest of six persons in connection with the theft of State Department documents dramatizes this situation. It is known that airtight evidence was secured against this group. In view of this, an interesting question arises about the dismissal of three charges and the acceptance of a reduced plea in another case. Possibly the Justice Department is not free from influence from left-wing sources. It is known that persons of leftist views have been in the Immigration and Naturalization Division of this Department, including Sol Rabkin, Jose Espinosa, Jerre Mangione, M. E. Gilfond, and Anthony J. Marcus. In the State Department, the most influential Communist has been Alger Hiss. Archibald McLeish has aided their propaganda policy. John Carter Vincent has instigated many of the attacks on McArthur, with Dean Acheson merely deceived into following a Communist policy. Other names to note in the State Department include: Rowena Rommel, Emile Despres, and Benjamin Gerig. It is not known whether the Communists who were singled out in the Office of Strategic Services will go over into the State Department. It is unlikely that after the publicity given them many of them will be retained.

Other of the older agencies which have been infiltrated include Labor, the National Labor Relations Board, the War Labor Board, and the Budget. In this category, the best known names are those of Nathan Witt and Edwin S. Smith, both released from the National Labor Relations Board. Before they left, however, they were able to bring in enough Communists to cause the agency considerable trouble. In the Labor Department, this writer does not know of Communists in policy-making positions. It is known that many subordinates do belong to the Party. More dangerous, however, is the gullibility or left leanings of important officials in the Budget Bureau, including Wayne Coy, Assistant Director, and Messrs Schwarzwalder and Cooper.

A surprising fact is the mild infiltration of Treasury, a rather stable department. Harry D. White, assistant secretary, was named as close to the Party in an affidavit by a former Party Member, and was asserted to have introduced Harold Glasser, Frank Coe, and others into the Treasury Department. It is to be noted that from Treasury came the notorious Morgenthau plan for Germany, and the ideas which served as the basis for the Potsdam plan for reducing Germany to virtual anarchy.

In Congress, those who follow the Communist Line most closely are Vito Marcantonio, of New York; Hugh DeLacy, of Washington; Adam Clayton Powell (not completely controlled), of New York; and possibly Ned R. Healy, of California. There are others who may be used for particular situations, such as Senator Pepper of Florida, but who are basically liberal rather than fellow travelers. John Coffee, of Washington, is also a reliable ball carrier for the Communist team.

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Of the President's Cabinet, Wallace and Ickes have frequently been used by the Communists for specific purposes. It is felt that both are basically liberal, rather than Communist-minded, but that they are subject to undue pressure from the Party.

The writer feels that this general section on government agencies is weaker than the rest of the Report. Except for Josephine Adams, Harold Young, Alger Hiss, Nathan Witt, Harold White and Edwin S. Smith, the information obtained was not from sources of unimpeachable accuracy. It is felt that the data given is correct; otherwise it would not have been used, but it is general rather than circumstantial. As for agencies, the material obtained on the war agencies and the State Department is of better quality than the rest. None, however, has the precision and detail which is desired and which has been possible in other sections of the Report. Information of the quality sought is available, but the writer has been unable to surmount the barriers raised by the groups which have this information.

3) Communism in the Armed Services. The problem of Communism in the Armed Services caused public comment several times during the War. The most important items were the abolition of the Communist Department of the Office of Naval Intelligence; the crippling of anti-Communist activities by Army Intelligence; the commissioning of Communist officers; and the indoctrination of the Army through the Army orientation courses. The information obtained on this subject, although general, is accurate. It was obtained from a former official of the Foreign Economic Administration, who had contact with high military sources.

Most of the Communist infiltration in the Armed Services was from the top down, rather than the reverse. Pressure originated at the White House, as part of the general campaign to please the Soviet Union. It was transmitted to ambitious officers who felt that the way to promotion lay in pleasing high civilian sources. Thus, the crippling of Army Intelligence would proceed from the White House, through John McCloy, assistant secretary of War, to General McLarney, and thus through channels. Communist infiltration of the Army Orientation course would proceed through General Osborne to Colonel Herzberg and then through channels. Old army men winced and privately complained about the procedures, but they were helpless to do anything about the situation. The men named are not necessarily even sympathetic to Communism, although the informant is most doubtful about Herzberg, but they were politically ambitious and willing to conform to an Administration policy of promoting amity with the U.S.S.R. Their consciences were salved by the fact that at the time, Communists were loyal to the war effort (because we were allies of the Soviets). It must be noted that one army officer involved in the chain of events which permitted Communists to advance is now delegated to organize the Intelligence Service of the State Department (Col. Frank McCormick). This last point of information, and a note that Oscar L. Chapman from the Dept. of the Interior was also concerned with Army Orientation courses, comes from a different source than the material preceding it. This source is believed accurate, but not so well connected as the first.

In the Army itself, Communists tried to gravitate into positions where they could influence other soldiers or the civilian populations of occupied countries. The Daily Worker has indicated that its members had obtained

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positions on Army papers, including several branches of Stars & Stripes. Many volunteered for military government. It is held, however, by the primary source for this section that civilian officials from the State Department are mainly responsible for the toleration of Communism in Italy and Germany. Certainly the directive given to General Eisenhower on Germany reeks of the Communist influences in State and Treasury, if not higher.

One of the major triumphs of Communists in the Army was the issuance of the 74 pamphlets, called Fact Sheets or Army Talks, under the signature of Major General F. H. Osborn. While this material was classified as restricted, it was first published in the Communist sheet, In Fact (See Appendix I). Most quoted was Number 64, on Native Fascism. Much of the material in this analysis is unexceptionable, but its treatment of Communism is definitely Party Line. By innuendo, it gives the impression that those who raise the "Red bogey" are fascists. It also leaves the impression that only fascists and Hitlerites are interested in opposing Communism. Other studies, dealing with the Soviet Union, portray that nation in the brightest colors. "Its avowed policy has been peace through international collective security, if possible, or strong defenses by its own efforts of collective security failed." Among these protective actions were the seizure of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland. (Fact Sheet 53) Our informant notes that while the Fact Sheets are usually carefully phrased, the recommended reading for instructors was clearly Party Line. Earlier it was reported that in the National Convention of the Communist Party this year one of the major proposals was a strengthening "along democratic lines" of the Army Orientation System.

In connection with Army administration of conquered territories, it is a propos to mention that Communists have seriously infiltrated the semi-governmental United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. This fits in with the general policy of using relief to aid Communist groups in Europe and to bring pressure upon other groups to follow the Communist program. Herbert Lehman was quoted as stating that in an international organization of this sort, one has no right to bar Communists from positions of authority. Lehman decided to deal with the Lublin government long before his own government recognized this Soviet sponsored group. The UNRRA representative in Poland is a Soviet official. Abuses in the organization have caused serious comment in government circles.

Another group close to the Army is the corps of scientists doing special work for the Army, especially the group working on the atomic bomb project. Of necessity, several of this group who were close to the Communist Party were used because of their specialized abilities. Many more have been subject to the usual blandishments lavished by the Party on naive scientists, who are highly flattered by these attentions. Scientists are invited to the Soviet Union, and impressed with the attention given to their fellows by a socialist government. Like many specialists, they are narrow and politically naive. The result is that agitation for the universal dissemination of scientific information, particularly about atomic fission and its military uses, finds fertile fields in their midst. This explains the manifesto of the Los Alamos scientists, issued in the names of four hundred who worked on nuclear energy, as well as other statements issued by university groups. Of course, this writer is not so cynical as to hold that no scientist may develop an independent

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political opinion. But the coincidence in phrasing between the Communist Line and the manifesto, the known presence of Communists and fellow travelers in the group, the fact that such a joiner and front as Dr. Harold Urey is a spokesman for the group, and the utter naivete of the proposal that we give our most fearsome military secret to the Soviet Union --- the one Ally which did not share military secrets with us --- that all this should represent independent political conviction in a group which is known for its retirement from public civic controversies, would be indeed be difficult to accept. In this connection, it is important to distinguish between groups, however naive, who use the atomic bomb as an argument for the formation of a world government; and those who advocate release of the weapon to the existing United Nations Organization, which in essence means to the Soviet Union, the only major power which does not share the secret.

There is no evidence that Communists intend to remain in the peacetime army in large numbers. They would like to control military government and the orientation courses, but otherwise their concern is with civilian affairs. At this first this would appear to conflict with Communist theory, as presented in House Report 839, in 1945, but the present Communist Policy is to promote a small army and to speed the return of the Veterans, so that the Soviet Union will have a free hand in Europe and Asia. Such a program was logical from the Communist viewpoint, although surprisingly it was not revealed until October 19, 1945, in the Daily Worker. Once the veteran has returned, there will be major efforts by the Communist to capture him. Already they have formed a United Nations Veterans' Victory Conference, which attended the 46th national encampment of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Chicago, and on October 3rd demanded that atomic energy be placed under international control. The VFW rejected their plea. Now the Communists oppose military training.

Communism and the Liberals. The problem of Communism and the liberals is difficult and highly controversial. It would not be an easy task even to construct a definition of the term "liberal," and it is still more of a problem to single out the characteristics which make some liberals to be consistent fellow travelers and others to be dupes and frontiers. Perhaps the basic characteristic of the liberal is broadmindedness. It was once remarked that many a liberal would consider the day well spent when he had lunch with an Archbishop and dinner with an outstanding and militant atheist. The American liberal -- the term is used differently in Europe and in the Papal encyclicals -- normally believes in complete freedom of speech and thought. Any kind of restraint is abhorrent to him. As a second characteristic, he is normally a fighter for justice, particularly economic and social justice for the underprivileged. He champions the weak and the defenseless. Philosophically he holds that man develops best in an atmosphere of complete freedom --- academic, personal, and economic. While this viewpoint would conflict with some encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII, particularly that "On Human Liberty", yet in the socioeconomic sphere these same liberals would advocate programs which could easily be reconciled with the social encyclicals of Popes Leo XIII, Pius XI, and Pius XII. Because of this, they frequently travel in the same circles as those frequented by American Catholics who endeavor to promote these same encyclicals. These Catholics are naturally more sympathetic towards this liberal element than they are towards conservative groups who are indifferent or opposed in regard to social reform and

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justice towards oppressed minorities. The penetration of this liberal group by Communists would naturally cause conflicts and difficulties. It has been charged that their Catholic friends tend to minimize or overlook such infiltration. It is even asserted that Catholics themselves occasionally join front organizations at the behest of liberal members. Finally, it is charged that Catholics under such influences do not appreciate fully the dangers of Communism. The outstanding proponent of this opinion in recent years has been Mr. Patrick Scanlan, managing editor of the Brooklyn Tablet.

In the concrete, the problem is not so simple as it appears in print. To this writer, it is quite easy to understand why Catholics interested in social reform should be cautious in accepting charges of Communism. Possibly this attitude is subconscious justification of his own past opinions. Yet in October 1945, the Gannett group is circularizing the clergy with pamphlets which leave the impression that the Full Employment Bill is a Communist plot. Reactionaries of this type have consistently charged that measures of social reform --- many of them could have been taken verbatim from papal encyclicals --- were Communist. Laws passed since 1933, most of which were accepted by the Republican platform of 1944, were labeled as Soviet-inspired. Not only were programs impugned, but individuals were slandered recklessly. The loose tactics of the Dies Committee led to the maligning of many liberals who were not only not Communist, but who were strongly opposed to Communism and hated by Communists (Norman Thomas, David Dubinsky, A. Philip Randolph). Many groups were using the anti-Communist fight as a thin disguise for anti-Semitism. The result of all this was a very natural tendency on the part of many Catholics, this writer included, to discount the "Communist scare" as exaggerated and inaccurate. Extremes tend to beget extremes, and loose charges of Communism breed loose denials of Communism.

The facts presented in this Report would indicate that both extremes are wrong. The problem of Communism here is more serious in its full implications than many of us have been willing to admit. But inaccurate statements of the problem would serve only to continue the confusion, and permit Communists to work unmolested. Communists have been successful in using the liberal group, not only because of their broadmindedness and anxiety for justice, but also because false charges against themselves and their fellows confirmed their opinions that anti-Communism was but a disguise for reaction and oppression.

Communists inveigle liberals into front organizations by appealing to all the points noted above. With some, it is an expression of broadmindedness to belong to organizations favoring the Soviet Union. The U.S.S.R. is presented to them as a land of complete equality, where social justice prevails, and where oppression of various types has been eradicated. The well-worn contrast between the "tyranny" of the Tsars and the revolution of the downtrodden proletariat is used to the full. Above all, the liberal imagination is fired by the prospect of a land which will prove that poverty and economic injustice are unnecessary. Opponents of the Soviets are slandered as narrow-minded clericals and capitalist reactionaries. The picture of the Soviet Union is made particularly appealing to minorities subject to discrimination, such as the foreign-born, the Jew, and the Negro. From all this springs a good will towards the Soviet, and a corresponding tolerance towards their American representatives, the American Communist Party.

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Other front organizations stress some domestic injustice. They may emphasize some particular situation, such as the famous Sacco-Vanzetti and Scottsboro cases, or some continuing problem, such as the defense of labor or constitutional liberties. It must be remembered that the very essence of a front organization is the finding of an issue upon which Communists and non-Communists can unite. While it is no defense of such groups to note that their programs are often sound and acceptable, yet this does explain why many liberals join them. They accede to the general purpose of the front, and may never realize that the key personnel are Communist. A close study of the groups listed in Appendix III shows how many can deceive the unwary. Thus, it would be natural for any decent person to join an organization designed to combat antisemitism or to aid the Negro, and the Communists exploit this impulse. It is only through expert knowledge of officers, associations, sponsorship, and day-by-day programs that front groups can be detected.

Once a liberal joins one front organization, he is fair prey for the rest. Some are professional "joiners" of reform groups. Others find that publicity and academic promotion may follow from membership in national organizations. Many are not immune to the flattery of seeing their names on letterheads. The result is that mere repetition of organizations to which an individual belonged is not of necessity proof of affection towards Communism. This was a source of serious Dies Committee errors. Of course, some investigators attempt to correct such errors by noting anti-Communist organizations to which these same individuals may belong. Such would be the situation for Frank Graham, David Dubinsky, and A. Philip Randolph. But many Dies Committee investigators were not so discriminating.

Sooner or later a stage is reached where either the judgment or the principles of the joiner is bound to be questioned. In the opinion of many liberals, that stage has long since passed. The disgraceful actions of the American Communists during the period 1939-1941 should have been enough to warn any intelligent person of their true loyalty. Furthermore, enough is known today of the reality behind the facade erected by the Soviet Union to awaken an intelligent liberal. Because of this, two liberal publications, The New Leader, and Common Sense, have recently castigated the amorality or the double standard of morality of many liberals. The New Leader speaks of the "totalitarianism of the liberals", whereby every action by the Soviet Union is condoned, while similar actions by our own government are condemned. Thus, the Soviet does not hesitate to use Nazis in Germany (witness the Free Germany Committee) or Iron Guardists in Rumania when it suits them. Yet if the United States used a Darlan or a Petain, we are roundly denounced. The classic example of "red faces" occurred when Communists instigated liberals to attack American tolerance of King Victor of Italy and Premier Badoglio, and then the Soviet changed its line and recognized the regime. At once American agitation died down. Even worse is the liberal blindness in regard to the utter ruthlessness of the Soviet, both at home and abroad. Some are so devoted to a planned economy that any means to the end is swallowed. The articles by Norman Angell in the New Leader for March 17, 1945, and by Kenneth Crawford in Common Sense for May, 1945, are classics. Crawford is magnificent in excoriating the Nation and the New Republic, prime examples of amoral liberalism. Even the Communists themselves despise the liberals which they use, as was noted by Earl Browder, in P.M., March 29, 1944. One high Communist official told this writer that he considered liberals to be "unprincipled and

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unreliable." One of the more recent Communist appraisals of the liberals was written by Louis F. Budenz, in The Worker, May 13, 1945. The present leadership is even less considerate of "intellectuals," even though it is willing to continue to exploit them.

The Party hopes to use the liberals together with labor unions in penetrating the one group where they have made least headway, the farming population. Thus far, the Party has made only negligible inroads among farmers, and there appear to be small prospects of any change in the trend. The real use for the liberals today is rather for publicity, either through front groups or through established media. This latter point deserved extended consideration.

Communism and Organs for Influencing Public Opinion. The Communist clique in the propaganda field is active and dangerous. In the New York State Communist Convention, it was revealed that 700 New York comrades were enrolled in the "cultural division." A high percentage of Los Angeles' 3,000 belong in the same category. They are in a position to exert considerable influence over the American public. At times their success has been astonishing.

1. The Press and Magazines. In the press field, one naturally notes the many front publications listed in the earlier chapters and summarized in Appendix I. In addition to those already noted, there are several of importance which have received only casual mention. Most notable is P. M., often called the "Uptown Daily Worker." But the situation in P. M. is not quite so simple. It has often been attacked publicly by the Communists and, privately, Browder bemoaned the fact that more comrades were reading P. M. than were reading the Party press. During the 1939-1941 liaison between Stalin and Hitler, P. M. was strongly anti-Hitler and critical of Soviet policy. At the present moment, however, it follows about ninety per cent of the Communist Line. The secret of P. M. is the fact that its writers have been allowed considerable freedom to express their opinions, and the bulk have been Communist or fellow traveler. The few independents, such as Crawford, Ingersoll, and Lehrman, have been outnumbered and outshouted by the Party-liners. Recent changes in personnel have strengthened the Communist hold. Nevertheless, the paper remains organizationally independent of the Party, although ideologically thoroughly permeated.

The New Republic and the Nation are partly explained by the general liberal attitude noted earlier. Varian Fry resigned as contributing editor of the New Republic precisely because of its double standard of morality for the Soviet Union as contrasted with the rest of the world. Bruce Bliven contributed one of the prize quotations in the history of wishful thinking: "The charges made against (the sixteen Polish leaders) are so serious it is hard to believe that they could be made without substantial proof." With the Nation I. F. Stone calls any attempts to tell the truth about Soviet imperialism "efforts to condition the nation to war with the Soviet Union." An interesting point to note about the Nation is that its financial insolvency forced it to ask help from unions. Lately the left-wing unions have been doing the contributing, and Miss Freda Kirchwey, the editor, has been joining all the front organizations available.

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A potentially dangerous publication is the Communist version of Readers' Digest, going by the name of Readers' Scope. It is subsidized by Charles Chaplin, pro-Communist actor, and has enticed noted Americans, including one very prominent Catholic, into issuing statements for it to publish. Its editor, Everett Gleason, contributes heavily to Communist front causes. Most of its propaganda is done through a central news digest, patterned along the line of the famous Washington letters for businessmen. Material for this section is prepared by the Communist Labor Research group. On the other side of the picture, Communists are conducting a virulent campaign against Readers' Digest, because it has printed articles unfavorable to the Soviet Union. In staid Virginia, the Reasoner noted that students at Union Theological Seminary have discontinued their subscriptions to the Digest, after the expose in In Fact. It is interesting to note that divinity students are reading In Fact (see Appendix I), which is one of the more vicious Communist publications because of its wide circulation among liberals and trade unionists. This writer, after experimenting with subscriptions to Communist publications under various names, found that In Fact lent its mailing lists to front groups far more frequently than did the professed Communist publications.

Authors and Writers. It would be impossible in the space available to do adequate justice to the Communist infiltration of the writing field. The excellent chapters in Eugene Lyons, The Red Decade, are not dated after four years. They should be read for adequate documentation of this incredible situation. The "Cocktail front" and the "typewriter front" are so widespread in their ramification as to defy brief analysis. Furthermore, work in this field is to be intensified by the Independent Citizens' Committee for the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, which is being built up as the number one front for cultural and propaganda work. This may replace the older fronts, such as the various Writers' Congress, League of American Writers, and the like. Its relationship to Hollywood Writers' Mobilization and similar groups has not yet become clear (see Appendix III).

The Communist technique with writers appears to be threefold. In the first place, genuine liberals are attracted by the devices noted earlier. The others are won over by the "club and carrot technique". The carrot approach, a second method, is to give favorable publicity and organized support to any writer who is willing to follow the Party Line. The club method, a third technique, is to smear those who disagree. One of the more recent examples is the "ganging up" on White's book on Russia. While White did not spend enough time in Russia to write a scholarly report, nevertheless he spent just as much time as other writers who came out singing glowing praises of the Soviet experiment. But their books were extolled, while his was dragged in the mire. Liberals who profess devotion to free speech and abhor censorship put pressure on the publishers to withdraw the book. Such tactics are often successful. Few publishers are in the book business for philanthropic motives, and accordingly dislike public meetings, circular letters, and the like denouncing their publications. To head off such difficulties, they may even hire "advisers" for their editorial staff. Communists in such key positions can kill or play down unsuitable books and push those considered satisfactory. Thus Edgar Snow's The Pattern of Soviet Power or Andrew Roth's Dilemma in Japan, can be sure of excellent publicity and fine reviews, while Dallin, Chamberlin, and Lyons are pushed aside.

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In the writing field, Communists appear in surprising places. Conservative Boston would be astonished to know the connections of Angus Cameron, editor for Little, Brown. Leo Huberman left the National Maritime Union to direct the "Pamphlet Press," a new division of Reynal and Hitchcock. New York publishers privately claim that a majority of book reviewers in the city are under Communist control, but they offer no documentation to substantiate the statement. Communists are even concerned with such details as clerks in book stores. As an experiment, some lay persons were sent to a store operated by a publisher, to ask for two books published by that firm. One was by a priest and one took a non-Communist view of foreign policy. The clerk in charge tried every variety of persuasion to dissuade the customers from buying these books, printed by her own firm. When they insisted, the books were produced from an obscure and remote corner of the store. If this instance it was known in advance that the clerk was a Communist. The experiment was merely a study of technique. A similar condition has been observed at Brentano's and Macy's in New York.

3. Hollywood. Communists have a good foothold among radio and screen writers. The material on this subject is extremely rich. The two volumes of the Tenney Committee, of California, contain much carefully documented material. The wealth of material received from a confidential informant in Los Angeles is impressive. The writer only regrets that space is not available for a full summary.

The leading Communist among Hollywood writers is John Howard Lawson, alias Jacob Levy. He is on the editorial board of Hollywood Writers Mobilization (organ: Communiqué) along with such Communists and fellow travelers as Robert Rossen (film writer and former head of H. W. M.), Sidney Buchman (producer, vice-president Columbia Pictures), and Meta Reis. The Secretary, Howard Estabrook, is a Communist, and the Vice-Chairman, Dr. Franklin Fearing (Professor of Psychology, U.C.L.A.) is at least a fellow traveler. The chairman is the well-known Catholic writer, Emmet Lavery. At the writer's request, our confidential informant made a special study of the Lavery case. The reports received were conflicting. The prevailing view was that Lavery is liberal and particularly inclined to favor labor. As a result he rebelled against the anti-Communist Motion Picture Alliance, which at one time was suspected of being antilabor. Because of this, he distrusted their attacks on Communism and was easy prey for the opposition, namely, the Communists. This source holds that Lavery is gifted with a brilliant imagination and artistic perception, but that he is not a profound thinker. Hence he was an easy dupe for the Communists on the Screen Writers' Guild and was used by them to front in the H. W. M. The sincerely Catholic tone of his writings would be hard to reconcile with any secret profession of Communism. (Communists, of course, do have undercover members, but such persons normally work actively for Party interests and do nothing incompatible with Party programs. It is difficult to imagine an undercover Communist working vigorously for Catholicism.) As to the objection that he is too intelligent to be a dupe, it can be replied that many other liberals definitely known not to be Communists have been used by the Party just as freely.

Among the Communists and fellow travelers in Hollywood writers and actors are: Alvah Bessie; Herbert Biberman; John Cohee (alias Bullion); Lester Cole; Marc Connally; Albert Dekker, Bette Davis; Theodore Dreiser, Guy Endore; Lion Feuchtwanger; John Garfield; Charles Chaplin; E. Y. "Yip" Harburg;

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Lillian Hellman; Paul Jerrico; Ring Lardner, Carey McWilliams; Lewis Milestone; Ruth McKinney (Mrs. Bruce Minton); Clifford Odets; San Ornitz; Edward G. Robinson; Frank Scully; Donald Ogden Stewart; Dalton Trumbo; Frank Tuttle; and Orson Welles. The Unions controlled include: Film Technicians Local 683; Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, & Technicians; Los Angeles Newspaper Guild; Screen Cartoonists Guild 852; Screen Office Employees Guild, 1391; and possibly the heavily infiltrated Screen Writers, Screen Publicists, and others belonging to the leftist Conference of Hollywood Guilds and Unions. Of these groups, the Screen Writers Guild is one of the most powerful. There is a close interlock between these groups and the Office of War Information Red element. The Writers Congress, which met in 1943, left a continuation committee which is still moderately active.

In Hollywood there are twenty-one active front organizations in addition to the controlled unions and groups mentioned above. Unquestionably Los Angeles deserves to be called the second Communist capital of the United States (New York is first and Washington was until recently third). It is not so much a matter of numbers, but rather the strategic importance of the motion picture industry, which makes the concentration there so dangerous. This is not to be interpreted as an endorsement of the Hearst "exposé" that the center of Communism is to shift to Hollywood. Informants who attended the meeting reported by Hearst state that the newspaper account was mainly distortion and fabrication. But the facts are sufficiently disturbing, without further adornment.

4. Radio. Communists are attempting to get into the radio field by means of the new frequency modulation stations to be opened during the coming year. The primary organization for promoting this aim is the Peoples Radio Foundation, sponsored by such Communist friends as Corliss Lamont and Samuel Novick (president of Electronics Corporation and sponsor of Communist commentator William S. Gailmor). These stations are inexpensive to build (about \$50,000) and run. Hence the Communists are pushing their controlled unions to seize as many permits as possible. (Some non-Communist unions are also interested in obtaining permits) The objective is to build a national "labor" FM network by 1948 (Daily Worker, August 9, 1945).

In addition to seeking stations, the Communists have worked hard to influence commentators on the radio. Their controlled commentators include William S. Gailmor; Johannes Steel; and (possibly) Raymond Walsh. Gailmor had a national hookup (WJZ and American Broadcasting Company), while WMCA and WGN in New York use other leftist commentators. Hans Jacob of WOV was suspect, as was Leland Stowe of ABC. The Committee on Un-American Activities is investigating John W. Vandercook, Lisa Sergio; Johannes Steel; Sydney Walten; J. Raymond Walsh; and Frank Kingdon. This writer listens to John W. Vandercook and has not found any noticeable leftist trend to his broadcasts. By contrast, he heard a really Party Line broadcast from Robert St. John on NBC, Aug. 21, 1945, at 10.00 a.m. William Henry Chamberlin, in the New Leader (August 4, 1945) attacked Raymond Gram Swing for his biased treatment of Soviet imperialism. It seems premature to charge persons like Vandercook, St. John, Swing, Heater, and other major network commentators with even fellow traveler tendencies. The material which Communist fronts feed such speakers and the general line taken by much of the American press and publishers could explain honest deception without any conscious bias. Likewise the

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unique Walter Winchell, no matter how distasteful he may be to many listeners, is not known to be connected with the Communist Party. His frequent following of the Line appears to be more a matter of general Jewish sympathies which are played upon by the Communists. He has often attacked Communists on the air, but is deceived by their "antifascist" material. The outstanding anti-Communist commentator is Lowell Thomas.

5. Teachers. Communist propaganda efforts among teachers are to be expected. There are three hundred registered Communists in the New York School system alone. At one time, the Communists controlled the American Federation of Teachers, but they have since been expelled from power. They tried unsuccessfully to ban Readers Digest by railroading through an adverse report in the National Council of Teachers of English (New York Times, Nov. 24, 1944). The pressure tactic was stopped by Dr. Angela Broening, of Baltimore, president of the Council, who called the report "unscholarly, undocumented, and libelous." The Council upheld its president and rejected the report.

The National Council for American-Soviet Friendship is making a special attempt to "educate" teachers in regard to the Soviet Union. Lists of recommended books and other literature are freely distributed. Thus, in Cleveland, they sponsored a Conference on Education about the Soviet Union, on April. 28, 1945. In New York, teachers receive special credit for attending conferences on the U.S.S.R. given by the American-Russian Institute. The Council is sponsoring or encouraging Summer Courses about the Soviet Union, and offering suitable advice. Other cities to receive educational conferences are New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. Teachers are offered visual aids, publications, and speakers. They are often indoctrinated through Communist-controlled schools for writers.

An interesting development is the commissioning of Archibald MacLeish to hand the American delegation to the Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization of the United Nations. (N.Y.Times, Oct. 20, 1945). On the basis of MacLeish's background and record, one can feel sure that the Soviet Union will not find him too unco-operative.

6. Miscellaneous. In addition to Hollywood, Communists have considerable influence in the New York theatre. The union and guild connections were mentioned earlier in Chapter III. The current controversy over the Spanish Republican Rally and the attack on Catholicism dramatized the Communist influence in Actors Equity. Frank Fay laid charges against five players for improper conduct in regard to that rally, and instead of getting a hearing, was cited for countercharges. Councilman Benjamin J. Davis was able to organize a Committee of one thousand "outstanding figures in the theatre, radio, motion picture, literary, fine arts, music, dance, educational, and allied fields" to support his candidacy (The Worker, Sept. 30, 1945). Many of these were "innocents" led by the usual bellwethers, such as Paul Robeson and Langston Hughes.

The Communist front among artists is the Artists League of America, headed by Rockwell Kent. It is a combination of the American Artists Congress and the United American Artists. Many of its members were on the WPA Communist group, including Philip Evergood, the vice-president, and Harry Gottlieb, the treasurer.

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General entertainment is furnished by Players Stage, Inc. (formerly Genius, Inc.), which theoretically operates restaurants and lunch rooms for actors, but actually furnishes entertainers for Communist and front meetings. It also sponsors lectures on theatrical technique. Leo Shull, a Communist, is the directing spirit, and other directors include George Mitchell, Don Hershey (alias Donald Hirsh), Jack De Shay, Barbara Coburn, Harriet White, and Ann Donaldson.

Among the professional groups who may soon be important again are the social workers. The individual to watch in this field is Mary Van Kleeck, who sponsors the front publication, Social Work Today. This publication has followed the Party Line with admirable consistency. Other Party Liners active in social work include Bertha C. Reynolds, Frank C. Bancroft, and Marion T. Hathaway.

Conclusion. The material assembled in this chapter is formidable, especially when cumulated with the previous chapters. The combination of influences thus assembled begins to explain the success of Communist propaganda, particularly in regard to Soviet foreign policy. Yet in many important points the surface was merely skimmed. Some major fields were left untouched for want of adequate evidence (e.g., the influence of the left locals of the American Newspaper Guild — New York and Los Angeles — on the general press; the reason for the leftward swing of the conservative New York Herald Tribune; and the like). Nothing was said about the lecture field, although scattered information is available about Sovietophile lectures (Simon Davidian, touring the country for Rotary). In view of all these influences and pressures, one need not be amazed at the success of Communist propaganda. They explain the conditioning of the American public in regard to the Soviet Union and the growing toleration of Communism. Thoughtful observers of public opinion have at times been appalled by the results. But in view of the pressures applied, perhaps we should really be surprised that so many of the educated public is still immune.

CHAPTER V.

COMMUNISM AND CATHOLICISM

The preceding four chapters dealt with the ramifications of American Communism, and its place in the world picture. It is now appropriate to assess these facts and to try to achieve a sense of proportion. The question might be asked: Is Communism a problem or even a menace to American Catholics as Catholics and as citizens of this republic? Such a complex question requires careful distinctions in the formulating of a reply. In the first place, it is vital to define the terms "problem" and "menace." If by problem is meant the danger of America's going Communist or the possibility that large numbers will be won over to intellectual acceptance of Communism or organizational adherence to the Party, the answer must be an unequivocal "No". The Communist Party is numerically small in the United States. There is no indication that it faces a rapid growth or that it will ever exercise direct political power on other than a local scale. With the gradually awakening of the American public to the truth of Soviet imperialism, the chances are that Communism will lose rather than gain favor.

On the other hand, the problem of Communism could be defined in terms of influence, propaganda, and weakening of America's position in a world where Communist imperialism is rampant. Here the question is not so much that of direct Communist control, but rather a question of pressure, confusion, deception, and general misleading of the public and public opinion. The agencies involved would be front groups, minority groups, and labor organizations. Here the evidence seems to indicate an equally unequivocal "Yes". The entire problem of America's foreign policy vis à vis the Soviet Union would be tremendously difficult for a united nation, with no quarrels between nationalists and internationalists, and with no domestic fifth column. A weak stand would probably be the equivalent to the appeasement policies of the Allies before Germany broke forth with the invasion of Poland. In the light of these problems, it would appear that the maximum objective of the Soviet fifth column would be the winning over of the United States to an acceptance of Soviet policies. That is the line taken by the Daily Worker and the controlled Communist press. It is the first aim of the galaxy of front organizations, Red-linked minority groups, and Communist-infiltrated labor unions and conferences. Nevertheless, their purpose would be substantially served if the opposition were split, the public confused, and the national foreign policy correspondingly weakened. For example, the New York Times on Oct. 22, 1945, and following days carried uncensored articles describing the reign of terror in Poland. The situation there is in clear violation of the Yalta agreement, which in itself was an example of appeasement. Hence the obvious step for the United States would be a withdrawal of recognition from the Lublin government and the use of pressure, both diplomatic and economic, to rescue the first victims of Hitler's aggression, now the victims of a Communist police régime. Were such measures to be attempted, however, the whole pack of front groups would commence baying about American imperialism. Only a strong government, backed by united public opinion, would ignore such protests. It is probable that the Communist groups would create sufficient confusion to lead to a do-nothing policy. The same would apply to Soviet pressure on Turkey, Sinkiang, Northern China, Korea, and Manchuria.

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The danger, accordingly, is primarily in the spread of world Communism, and this by the power of arms rather than by conviction. Local Communist leadership, usually Moscow-trained, will furnish the smokescreen, a local NKVD will be organized, and the majority cowed by a police government. So great is the power wielded by modern arms and modern propaganda that the presumption favors the success and the permanence of such régimes rather than the reverse. This would leave Western Europe and the Anglo-American powers, including South America, in danger of becoming a minority while Communism organized the millions of Eastern Europe and Asia. We have seen what has happened in Poland, the Baltic States, and the Balkans. If similar tactics are being employed elsewhere, only the naive would doubt that the ultimate aim is the same. Only a strong Anglo-American foreign policy can save China, India, and possibly Italy and France.

If the danger has been presented correctly, and all the evidence assembled points in the direction indicated, then most of the groups in the United States which discuss Communism have been discussing a false problem. Conservative forces which are concerned with the growth of Communism by conviction, and particularly the reactionary propaganda groups which are indiscriminate in labeling measures of social reform as Communist, are missing the real problem and are contributing to the confusion. On the other hand, liberal groups which spend their energies in tearing apart the straw man erected by the conservatives and which proclaim that social reform is the primary and even the only weapon against Communism, are equally beside the point. It is hard to see how social reform in the United States will restore liberty to Poland or free Hungary and Czechoslovakia from Soviet economic domination. Higher wages to workers and justice to the Negro will scarcely give the legitimate government of China control over the vital areas of the North and of Manchuria. A decline in antisemitism will not bring about the automatic collapse of the major Communist fronts in the United States, nor would it free the United Electrical Workers, C.I.O., of the Communist hegemony which dictates its policies.

These observations are not meant to imply that the approaches taken by these groups are useless in the struggle against world Communism. There is a legitimate place for propaganda and even denunciation, but it must be based on a correct appraisal of the situation. Above all, it must be completely disassociated from forces whose motive are suspect, such as the anti-Communist fronts of the National Association of Manufacturers and reactionary capitalists, the anti-Negro and antisemitic forces in Congress and elsewhere, and groups which are opposed to the rightful aspirations of organized labor. Likewise, the preaching of social justice, as a matter of justice and not merely as a weapon against Communism, can have great incidental value in preventing the growth of Communist power and offsetting its propaganda. Thus, intelligent and courageous efforts to seek justice for the Negro could easily eradicate the danger of appreciable Communist infiltration into his ranks. The Negro wants justice, not Communism, and drifts to the left only by default. An open and honest approach to the problem of antisemitism, instead of the covert mutterings heard from individual Catholics as well as other individuals, would remove the growing appeal of the Soviet and Communism among the Jews. Finally, a well-organized program of getting Catholic social teaching to the workers, and training of these workers to exercise their democratic rights within unions would prevent Communist-trained minorities from controlling these unions or from misleading them through propaganda.

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If these programs are to succeed, they must be based on truth and sincerity. Propaganda against Communist lies must be factual, not merely emotional. Approach to the Negro, the Jew, and the worker must be sincere and based on the principles of the Gospel. No group is going to be won over if it feels that it is being used as a tool for some ulterior purposes. Particularly among workers mere "anti" programs are ineffective. This is not to say that there cannot be anti-Communist organizations. But these should be open and disinterested. They will be most successful if they are general in membership and based on the twin principles of safeguarding the dignity of man and protecting the welfare of the nation.

With these general observations, it is possible to pass over to more concrete recommendations,

The Present Investigation. The first problem which arises concerns the continuance of the present investigation. It is not easy to decide upon recommendations in this regard. The facts thus far presented indicate a serious danger from world Communism and appreciable activity of American Communist fronts. It would seem imprudent to give up the effort to keep facts current and to watch for important new developments. There should be semiannual reports to the Bishops on trends in American Communism. The real difficulty, however, concerns the methods and machinery used to obtain such reports. Here there are two distinct possibilities.

In the first place, it would be possible to organize a continuing investigation with a full-time director on the East Coast and another stationed in Los Angeles to study the West Coast. The Eastern director would also cover the industrial Middle West. To carry this out, however, there must be trained personnel. Ultimately there would be publicity given to the work, since it is impossible to make the necessary contacts and still hope that the investigation would remain private. Both these considerations militate against the establishment of a formal office as an official agency of the Church. It is far more difficult than is generally realized to obtain suitable personnel for this work. In the course of the present investigation, the writer had contact with many of the individuals and groups which were fighting against Communism. This includes private agencies, some of them undoubtedly subsidized by newspapers or by wealthy groups; government agencies, such as city or state police or the intelligence forces of the Army and Navy, as well as the civil service investigation forces of the federal government; and newspaper groups, such as certain New York writers and columnists and the editors of the New Leader. The diversity of reports about the same individuals and movements was alarming. Intelligent investigators were on the whole successful in labeling organizations and programs. Only the small minority with direct contacts inside the Communist Party were certain of facts in regard to individuals. The tactics used by the successful few would not be available to any agency connected with the Catholic Church. We cannot bribe Communists to be informers, nor could we place individuals within the Party for the same purpose. Hence it is impossible for us by methods available to the Church to obtain inner information as to Communist purposes or personnel.

A good deal could be done by trained investigators using such public means as the study of Party publications and front organs. Much more could be done by contacts with individuals who do get the inner facts. But these

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contacts are not easily made. Thus, a priest director would need to be friendly with top labor officials to get the needed data. Even then he would need to be well trained to ask the right questions and to elicit information not readily volunteered. Groups which deal with informants must of necessity protect their sources of information. They too will only talk to a person who has proved his ability to interpret facts and protect confidences. Thus, there would be a serious problem of getting the right individuals to head this work. Any such individual known to this writer would be needed elsewhere in the positive phase of the program.

Furthermore, the development of the positive program will afford a large staff of trained personnel who learn a great deal about Communism in the course of their work. Thus the priests and laymen associated with the A.C.T.U. in Detroit, New York, and elsewhere; priests who work in labor schools in New York, Brooklyn, Chicago, Detroit, and the like; priests who direct social action in Hartford, Burlington, San Francisco, New Orleans, and similar dioceses; all these find out a great deal about local Communism and, what is more important, are in a position to do something about it. If the further developments projected subsequently mature, there will be regional and national meetings of these individuals and, in the course of their discussion of other problems, a fair appraisal of the Communist situation could be had.

In the light of these considerations, the recommendation is against the continuance of organized and exclusive investigation of Communism by a Catholic body. If such a study could be financed by a disinterested person or group apart from the Church, and if investigators of the finest caliber now in public service could be used, the results would be highly useful. It is known that such a group would be available if financial backing could be had. But for ourselves, the recommendation would be for a semiannual report on trends and developments. If the Bishops are satisfied with the competence of the present study, this investigator could present such reports by keeping subscriptions to important Communist literature and anti-Communist publications and by keeping personal contacts which have proved so fruitful. The time demanded would be less than an hour a day for the literature and possibly a week each quarter to keep in touch with contacts. Thus the investigator should use the bulk of his time towards furthering such of the positive programs, such as writing and training priests, as are within his competence. The results would be inferior to those obtained by full-time study, but should be adequate in view of the over-all picture.

Programs Directed Against Communism. Since so many of the Communist activities center about propaganda, it seems logical that there be direct attempts to counter such propaganda and to spread the truth. Unfortunately, our present efforts along these lines are not successful in achieving their aims. There is too much of a tendency to substitute emotion and general statements for facts and to convince the convinced. It is quite possible that we would be more successful in getting over the facts about Communism if we did not preach and editorialize so much on the matter.

The first step is to get the facts in a continuous and regular manner. If the Bishops think it wise, this Report might be placed temporarily in the hands of diocesan editors, with a warning that direct quotation would invite libel suits. After they have taken notes and returned the document, they

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could keep up to date by subscribing to the Daily Worker and the Worker; Political Affairs; and In Fact. For facts on the other side, they should subscribe to the daily and Sunday New York Times and to the New Leader. It is literally amazing to note the contrast between the Times and the material carried by the press associations and most newspapers. This is particularly true of Communist movements abroad. From these sources, calm factual accounts could be given when appropriate about the trends of Soviet imperialism and the corresponding movements in this country. With such ammunition, our people would be armed with facts and not merely emotions when discussing the subject of Communism.

Since the subject of Communism is so widely discussed among the clergy, it is important that they too be given up-to-date facts. The average priest is not likely to read widely on the matter, hence the following two recommendations are made: 1) this present report should be rewritten, condensed, and carefully edited into a brochure similar to the earlier N.C.W.C. report on the question. Since material contained in this chapter should be included, it is suggested that the brochure be distributed only to the clergy and that through the diocesan chanceries rather than through public sale. For the general public, such regular pamphlet writers as Father Feeley, S.J. or others known to be planning pamphlets could be supplied information which they may lack. As a matter of fact, several of these writers have access to good material already. 2) the average priest could be encouraged to subscribe to the New Leader, a liberal weekly which is opposed to all forms of totalitarianism and which is highly factual in its approach. Such first-rate writers as William Henry Chamberlin, David Dallin, and Eugene Lyons are frequent contributors. The New Leader is published by a group of New York Social Democrats. There is no guarantee that occasional phrases offensive to Catholics may not be found in articles, although it is known that the editors are trying to avoid such offense. They feel that the Catholic Church is the major world bulwark against Communism and wish to co-operate with it. In view of the fact that there is no Church control over the publication, it would be better that recommendations be private. This could take the form of articles in publications for priests, dealing with sources of information on Communism; recommendations in clerical conferences; and possibly a letter to the editors by a private priest, which they could use in circularizing the clergy.

The suggestion that more factual material be furnished Catholics does not conflict with the earlier observation that many of our efforts convert the converted. What was objected to were sermons and editorials against Communism directed to listeners and readers who would not be such if they had any leanings towards Communism. We can take the opposition for granted; what is needed is material so that our people can document their opinions when talking to others. Furthermore, the few among us who may be unconsciously influenced by Communist propaganda would be enlightened much more effectively by facts than by general statements. Nevertheless, there is need of direct efforts to get these same facts to the non-Catholic world. Our work only commences when we educate ourselves. The real problem is to educate the mass of Americans through the radio, motion pictures, press, lecture platform, books mass organizations, labor unions, and other media so successfully used by the Communists. Pope Pius XI, in his great encyclical on Atheistic Communism called for a united front with "the overwhelming majority of mankind who still

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'believe in God and pay Him homage." (#72). Our present Holy Father, in another context and dealing with a different evil, went even further to solicit the aid of all "men of good will."

Under the leadership of these great Pontiffs, our task is to "come out of the foxholes," abandon the defensive, and pass over to the offensive. The call is for direct participation of the Catholic laity, trained in the manner to be suggested presently, in presenting the glorious truths of our Faith to a world which too often knows not the truth. As a general blueprint, the encyclical "On Atheistic Communism" should be the master plan. It is not dated in any important way by the march of events since 1937. Every major item in the subsequent recommendations about social education and social action is contained at least implicitly in this Encyclical. As a special blueprint for American conditions, the article "What About the Hundred Million?" by Rev. James G. Keller, M.M., in the May 1945 Ecclesiastical Review is stimulating and suggestive. Fr. Keller has circulated reprints of this article, and has discussed his ideas with individual bishops.

It is recommended that in any educational program aimed at getting Catholic truth to the American public and as part of that program of countering Communist propaganda by telling the truth about world events, Fr. Keller be asked for specific suggestions and plans. Many of these plans are already contained in the article cited, and we can only refer to it for fuller treatment. In brief his program calls for: training some diocesan priests for specialized work, not merely for home missions as he suggests, but also for general liaison work in getting the truth to the hundred million who often are without any religion. His emphasis is on apologetics, but some should be trained for social action, as suggested in many Papal encyclicals. These priests, he notes, could through the laity work among four channels: education, communications, personal influence in the community; and labor and government. Of course, his recommendations go far beyond the problem of Communism. But it is doubtful whether any program aimed merely at Communism will be successful. Certainly the objectives suggested in "On Atheistic Communism" were much more extensive. To do all this, we must abandon the "foxhole" position of being merely defensive, negative, and critical, and go forth with the supernatural confidence of a St. Paul or a St. Francis Xavier. It is better to make occasional mistakes doing something positive, than to be fighting a perpetual defensive and delaying action.

Education of Catholics. Pope Pius XI wrote two major encyclicals on the social question. In "On Reconstructing the Social Order" he outlined Catholic social principles as remedies for world problems. In "On Atheistic Communism" he presented the same principles as the primary remedy against Communism, in the sense that remedying social injustice removes one of the great lures used by Communists; our interest in the masses of the people will win them to us and away from the Communists; and our trained organizations and our trained laity can counter intelligently Communist organization and Communist propaganda. It is on this authority, as well as on the basis of arguments given in this report, that we emphasize primarily positive programs of social education and social action. Even though the main weapon of American Communism is propaganda for Soviet imperialism, and social justice by itself is not a complete answer, yet individuals trained for positive and dynamic ideals will also be in a position to handle the Communist problem.

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As a general theme for this section, it will be urged that education is a necessary prelude to action and that, in many cases, an adequate educational program will require the writing of certain books and pamphlets..

1. Social Education of the Clergy. Recent encyclicals have insisted upon the necessity of general training in social problems and Catholic social principles for the clergy, and specialized training for some of them. Against this we must place the facts that few of the older clergy have such training, that not all seminaries afford it, and that authoritative textbooks are lacking. Hence the indicated program would seem to be: a minimum training for the bulk of priests; specialized training for some; courses in the seminaries; and suitable textbooks.

The purpose of the minimum training program is to acquaint the bulk of the clergy in a diocese with an outline of Catholic social principles and the main social problems. Such courses do not produce experts or even trained workers. They merely serve to stimulate interest, promote further reading and study, indicate potential candidates for specialized training, and predispose the clergy to co-operate with later activities by the specialized groups. The last point is important. It is useless to expect the bulk of busy priests to become self-trained students of the social problem. What is sought is rather a minimum understanding of objectives, so that they will co-operate with programs initiated by trained leaders. To achieve this, it is recommended that there be resumed at once the program of brief schools for priests, to be given in the major industrial dioceses, under the sponsorship of the Ordinary and the Social Action Department, N.C.W.C. These schools should be for a minimum of two or three weeks, with three morning classes five days a week. They should be staffed by teachers who are good popular speakers competent in their subjects.

The next step of intermediate training should be the resumption of the Institute of Catholic Social Studies, under the auspices of the Catholic University of America. This Institute was started successfully before the War, when Bishop Haas was in charge of the School of Social Studies at the Catholic University. The present writer was its director. It was successful during its first years, but was suspended when the War made it impossible for Bishops to send priests. The Institute attempts to give an intensive and practical course for priests in a six weeks summer session. A basic course can be had in one summer and a complete course in three summers. The courses offered the first year comprise five classes a week in each of the following: Catholic social principles; Catholic social action; Basic economic problems; and Labor problems. The purpose of the Institute is to train priests for diocesan social action, not for academic teaching. Because of this purpose, it is recommended that in the future the Institute be for priests only, and that no academic credit be allowed. This latter point is to obviate competition with the existing Departments and Summer Schools of the University. While the Institute has concentrated on industrial problems, it would be feasible to offer courses in farm problems as alternative to the labor courses, for those who prefer to specialize in rural social action. It is suggested that over a period of years at least three per cent of the priests in each diocese be given summer training at the Institute. Three per cent of moderately trained leaders would be a minimum for an adequate program of Catholic social education and social action.

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As a final step of training for priests, it is urged that some priests in every diocese be prepared by more intensive study. This would mean an M.A. or a Ph.D. in economics, to be gotten at the Catholic University, Notre Dame, The Institute of Social Order at St. Louis University, or other Catholic schools competent to give a suitable training and a degree. Such training would make the priest a full-fledged leader, and not merely a well-trained follower. Thus, while priests trained at the Institute in Washington have shown great competence in directing diocesan social action programs and conducting labor schools, many have expressed diffidence in the matter of complex national problems, such as the relationship between wages and prices, or the means necessary to secure full employment. Yet, in applying Catholic social principles to concrete problems, competent technical knowledge would give the priest some degree of assurance when discussing matters with union economists, trained business men, and local professors of economics. As an immediate program, it is suggested that each diocese have one priest thus trained in the near future, and that the long-term objective be such training for one per cent of the clergy.

For seminarians, the minimum training should be a separate course in Catholic social principles and Catholic social action, similar to that offered at the Institute of Catholic Social Studies. In addition, it would be highly desirable that at least a semester each be given to Economics and Sociology. The ideal program would be a full year's course in both Economics and Sociology, given at the Philosophy level, and a semester on Catholic Social Principles and Catholic Social Action, given towards the end of Theology.

For courses in Catholic Social Principles and Action there arises the problem of a textbook. The writer has found none that is quite suitable, and for the Institute used mimeographed notes. It is his purpose, if superiors permit, to proceed at once to expand these courses into a printed book. The book would be divided into two sections: Social Principles and Social Action. The Principles section would contain a series of chapters, with each beginning with reprints of excerpts from Encyclicals and other authoritative sources on the particular question, so that the full Catholic official teaching on labor, government, property, capital, etc. will be available in one spot. This would be followed by an explanation and commentary along ethical lines. Finally, there would be an economic application of these principles to American conditions. This would be done in a popular, nontechnical fashion, with references for readings appended. At the conclusion there would be a discussion of current schools of thought among American Catholics. The Action section deals with sources of information on social questions; educational techniques (radio, sermons, study clubs, discussion groups, etc.,), and action techniques (with labor, the employer, youth, the unemployed, Jocism and Catholic action, communism, etc.). The book would be written primarily for priests and seminarians. The outline is given in some detail, not as an advertisement for a particular book, but to justify the writer's contention that writing and education must precede and accompany organization and action. It would be fatal to plunge immediately into diocesan social action programs and neglect the material necessary to carry them along.

In the course of this discussion, it has been assumed that everyone knows what Catholic social principles are and how they should be applied.

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Actually, there are serious disagreements which, in the opinion of this investigator, have hampered the work of teaching Catholic principles in this country. During the Thirties, for example, there were at least three active and diverse schools; those who followed Msgr. Ryan; the followers of Father Coughlin; and the Catholic Worker group. Each school felt that it was basically right and many followers at least felt that the programs were mutually exclusive. The result was confusion among the rank-and file of Catholics and often among priests and sisters. We were getting nowhere because we were moving in three directions at once. These currents are still moving today, with different individuals as leaders. In addition there has come on the scene a Catholic Economic Association. There have been conflicts between individuals in this association and individuals who concentrate on labor, social legislation, and the teaching of the social Encyclicals. Some individuals have accused the Association of being indifferent to the Encyclicals, while some members of the Association accuse the welfare group of perverting the Encyclicals by applying unsound economic principles to them. All this is in the theory field. Just to make the confusion more confusing, some persons in the social action field think that some theorists tend to idealize labor and social reformers in government and that they are not sufficiently aware of abuses in these fields. All of which seems to indicate the need for more unity gotten through consultation and exchange of views, without sacrificing legitimate freedom of thought. Hence the following proposal.

It is proposed that as a measure of obtaining greater unity, a Catholic Social Manifesto be prepared under the auspices of the Department of Social Action and in co-operation with the Catholic Economic Association, with independent experts also consulted. This committee would try to reach an area of agreement as to: 1) What are Catholic principles in the social and economic field, using Papal encyclicals and authorized theologians as the basis of formulation; 2) what are universally agreed upon as logical conclusions from and applications of these principles; 3) what applications are controverted in the light of legitimate differences in economic theory; 4) what proposals often labeled "Catholic" are actually only Catholic in their objective, but strictly secular and economic in themselves; 5) under general Catholic principles what are legitimate fields of specialization (Fr. Furley and personal sanctification; Frs. Miller and Ward, and the co-operatives, etc.). While the final draft would be prepared by the Committee, it would be circulated more widely and such Catholic authorities as agree could associate themselves with the signing. The ultimate document would be a small book, such as the Manifesto on Rural Life prepared by a Committee of bishops and priests. The object of this would not be to stifle independent thought, but rather to aid it by putting different schools and levels of thought in their proper perspective. This is particularly important for the school program to be presented below. Unfortunately today in many schools and seminaries, narrow, specialized views are presented as the Catholic social program.

Social Education of Catholic Adults. Most lay Catholics have had no training in Catholic social principles. Indeed, many are scandalized when the subject is brought up, as if some new doctrine had been introduced. Many still have the notion, brought in after the Reformation, that religion has no right to pronounce on such matters. Without realizing it, they have accepted the double standard of morality, with one code for private life, and a much laxer code for public and business affairs.

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Various techniques have been elaborated for adult education. Social education could be achieved by the use of existing societies and schools, such as the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, the National Council of Catholic Men, the National Council of Catholic Women, Holy Name Societies, the like. When leaders of the Confraternity were approached on the subject they were quite receptive. The same applies to the other groups mentioned. In addition to these existing groups, there is the possibility of special sermons, radio talks, forums, study clubs and discussion groups, and the like. Some priests have been successful in getting weekly columns in secular papers. In addition, we have several Catholic magazines which are concerned with social problems. These could be promoted among the laity. The personnel for this work would be selected from the priests trained as indicated earlier.

The worker school movement is now sufficiently matured to permit of some definite conclusions. It would now be feasible for Fr. Higgins to conclude the work he continued from Fr. Hayes' beginning and to publish general suggestions as to courses, textbooks, and the like. This is not a recommendation that the Department of Social Action of necessity issue such textbooks. On the contrary, it is understood that several teachers in workers' schools have taken steps towards preparing texts. But the Department is doing a great service in co-ordinating this work and in preparing to help priests who intend to begin schools. Possibly if texts are slow in forthcoming, or if they are prepared in such a way as not to be generally usable, the Department might well undertake to supervise such a series. Our whole approach to the workers needs a revamping on the literature side. We give them formidable pamphlets and books, difficult encyclicals, and the like; while other groups interested in the worker issue short, punchy leaflets; or pamphlets in the style made popular by Joseph Gaer, of PAC fame. These documents, collected in his book The First Round, might well serve as models for our future literature for workers. These comments are not meant as criticism of existing pamphlets put out by the N.C.W.C. and other groups. These served a legitimate purpose in reaching a trained audience; they need to be supplemented rather than replaced by the simpler and more direct material for workers. In addition, Catholic labor papers, such as the Wage Earner, the Labor Leader, and Work might well be circulated. Of these, the Wage Earner is the most professional achievement.

Social Education of Children. Suggestions given under this heading are tentative, pending the expert recommendations of the committee to be assembled by Msgr. Hochwalt, of the Department of Education. Msgr. Hochwalt, together with the Commission on American Citizenship, is working on a curriculum for high schools which would include a proper place for Catholic social teaching. This would carry on the excellent work done by the same group on the elementary school level. Pending these results, the following are offered as the composite opinion of educational experts, most of whom will be in Msgr. Hochwalt's committee. In general, there are three possibilities for including Catholic social teaching in the high school curriculum. (What is said of high schools applies, mutatis mutandis, to colleges.) The social principles of the Church can be: 1) integrated with the social science studies, especially history, civics, economics, and sociology; 2) given as a semester in the religion course, as Catholic social ethics; 3) given as a special course entitled Problems of Democracy. These programs are not mutually exclusive. In fact, variety is desired because of the difference in

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state or diocesan requirements. The first aim is desirable in itself, regardless of other decisions. The Encyclicals of the Popes are certainly equally legitimate objects of historical study as the Communist Manifesto. Where programs of action are advocated in economics and sociology, a philosophy of life as well as an assemblage of facts is required. Most secular textbooks include studies of the false philosophies of socialism, communism, fascism, and the like. Certainly Catholics should not be apologetic about having their own textbooks which introduce at appropriate places their philosophy of life. Hence, while our texts should be scientifically of the highest standards, we can and should be sure of the philosophy which is bound to be included in a social science text. Nevertheless, such courses in the social sciences may not reach all our students. Hence the argument for a course exclusively devoted to the study of Catholic social teaching. This could be presented in the Problems of Democracy courses required in some states or schools, or it could be made a semester of required religion courses. The fundamental point is that it be made available to all students. The same process could be repeated on an advanced level for colleges.

Probably most of our sisters are not prepared to teach such courses. Hence it is recommended that short Institutes for teaching sisters be held on diocesan levels, in which an intensive training could be given to sisters who may be teaching Catholic social principles in a religion course. For those who get academic degrees, it might be possible to include a course in Catholic social principles in the increasingly popular religious education courses. These are content courses, almost brief theology courses. Possibly in addition communities could send one or two nuns to get higher degrees in the social studies, so they could instruct nonspecialist teachers of religion.

Catholic Social Action. The educational program outlined above would be a prelude to action. It is not suggested that all action programs be withheld until the educational work is completely established. But the initial emphasis would be placed on training and indoctrination. Of this trained cadre, the most initially important group is the clergy. "Initially" is underscored since, as is noted in "Atheistic Communism," the "first and immediate apostles" of the workingman will be trained laymen (#64-65). Accordingly, it is important to note the functions of the priests prepared in one of the ways suggested earlier.

Since the primary purpose of this report is the discussion of Communism, it is fitting that we initiate this section with a comment on the attitude of the priest in social action towards the problem of Communism. In this regard, the priest should read carefully and follow implicitly sections 57 and 58 of "Atheistic Communism". There the Holy Father outlines in general terms what we have already presented in detail; the Communist front program; its united front tactics; its infiltration methods; and its pretenses of a more moderate attitude towards religion. His conclusion is the oft-quoted sentence: "Communism is intrinsically wrong, and no one who would save Christian civilization may collaborate with it in any undertaking whatsoever."

Using these principles as our guiding philosophy, we may seek to determine the proper attitudes towards the situations described thus far. Certainly the principle of noncollaboration with Communism would apply unequivocally to front organizations. These groups, described in Chapters I and II of this report, are essentially creatures of the Communist Party. No

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matter how fair their program and how impressive the "window dressing" of names, they are basically creatures of the Party, formed and controlled by its members. Hence no Catholic should join front groups, or should remain a member if he joined inadvertently. Likewise, we should fight to the fullest extent against the united front policy. Any organization which Catholics can influence should be persuaded against organic collaboration with the Communist Party or its creatures on specific issues. For those who do not accept the authority of the Pope, Catholics can argue that experience has shown the folly of the United Front. In such a coalition, the Communists either rule or wreck. This has been the sad experience of the political parties in Europe which tried such fatal coalitions (N.Y. Times, Oct. 23, 1945). Again, it is flying in the face of all experience to credit temporary Communist moves towards milder methods. Invariably they have reverted towards iron dictatorship and slavish subservience to the Soviet wherever they have gained power.

The most difficult question, however, concerns organizations which were not founded by Communists, which have a legitimate purpose, but which are accidentally and temporarily infiltrated. Sometimes such infiltration may amount to control, as with certain labor unions. The general principles enunciated in "Atheistic Communism" do not deal explicitly with this problem. Possibly these two directions may be of value: St. Paul, in I Cor., VI, 9-10, in discussing immoral persons, notes that his ban on associating with them should not be taken too literally, "otherwise you would have to leave the world." Pope Leo XIII in Immortale Dei (#44) argues that Catholics as a general principle should take active part in politics. Otherwise, "if they hold aloof, men whose principles offer but small guarantee for the welfare of the State will the more readily seize the reins of government." Accordingly, if Catholics were to withdraw from legitimate organizations, such as trade unions, because Communists were trying to take over, they would simply be handing over the union to the Reds.

In the light of these principles, the following rules may be hazarded. In organizations both legitimate and relatively necessary, the accidental presence of Communists need be no bar to active Catholic participation. This principle may be subdistinguished in three ways: 1) where the Communists do not have control, it is the duty of all God-fearing members to take such active interest in their organization that this minority is prevented from controlling it; 2) where Communists have control, but where an active campaign could reasonably be expected to oust them, participation for such a purpose would be better than withdrawal or the establishment of a duplicate group; 3) where Communists have control and perpetuate their control by undemocratic means so that they cannot be ousted, it is usually better to withdraw, starve them financially, and possibly establish a competing organization. These rules would apply to relatively necessary groups such as trade unions and probably welfare organizations, such as the Southern Conference on Human Welfare and the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People. For groups which are not relatively necessary, the general principles of the indirect voluntary would be used to determine whether the accidental evil will outweigh the good to be achieved by the intrinsically good but not relatively necessary organization. In all this discussion, it is assumed that the priest is advising the layman on a matter of conscience; he is not normally forming new organizations or directing organizational struggles against Communist factions.

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The Priest in Social Action. The trained priest, assigned or permitted by his Bishop to work in social action, will concentrate upon the objective of Christianizing social life. He will work with labor and employer groups to promote justice, charity, harmony; and industrial democracy. His work will be primarily educational, teaching Catholic laymen, and any others who wish to come to his schools, sound principles of social life, the basic facts of labor and industrial problems, and such techniques as will aid these pupils in expressing their opinions effectively and in accord with parliamentary rules. The priest can moderate industrial disputes, often serve as mediator or arbitrator at the request of the affected parties, and try to infuse a sense of social responsibility in both capital and labor. As Pope Pius XI remarked in Quadragesimo Anno (#142), he must be "possessed of the keenest sense of justice, who will resist with true manly courage the dishonest demands or the unjust acts of anyone, who will excel in the prudence and judgment which avoids every extreme and, above all, who will be deeply permeated by the charity of Christ." In winning the workers and their unions, he deprives the Communists of their basic source for membership and funds.

There is considerable controversy over the extent to which priests should go in regard to internal union politics. The discussion was occasioned by the action of several priests who personally led struggles against Communism or dishonesty in labor unions. Specifically, Fr. Drolet in New Orleans, Fr. Donnelly in Hartford, and the present writer in Baltimore were asked by workers to help them in struggles against dictatorial Communist unions. The workers argued that they did not have the training nor the informed leadership to oust the Communist groups, who were not only skilled in organizational methods, but who had expert outside advice from high Communist officials. Thus in Baltimore, the shipyard unions were not only advised by the Baltimore Communist leaders, they also had the benefit of monthly meetings in New York with top Communist officials for the purpose of planning strategy. At critical times, Roy "Horseface" Hudson, then czar of labor matters for the Party, would come down to take charge. In view of this, the workers wanted not only training, but outside guidance. Nevertheless, the furnishing of such direct aid in an organizational struggle and the open championing of the anti-Communist faction has been criticized by other priests who are interested in the social question. They assert that these activities are imprudent, and that for an immediate gain they lay the Church open to the charge of seeking to dominate labor.

The priests who took part in these activities do not question the view that it would be more desirable to have trained laymen guide such activities. The difficulty was that at the time, there were no such leaders in sight. The workers --- of all religious faiths, incidentally --- wanted immediate help from the known enemy of Communism. In Baltimore, for example, they did not directly approach the priest who subsequently took charge. Rather they went to the Archbishop for aid, and were referred to this priest for help. While it is known that some top union officials resented this incursion into their domain, thousands of workers, Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant, were apparently grateful to the Church for the aid given in this struggle. Elsewhere, it is felt that the Church will survive Dan Tobin's blast at Fr. Drolet and Reid Robinson's attack upon Fr. Donnelly.

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These incidents were cited in some detail because they lead to valuable conclusions. The first would be that when diocesan social action becomes widespread, there will be need of frequent meetings and consultation among directors. The collective wisdom of men experienced in the field will be a better guide than the judgment of any individual. The second conclusion is that no priest can enter this field without being subject to criticism which will reach the Ordinary. Some employers will resent his work with labor. Communist labor leaders will criticize his friendship with employers and his counsels of justice and moderation. Others will misunderstand the Church's interest in the social question. Unfortunately the great mass of workers, pathetically grateful for the Church's concern for their welfare, are not articulate enough to express their views to Church authorities. Bishops must expect such a situation. If their initial choice has been a priest possessed of the qualities noted by the Pope -- justice, prudence, courage, and charity -- then criticism and even occasional well-meaning mistakes should not be permitted to hamper his necessary work. The task of winning the workingman to Christ is vital.

Diocesan Social Action. The trained priests who work in the field of social action should ultimately form a diocesan social action committee. It would be possible, of course, to begin by appointing such a committee and directing it to initiate a program of education and action. This approach, however, has great dangers which make it generally inadvisable. The main danger is that of freezing unsuitable personnel. While every priest should be interested in the social question, not all have the temperament necessary for specialized work in the field. Many priests are temperamentally indifferent to social questions. Some of the finest seminarians will tell their teachers that the study of economics is to them a dull chore. They want to be interested, they know their duty to learn, and they envy their fellows who find such study wildly exciting, but their mind does not work that way. The same applies to priests. Good, zealous priests, perhaps outstanding in other diocesan activities, prove dismal failures when assigned to the social field. Once they have been so assigned, the evil is intensified, since their very conscientiousness prevents them from giving up. Then the Bishop is faced with the unpleasant task of removing a faithful and zealous priest from a diocesan office. It was no fault of this priest: he simply did not have the temperament to mingle with workers and employers and to learn intuitively the complexities of industrial life.

The method herein suggested is based upon the advice of several Bishops who had experience with social action programs. It is suggested that some occasion be arranged to bring home the importance of priestly social action to the priests of a diocese. This could be a diocesan school, as noted earlier, a priests' meeting following an industrial conference, a quarterly clerical conference addressed by an outside speaker, or a special meeting of the clergy called to hear an outside speaker. As a result of this meeting or school, it would be ascertained what priests are interested in further study of these problems. These priests could be sent to the Institute of Catholic Social Studies for a six weeks summer course. Upon their return they could be directed to begin labor schools and similar activities, with a provisional committee appointed to work informally. The chairman could be some priest, such as the chancellor of the diocesan director of charities, who would naturally expect to relinquish the position in a short time. After experience had been accumulated and the relative success of the individuals noted, it would then be possible to

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appoint a permanent committee. In this connection, some note must be made of the priest who has all the virtues needed but one, prudence. It happens that some priests who are intensely interested in social questions may lack good judgment. They are carried away by zeal and forget that progress is made one step at a time. Such priests have proved very useful, when guided by a chairman who has prudence. Their energy can be put to invaluable uses. Under firm but kindly control, they are real assets to a social action program. On the other hand the "crank" normally hurts a program. Such a person usually develops a single, oversimplified approach to all questions. He may feel that the social question is exclusively a matter of monetary manipulation, or forbidding all women to work, or finding the grand secret conspiracy which is the master group behind Communism, Masonry, and all the other evils of the world. Such a person is best left out of any organized social action movement. Imprudent conduct can be controlled, but warped thinking is difficult to straighten out.

National Social Action. Once diocesan programs are begun on a fairly extensive scale, there will arise a normal desire to consult and possibly to federate. It is hoped and expected that eventually social action will become as normal a pattern of specialized priestly activity as charities and education are today. Even today some dioceses have full-time directors. One of the most advanced is Hartford, Conn., which under the leadership of Fr. Donnelly has made great forward strides. It is likely that such a pattern will be found useful elsewhere. But the diocesan program will reach its most effective level when consultation and co-ordinated action becomes possible. As a first step, it is likely that the Department of Social Action will step in as the co-ordinating agency. The Department could call annual meetings and more frequent regional meetings which will be purely professional gatherings, comparable to the meetings of diocesan superintendents of education and directors of charity. In contrast to the mass social action meetings held in Milwaukee and Cleveland, these gatherings will be private, limited to persons actually working in the field or planning to do so. There would be a minimum of prepared papers and a maximum of organized discussion meetings. After some years of this, one can visualize the formation of a formal association, now independent of the Department, organized by diocesan social action directors and other interested persons. A picture emerges of theoretical discussions similar to the famous Semaines Sociales, held by a Catholic Social Science Association (made up of the existing Catholic Sociological and Economic groups), and of practical discussions by the Catholic Social Action Society, and of interchanges between the two groups. But all this is at present dreaming dreams. Such organizations constitute a last step, not a beginning. First priests must be trained, then diocesan groups made active, and only then do national societies become practical.

It will be noted that throughout it is urged that organization be from the bottom up rather than from the top down. This does not come easy to us Americans, who by temperament like intricate organizations, elaborate publicity, mass meetings, and the like. There is a definite place for such mass work, such as the Milwaukee and Cleveland Congresses. They have an educational and inspirational value. But decades of European experience, and the brilliant success of Jocism, indicate that sound programs are best organized from below, with federation coming later. This does not mean

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that no encouragement or stimulation need come from the top. On the contrary, Bishops will of necessity be the ones to take the initiative in encouraging priests to study social problems. If the Bishop arranges a school or a conference for priests and let it be known that he is interested, there will be no problem of attendance. Likewise that same interest will insure co-operation in getting priests released for summer study and in getting full co-operation for their initial work. But after that, European experience would indicate that they should be left alone for a while. They can learn, if necessary, from their mistakes. Some financial aid may be needed but, on the whole, social action is a relatively inexpensive field. Then when the time is ripe, further steps can be taken, with the formation of a Commission, possibly with a full-time director, office, and all the pomp and circumstance necessary for the work.

As activities expand towards the formation of a national group, the work of the Department of Social Action will be constantly increasing. It would be the natural group to direct the training program for priests on the diocesan level, conducting one day meetings, two- or three-week schools, and the like. It could serve as a clearing-house for ideas and an information center for those beginning in the field. Its present activities in aiding priests could be expanded considerably. Probably one of the most useful steps would be the gradual transformation of the present "Notes for Priests" (initiated by Fr. Hayes and continued by Fr. Higgins) into a professional magazine, comparable to the Catholic Charities Review and the Catholic Educational Review. This magazine could serve many functions. In the first place it could imitate the excellent Protestant publication, Information Service, a weekly printed bulletin which normally carries a thorough but nontechnical study of an important current problem. Periodically it carries book and pamphlet reviews. As a second feature, it could carry technical articles of interest to priest directors of social action. Such might be the study of a labor school, a parish employment agency, a co-operative, or suggestions for labor arbitration. These articles would be professional, just as a surgeons' magazine might describe the latest style in appendectomies. Finally, it could retain the interesting news items and "quotable quotations" which distinguish the present notes.

Organizations for Social Action. Thus far, we have been interested in training and framework, rather than the content of social action programs. Of course, an important part of the content will be the adult education programs noted earlier. Thus, in Hartford, in addition to labor schools, there are forums, radio talks, newspaper articles, addresses to miscellaneous groups, and priests' meetings. There can be close co-ordination with youth work and the work of existing Catholic societies. There can be interracial groups. Many other possibilities open up, but two deserve extended comment; the A.C.T.U., and Catholic Action.

1). The A.C.T.U. In New York, Detroit, San Francisco, and elsewhere there have been formed units called the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. These organizations endeavor to give Catholic union workers adequate knowledge of the social teaching of the Church, training to make this knowledge effective in their respective unions, and organized forum for discussing current problems in the light of Catholic principles and for reaching decisions for action. The A.C.T.U. does not form a bloc within unions. Rather its members as individuals or members

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of general caucuses try to influence union policy along sound lines. There are no A.C.T.U. slates of candidates for office, or A.C.T.U. factions within a union. But where factionalism is necessary, and it almost always is where there are Communist factions, A.C.T.U. members as individuals will be active in the caucus which is seeking union welfare rather than the Communist Party Line. In their unions, the A.C.T.U. members never push a program which is merely negative (anti-Communism) or which can be labeled as sectarian by enemies of the Church. They follow the sound principle that "you can't beat something with nothing, or someone with no one." As a result they have a positive program of good unionism and back candidates of proved ability. Since a Communist trade union leader is necessarily loyal to the Party rather than to the union, they can usually defeat him on union grounds and not on the grounds of Communism. This may seem like a compromise of principle, but experience shows its wisdom. Communist Michael Quill reigns unchallenged in a union which is ninety per cent Catholic, mainly because he has brought about a great improvement in working conditions. The same is true of Harry Bridges, Joseph Curran, and other Communist union leaders. On the other hand, there are many flaws in their performances which could be exploited by leaders who had a better program. This does not mean that the A.C.T.U. does not discuss Communism in their own closed meetings. On the contrary, they keep very good watch on the Comrades. Often the uniting force in the caucuses they join is the knowledge that Communists are trying to seize a union. But their floor and convention tactics --- the programs they use to convince indifferent members who may not be aware of the Communist danger, all these are positive proposals for the benefit of the workers. Of course, the A.C.T.U. only incidentally works on the Communist problem: primarily it was conceived to teach union workers sound Christian principles, so they could urge them upon their fellow union members.

The basic difference between the A.C.T.U. program and the worker school and adult education approach is that the former adds organization and regular meetings of members to the training program. Because of the organizational aspect, some fear that it will lay the Church open to charges of interference in internal union affairs. Actually, the A.C.T.U. as such does not act in internal union matters, but only trains members who act as individuals or members of general caucuses. Yet the critics fear even unjust charges, and the possibility that Protestant groups might be exploited by the Ku Klux Klan or the Communists to form anti-Catholic organizations. Union officials are restive over the A.C.T.U. although some of its most violent critics do not hesitate to solicit its support.

In the opinion of this investigator, the A.C.T.U. belongs in the category of matters best discussed in private meetings of priests interested in social action. It is one of these prudential matters where abstract judgment is impossible. Where it has been active, it has often done excellent work. The writer has studied the Detroit situation more than any other, and cannot imagine any alternative method which would have accomplished more. Certainly where there is a Communist problem, there is no substitute for organization, whatever it be called. In labor, Communists gain power through organization, and they can be ousted only through the same method. No amount of teaching, preaching social justice, and the like will substitute for caucuses, slates, programs, and other tactics needed to handle this skillful and disciplined minority. It may be regrettable that labor unions cannot be conducted like Altar Societies, but

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factionalism was brought in by the Communists, not by their enemies. Furthermore, entirely apart from the Communist problem, there may arise many questions which Catholics as Catholics may wish to discuss. Unions today are passing resolutions on political problems, international issues, school programs, and many other items which may be of vital concern to the Catholic. Certainly the advice of Pope Pius XI would seem to favor such an organization: "Side by side with these unions there should always be associations zealously engaged in imbuing and forming their members in the teachings of religion and morality, so that they in turn may be able to permeate the unions with that good spirit which should direct them in all their activity. As a result, the religious associations will bear good fruit even beyond the circle of their own membership". (Quadragesimo Anno, #35)

2) Specialized Catholic Action. The problem of specialized Catholic Action, in the technical sense used in Europe, is equally difficult. Here the problem is whether or not it is suited to American conditions and the American temperament. Catholic Action, which found its most fertile formulation in the Jocist and related movements, has as its basic idea the training of leadership through intense Christian living. It works from the study of concrete problems, the appraisal of situations in the light of Christian principles, and the realization of what is needed to bridge the gap between the real and the ideal. In the course of this study, the lay leader realizes the need of every deeper personal holiness. This intensive training then leads to extensive work, as the leader begins to interest others in the movement. New groups are formed, and so the movement grows. Official Catholic Action is under the direction of the Bishop, who appoints chaplains. The relationship of chaplains to leaders, the programs and techniques, and the like have all been worked out in great detail by the Jocists and similar groups. Leaders trained in this field have often adopted the social field as a chosen form of specialized action and have done marvelous work as a result.

In spite of its Pentecostal success in Europe, Catholic Action is still a question mark here. Some say that Americans do not take to its rigid framework. Others are concerned with failures or imprudent experiments. It is objected that in trying to cure everything, nothing is done. The answer given by its exponents is that it has not been given a fair trial here. It has been judged adversely because it was tried by persons incompetent to prosecute the program. Bishop Miranda, of Tulancingo, Mexico, who had done successful work along these lines, gave the writer an answer reminiscent of Gamaliel in the Acts of the Apostles: "Leave it alone. If it is of God, it will succeed. It does not need pushing or publicity." The same advice was given by three priests who have done excellent work in this field, Msgr. Hillenbrand of Chicago, Fr. Cirrincione of Rochester, and Fr. Putz of Notre Dame, Indiana. These priests have been successful. They feel that failures have sprung from impetuosity and imprudence. They would prefer to have the work grow slowly and soundly at first and then, God willing, it can spread as it did in France, Belgium, and Canada. If those interested could consult these priests and accept their counsel, the movement here may flourish.

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Since much of Catholic Action to date has been among high school and college students, it is still primarily a youth program here. As such it would be more a concern of other Departments of the N.C.W.C. Its main interest to priests concerned with social action is that it produces zealous and trained leaders. Such laymen would indeed be a tremendous asset to the social action movement. Young Catholic Action leaders, when they go into industry, could be leaders of the A.C.T.U. or similar activities. At the same time, however, we must not neglect another type of leader. In the labor movement and in industry we often found men who could be called "animae naturaliter Christianae," who accept the principles of justice and social charity and who are willing to spend themselves for their fellow men. These are the men with rough exteriors but courageous souls, often found in heavy industry, among seamen, and the like. The formality and confinement of Catholic Action meetings would be irksome to these men. They are primarily men of action, warriors for a good cause. These men too, with their simple faith and rough kindness, will be strong auxiliaries of the priest working on social action.

The diversity of approaches constitutes a strong argument for the gradual, experimental approach to the problems of Catholic social action. It would be a mistake to freeze our activities prematurely into any type of mold. The first programs must be educational, with intense training of the clergy as the prime necessity. Then diocesan social action can develop along lines dictated by local conditions and experience elsewhere. While uniformity may come with experience, unity and co-operation should be present at the beginning. Every effort should be made to co-ordinate activities of those who may try different approaches. One priest may specialize in Catholic Action, while another may devote his time to A.C.T.U. One may work in the field and another at a desk or a teacher's chair. It only hurts the common cause when they remain aloof and self-sufficient. Specialization should not be isolation. Each may develop his field intensively, but each can learn from another. The Department of Social Action, more than any other group, can serve as such a force for unity. It can learn sympathetically from all who do good, and impart this information to others. In this way we can have unity without rigidity, and specialization without exclusiveness.

Conclusion. The program presented in this Chapter is extensive. It will not be done in one year or possibly ten years. But it does represent the composite wisdom of priests and bishops with experience in the field. No other phase of the inquiry was given similar attention in the way of extensive consultation and study. The most controversial points were studied at first hand and frequently, especially A.C.T.U. and Catholic Action. Help was solicited from several Archbishops and Bishops, from the Department of Social Action and the other Departments of the N.C.W.C., from priests and laymen active in the work, and from the written records of foreign experience. Extensive answers were given in the diocesan questionnaires and those sent to priests experienced in these activities. All these were digested and then compared with the Papal Encyclicals on these questions. The result was the series of recommendations presented in this chapter. Since so many things were urged, we might here summarize the first steps recommended: things which could be done in the year to come.

COMMUNISM AND CATHOLICISM**1. In Regard to Communism:**

- A. Semiannual reports to the bishops on trends and developments.
- B. Further study of Fr. Keller's suggestions for active apologetic work. This would give us the contacts and organization needed to counter front activities.
- C. Factual discussions of the subject in the Catholic Press, using secular sources as well as the religious news services.
- D. Recommendations to the clergy of certain factual sources on the subject. Preparation of a booklet embodying the main points of this report.

2. On Social Education:

- A. Resumption of diocesan schools for intensive training of priests in social matters.
- B. Resumption of the Institute of Catholic Social Studies for summer school training of priests.
- C. Higher specialized training for some priests.
- D. Preparation of necessary textbooks for priests and seminarians.
- E. Preparation of a Catholic Social Manifesto.
- F. Co-operation with Msgr. Hochwalt and Commission on American Citizenship to make suggestions for social education in the schools.
- G. Initial steps to train sisters to conduct such education.

3. On Social Action:

- A. Encouragement of priests trained as above to begin programs of diocesan social action.
- B. Encouragement of those already trained to study A.C.T.U. and Catholic Action.
- C. Use of the Department of Social Action and outside help in education and co-ordination work, especially the work discussed in #2 above.

With these steps as a beginning, the rest will come in due time, God willing. Such a program should strengthen the Church in America and in the process remove the danger of Communism.

APPENDIX I. SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT COMMUNISM

It is important to distinguish sharply between information about Communism and information about Communists. The one is rather easily obtained, while the other is most difficult to ascertain. The publications listed in this section afford a fairly clear picture of the current Communist Party Line. As a rule, Communists are not too secretive in this regard, although a person familiar with the subject will be able to read much between the lines in Communist periodicals. Likewise the various proletarian (socialist, social democratic, Trotskyite) anti-Communist publications are invaluable for highlighting strategies of the moment, important front organizations, and leading members or fellow travelers. Of this group, the New Leader appears to be the best.

Information about Communists who conceal their identity is not easily obtained. Many indications are useful, but none of them is conclusive. The following of the Party Line; association with known Communists; frequent and favorable mention in Party or "front" publications—all these at best merely afford grounds for suspicion. If a subject is studied over a considerable period of time, and is known to follow all the drastic vagaries of the Line, suspicion deepens into virtual certainty. On the other hand, a mere compilation of names on the letterheads of front organizations, a tactic much favored by the Dies Committee, is a most dangerous procedure. A gullible liberal who can be inveigled into one organization can just as easily be duped into joining twenty.

The techniques for ascertaining concealed Communists are not widely available. Generally experts in a given field can detect Communists. Thus, labor leaders are usually well-informed as to the Communists in their particular jurisdiction. In many cities, the police have fairly accurate data. Such devices as shadowing suspected individuals, the use of informants, and the like can give certainty. But since the value of this type of information can vary according to the competence and reliability of the sources used, it can be easily seen that much of the data on Communists should be suspect. All this does not imply that the task is hopeless, but only that it should be entrusted to experts. The contacts, background, character, and judgment required for this work is such that few writers can be trusted implicitly. The very secrecy which surrounds the problem is an invitation for frauds and quacks to vend their wares.

The material listed below should be adequate for a knowledge of the Party Line, current policies, major front organizations, and favored groups. If used carefully, it could give some indications as regards individuals. But for certainty in regard to other than admitted Communists, competent local sources should be consulted.

There are listed hereinafter those periodicals which are deemed necessary in order to provide current information on the various views of Communist activity in the United States:

PERIODICALS PRESENTING THE SOVIET POINT OF VIEW

"Information Bulletin, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics"

This "Information Bulletin" is issued three times weekly by the Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Washington 8, D.C. It contains official Soviet statements and declarations, as well as informative material regarding the Soviet Socialist Republics. It is distributed free of charge.

"Polpress News"

"Polpress News" is the official news release of the Polish Press Agency, 50 Rockefeller Plaza, Room 523, New York 20, New York. It is a mimeographed sheet released approximately twice weekly, and copies of the releases are filed regularly with the Foreign Agents Registration Section of the Department of Justice. "Polpress News" is a branch of the Polish Press News Agency of Moscow, U.S.S.R., and its principal is the Polish Committee of National Liberation, Lublin, Poland. This agency regularly receives substantial subsidies from Moscow.

"The American Review on the Soviet Union"

"The American Review On The Soviet Union" is a quarterly publication of the American-Russian Institute, 58 Park Avenue, New York 16, New York. Its subscription price is \$2.50 per year or .65 per copy. The Managing Editor is Julia Older. It is printed and bound by the Comet Press, Inc., New York City. "The Review" contains articles regarding Soviet arts and sciences, education, sociology, economics and political affairs.

"Soviet Russia Today"

"Soviet Russia Today" is published monthly by the S.R.T. Publication, Inc., 114 East 32nd Street, New York 16, New York. The subscription rate is \$1.50 per year; \$1.00 for eight months and .15 per copy. The Editor is Jessica Smith (Mrs. John Abt). The Manager is Theodore Bayer. "Soviet Russia Today" is a slick paper publication, similar to the "American Review on the Soviet Union" in its subject matter. However, it is published monthly and contains a larger number of photographic illustrations. "Soviet Russia Today" uses photographic material from Sovfoto, the official photographic agency of the Soviet Union in the United States.

REQUIRED READING FOR AMERICAN COMMUNISTS

"Political Affairs - A Marxist Magazine"

"Political Affairs" is published monthly by New Century Publishers, Inc., 832 Broadway, New York 3, New York. Its subscription rate is \$2.00 a year; \$1.00 for six months; single copy .20. This is the official organ of the Communist Political Association until August, 1945. Earl Browder was Editor; Eugene Dennis, Associate Editor and V.J. Jerome was Managing Editor. This magazine contains the official views of the Communist Party of the United States.

"Daily Worker" - "The Worker"

The "Daily Worker" is published daily except Sunday by the Freedom of the Press Company, Inc., 50 East 13th Street, New York 3, New York. On Sundays "The Worker" is published. The President of the newspaper is Louis Budenz; Vice President, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.; Secretary-Treasurer, Howard C. Boldt. The subscription rates are \$4.00 for three months; \$7.50 for six months; \$14.00 for one year for combined subscription to both the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker". Single copies sell for .05. Daily circulation is 22,000 and weekly is about 30,000. As yet, no official successor to Budenz has been named.

These two newspapers are the day to day Communist organs for the East Coast of the United States. The news items are obtained from the United Press, Allied Labor News and from "special correspondents". These papers are tabloid size and contain editorial comments, sports news, a comic strip and other features appearing in the "capitalist press".

"Daily People's World"

"Daily People's World" is published daily except Sundays and holidays by the Pacific Publishing Foundation, Inc., 590 Folsom Street, San Francisco 5, California. The Editor-in-Chief is Harrison George; Managing Editor, John Pittman and Business Manager, Harry Kramer. Subscription rates are \$3.00 for three months; \$5.50 for six months and \$10.00 per year. Single copies sell for .05. The paper is regularly a six-page, full-size sheet and is the West Coast propaganda organ of the Communist Party of the United States. It subscribes to United Press, Allied Labor News and Federates Press. Although its news items are current, the editorial comment often lags a day or more behind that of the "Daily Worker" from which the "Daily People's World" takes its editorial cues.

"New Masses"

"New Masses" is published weekly by the New Masses, Inc., 104 East 9th Street, New York 3, New York. Its Editor is Joseph North; Associate Editors; Frederick Vanderbilt Field, Barbara Giles, A. B. Magil, Virginia Shull, John Stuart, Virginia Gardner (Washington, D.C.) and Marjorie DeArmand (West Coast). The Business Manager is Lottie Gordon. Subscription rates are three months for \$1.50; six months \$2.75; a year for \$5.00 and single copies are sold for .15. "New Masses" caters to the "intelligentsia" and generally prints the fiction and non-fiction of the best writers in the Communist movement, occasionally printing contributions by non-Communists.

"Science and Society"

"Science and Society" is published quarterly by Science and Society, Inc., 30 East 20th Street, New York 3, New York. Bernhard J. Stern is Chairman of the Board of Editors, other members of which are:

Samuel Bernstein
V. J. McGill

D. J. Struik

Edwin Berry Burgum
Margaret Schlauch

Subscription rates are \$1.25 annually and single copies sell for .35. "Science and Society" has a smaller reading public than "New Masses" and is of primary interest to those individuals usually characterized as "fellow travelers". Officials of the Communist Party of the United States and contributors to the aforementioned periodicals and newspapers which are required reading by the American Communists, frequently appear as contributors to "Science and Society". The items appearing in "Science and Society" are predominately in the field of political and social science, with a comprehensive book review section covering books dealing with the same general subject matter. "Science and Society" regularly advertises "New Masses".

CANADIAN COMMUNIST PUBLICATIONS**"National Affairs"**

"National Affairs" is a monthly magazine published as a "Party journal" by the National Committee of the Labor-Progressive Party, 73 Adelaide Street West, Toronto, Canada. The Chairman of the Editorial Committee is Tim Buck; Managing Editor is Stanley B. Ryerson. The Business Manager is Annie S. Buller. The annual subscription is \$1.50 and single copies sell for .15. This magazine has the same official status for the Canadian Communists as does "Political Affairs" for the Communist Party of the United States.

"Canadian Tribune"

The "Canadian Tribune" is a newspaper of tabloid size published weekly by the Canadian Tribune Publishing Company, 95 King Street East, Toronto, Canada. Its Editor is John Weir; Managing Editor; Annie S. Buller, the Business Manager for "National Affairs". Subscription rates are six months for \$1.00; one year for \$2.00 and single copies sell for .05. The "Canadian Tribune" is the equivalent of the "Daily Worker".

"Pacific Advocate"

The "Pacific Advocate" or "P.A." is published every Saturday by the People Publishing Company, Room 104, Shelly Building, 119 West Pender Street, Vancouver, British Columbia. The subscription rates are six months for \$1.00; one year for \$2.00 and individual copies sell for .05. The editor is C. A. Saunders; the Associate Editor, Myer Sharzer. The "Pacific Advocate" is the equivalent of the "Daily People's World".

PUBLICATIONS OF REPORTED COMMUNIST FRONT GROUPS**"Action Letter"**

"Action Letter" is issued irregularly to its members by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, 205 East 42nd Street, Room 1613, New York 17, New York. This is a mimeographed sheet which is issued for the purpose of raising funds for particular immediate causes and for the additional purpose of directing telegraph, telephone and mail pressure campaigns with regard to State and Federal legislation. "Action Letter" is issued whenever the necessity for such funds or pressure campaigns exist.

"The Americas"

"The America" - a review of Latin-American news, is published fortnightly by the Council For Pan-American Democracy, 23 West 26th Street, New York 10, New York. This is a mimeographed sheet containing "slanted" news and comment on Latin-American matters. The subscription rate is \$2.50 per year and single copies sell for .10.

"Bread and Butter"

"Bread and Butter" is published weekly by Consumers Union of the United States, Inc. Colston E. Warne is President; Arthur Kallet, Director;

Madeline Ross, Editor. The offices are at 17 Union Square West, New York 3, New York. Subscription rates are \$1.00 per year or .05 a copy. "Bread and Butter" is a small four-page publication containing political and economic comment and some analysis of consumer goods.

"Consumer Reports"

"Consumer Reports" is published monthly by Consumers Union of the United States, Inc., 17 Union Square West, New York 3, New York. The Editor is Madeline Ross and the Director is Arthur Kallet. Subscription rates are \$3.50 per year. "Consumer Reports" contain analyses of various items of consumer goods, medical comment, political and economic news and comment and suggestions for "group activity" in the consumer field. Very little of the Party Line appears in the Reports.

"Economic Notes"

"Economic Notes" is published monthly by Labor Research Association, 80 East 11th Street, New York 3, New York. Subscription rates are \$1.00 per year and single copies are .10. This is a mimeographed publication setting out the analysis of the Labor Research Association in all fields of industry and finance. The material is "slanted" in accord with the "line" of the Communist Political Association at the time of publication.

"Facts For Farmers"

"Facts For Farmers" is published monthly by Farm Research, 39 Cortlandt Street 7, New York. Charles J. Coe id Editor. Subscription rates are .25 per year or .05 per copy. "Facts For Farmers" contains political and economic observations on domestic and international issues stressing the angles which effect the farmers of the United States.

"Fraternal Outlook"

"Fraternal Outlook" is published monthly excepting June, July, August and September when it is published bimonthly by the International Workers Order, Inc., 80 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, New York. The subscription price is \$1.50 per year. Single copies sell for .15. The Editor is Max Bedacht and the Managing Editor is Eugene Konecky. The magazine varies in size from sixteen to thirty-two pages. The magazine is considerably more pictorial than any so far considered with the exception of "Soviet Russia Today", and is set up for the purpose of presenting Communist propaganda to a broad mass of members of the International Workers Order which includes non-Communists.

"The Lamp"

"The Lamp" is published monthly by the American Committee For Protection of Foreign Born, 23 West 26th Street, New York 10, New York, for its members. This is a four-page publication containing political information regarding laws existing or proposed relating to immigration and outlining campaigns for causes sponsored by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

"Legislative Service"

"Legislative Service" is published monthly by the International Labor Defense, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York. Vito Marcantonio is President of the ILD. Boxey A. Wilkerson is Vice President and Robert W. Dunn, Treasurer. Its subscription rate is \$1.00 for twelve issues. "Legislative Service" is an eight-page, "slick paper" publication containing recommended reading on current political problems, suggestions for legislative action and analyses of Congressional reaction in which the International Labor Defense has an interest.

"New Africa"

"New Africa" is the monthly bulletin of the Council On African Affairs, 23 West 26th Street, New York 10, New York. W. A. Hunton is Editor and Educational Director of the Council On African Affairs. Subscription rates are \$1.00 for twelve issues. "New Africa" contains news of the various African countries and colonies and attempts to interpret the effect of activity for or against the Negroes in those areas upon the United States and world politics.

COMMUNIST INFLUENCED PUBLICATIONS APPEALING TO SPECIAL GROUPS

"In Fact"

"In Fact" is a weekly news letter edited by George Seldes, 25 Astor Place, New York, New York. The subscription rate is \$1.00 per year. This four-page publication reprints material originally published elsewhere with editorial comment by Seldes. It is a very important source for Party Line material. Because of its trade union circulation, it is quite influential.

"New Currents" - A Jewish Monthly

"New Currents" - a Jewish monthly, is published monthly by the American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists, Inc., 119 West 57th Street, New York 19, New York. Subscription rates are \$3.00 per year. Single copies sell for .25.

The Managing Editor is Alice Alpert and Associate Editor is Valia Hirsch. The Board of Editors include:

Joseph Brainin
Frederic Ewen
B. Z. Goldberg
Albert E. Kahn
William Zukerman

Abraham Chapman
Howard Fast
Dena Justin
Herbert Morais

The Advisory Board includes:

Sholem Asch
Lion Feuchtwanger
William Gropper
Harland J. Laski
Israel Schapiro

Alvah Bessie
Waldo Frank
Leo Huberman
Albert Maltz

"the Statement of Principles" of "New Currents" states that it is a Jewish non-Partisan monthly devoted to the furtherance of Jewish unity in America ... and for the establishment of the closest bonds of friendship and cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union as well as the other democratic nations. The contents include political and economic dissertations, fiction, poetry, art criticism and book reviews. It advertises the American Review of Soviet Medicine, a bimonthly technical journal.

"New York State of Affairs"

"New York State of Affairs," "a non-Partisan guide to citizen action" is published monthly by New York State of Affairs, Inc., 35 East 12th Street, New York 3, New York. The Editor is Dr. Bella V. Dodd. David M. Freedman is Business Manager. Subscription rate is \$2.00 per year. "New York State of Affairs" deals particularly with political matters in the State of New York. However, some space is given to the voting record of New York Congressmen on national issues.

"The People's Voice"

"The People's Voice" is a tabloid size newspaper, published weekly by the Powell-Buchanan Publishing Company, Inc., 210 West 125th Street, New York, New York. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. is Editor-in-Chief; Doxey Wilkerson, Executive Editor; Marvel Coke, Associate Managing Editor; Max Yergan, Treasurer and David Watkins is Manager. Subscription rates are three months for \$1.00; six months for \$2.00 and one year for \$3.00. "The People's Voice" is a Negro newspaper. It is a complete paper in so far as news coverage and features are concerned. However, news is predominantly of Negroes and stories on domestic and international affairs are presented on the basis of the effect which such events have on the Negro population.

"The Protestant"

"The Protestant" is published monthly from January to October excepting July and August, when it is published bimonthly by the Protestant Digest Publishing Co. Inc., 521 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, New York. The Editor is Kenneth Leslie and the Distribution Manager Sanford Archibald. The Managing Editor is James M. Freeman. Subscription rates are twelve issues for \$3.00, twenty-four issues for \$5.00. Single copies are .25. "The Protestant" is anti-Roman Catholic and pro-Soviet and generally has followed the Communist line in all of its shifts. It is the most important single source for the anti-Catholic Communist Line.

LABOR ORGANS REFLECTING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF LABOR

"The CIO News" - National Edition

"The CIO News" - national edition, is the official weekly publication of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. It is published at 718 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. Ian De Caux is Editor and Publicity Director. This is a tabloid size newspaper, subscription rates of which are \$1.00 per year or .05 per copy. The national edition serves as a model for the editions published in the various sections of the country. The national influence of the Communist Party of the United States on the Congress of Industrial Organizations can be gauged from the treatment of news and comment in this paper. Generally the top officials of the CIO prevent De Caux from introducing the Party Line. Even so, he can set a tone by inclusions and omissions.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT COMMUNISM

"The Dispatcher"

"The Dispatcher" is the official newspaper of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, CIO. It is published every two weeks at 604 Montgomery Street, San Francisco 11, California. Subscription rates are \$1.00 per year. The Editor and Information Director is Morris Watson. Harry Bridges, President of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, has an editorial column in each issue. "The Dispatcher" contains news items from Allied Labor News and Federated Press.

"The Pilot"

"The Pilot" is the official organ of the National Maritime Union of America, CIO. It is published weekly at 346 West 17th Street, New York 11, New York. Subscription rates are \$2.50 per year. The paper sells for .05 a copy. This tabloid newspaper is edited by Lowell Chamberlain and Joseph Curran, President of the National Maritime Union, as a weekly column of editorial comment. "The Pilot", because of its status as the official organ of the National Maritime Union of America, probably receives a greater distribution in the ports of Europe, Africa and the Middle East than any other publication in the United States.

"The Guild Reporter" (Anti-Communist)

"The Guild Reporter" is the official organ of the American Newspaper Guild, CIO, and is published the second and fourth Friday of each month. The yearly subscription is \$2.00. Single copies sell for .10. The Editor is Wilbur E. Bade. His associate is Fred Jaeger. The national organization of the American Newspaper Guild, CIO is controlled by non-Communists and because of the high caliber of writing ability of the membership of the American Newspaper Guild, the issues of "The Guild Reporter" contain from time to time the most searching criticisms of Communist attempts to disrupt the affairs of the union or to inject Communist programs into the union's activities.

"The New York Guildpaper"

"The New York Guildpaper" is published twice a month by the Newspaper Guild of New York, Local No. 3 of the American Newspaper Guild, CIO. Its Editor is Robert M. Schwartz.

The officers of Local No. 3 and the group publishing "The New York Guildpaper" are among those under attack in "The Guild Reporter" from time to time for disruptive Communist tactics. "The Guildpaper" is, therefore, considered valuable source material in order to obtain the complete picture of the Communist-anti-Communist arguments which take place within the national organization.

In addition to these references, further material can be found in the organs of the Communist unions listed in Appendix IV.

COMMUNIST INFLUENCED GERMAN PUBLICATIONS**"The German American"**

"The German American" is a semimonthly publication published by the German-American, Inc. and edited by Gustav Faber, 305 Broadway, New York 7, New York. Subscription rates are six months for \$1.00; one year for \$1.75. Single copies sell for .10. Except for a few articles in English, the bulk of the news and editorial comment in "The German American" is in the German language. This paper was originally founded by Kurt Rosenfeld.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT COMMUNISM

"Freies Deutschland"

"Freies Deutschland" is edited in Mexico City. Its mailing address is Apartado 10214, Mexico, D.F. It is distributed in the United States in New York, San Francisco, Chicago, Boston and Washington at bookstores and news agencies which generally handle Communist material. Subscription rates are \$2.50 per year and .25 per copy. It is the organ of the Latin-American Committee for Free Germany and is published in the German language. The Latin-American Committee for Free Germany was in existence prior to the formation of the Free Germany Committee in Moscow.

"Volksstimme" - Anti-Nazi Monthly

"Volksstimme" is published by the German-Canadian Federation, 175 Bathurst Street, Toronto, Canada. Its Editor is Horst Doepler. Subscription rates are \$1.00 per year and .10 a copy. "Volksstimme" is printed in the German language and contains articles by Paul Merker and others who are connected with the publication of "Freies Deutschland."

PROLETARIAN PUBLICATIONS CRITICAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

"The Call"

"The Call" is published weekly by the Socialist Party of U. S. A., 303 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York. The Editor is Herman Singer. Subscription rates are \$2.00 per year or .05 per issue.

"Challenge"

"Challenge" is published monthly by the Young Peoples Socialist League of America, 303 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York. The Editor is Ann Moore. Subscriptions are .50 for twelve issues or .05 per copy.

"The Fighting Worker"

"The Fighting Worker" is published monthly by Demos Press, 708 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois. It is the official organ of the Revolutionary Workers League, U.S. (affiliated to the Provisional International Contact Commission for a new Communist Fourth International). The subscription rate is \$1.00 per year or .05 per copy.

"Fourth International"

"Fourth International" is a monthly magazine published by the Fourth International Publishing Association, 116 University Place, New York 3, New York. The Managing Editor is E. R. Frank. Subscription rates are \$2.00 per year or .20 a copy.

"The Industrial Worker"

"The Industrial Worker" is the official organ of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). It is published weekly at 2422 North Holstad Street, Chicago 14, Illinois. P. J. Read is Editor and Business Manager. Subscription rates are \$2.00 for one year or .05 a copy.

"International News"

"International News" is a mimeographed bulletin published by Demos Press, 708 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois, and issued by the Revolutionary Workers League of the United States for the International Contact Commission affiliated with the Leninist League of Great Britain and the Central Committee of the Red Front of Greater Germany. This bulletin is sold at .10 per copy.

"The Militant"

"The Militant" is published weekly by the Militant Publishing Association, 116 University Place, New York 3, New York. It is the organ of the Socialist Workers Party. The Managing Editor is Farrell Dobbs. Subscriptions are \$1.00 per year. Single copies sell for .05.

"The New International"

"The New International" (a monthly organ of revolutionary Marxism) is published monthly by the New International Publishing Company, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, New York. Its Editor is Max Schachtman. It is the organ of the Workers Party of the United States. Subscription rates are \$1.50 per year or .20 per single copy.

"The New Leader"

"The New Leader" is the official organ of the Social Democratic Federation. It is published every Saturday by the New Leader Publishing Association, 7 East 15th Street, New York 3, New York. The Editor is William E. Bohn; Executive Editor, S. M. Levitas and the Managing Editor is Liston M. Oak. This is a tabloid size newspaper of approximately twenty pages. As the finest single source of anti-Communist material, it is worth promoting.

"The Social Democrat"

"The Social Democrat" is an eight-page bulletin published by the National Office of the Social Democratic Federation, 7 East 15th Street, New York 3, New York. Subscription rates are \$1.00 per year. "The Social Democrat" contains the same type of news and comment as appears in "The New Leader".

"Weekly Paper"

"Weekly Paper," the official organ of the Socialist Labor Party, is a newspaper published every Saturday at 61 Cliff Street, New York 8, New York. The Editor is Eric Hass. Subscription rates are \$2.00 per year or .05 per single copy.

"The Western Socialist"

"The Western Socialist" is published by the Workers Socialist Party of the United States and the Socialist Party of Canada at 12 Hayward Place, Boston, Massachusetts, and has a subscription rate of four issues for .25; twelve issues for .75 and eighteen issues for \$1.00, postage included. The Workers Socialist Party of the United States is also affiliated through adherence to the same principles to the Socialist Party of Australia, the Socialist Party of Great Britain and the Socialist Party of New Zealand.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT COMMUNISM

"Workers Defense Bulletin"

"Workers Defense Bulletin" is published by the Workers Defense League, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York. Subscription rates are .25 per year and are included in the \$2.00 minimum dues for the Workers Defense League.

"The Workers Defense League News Service"

"The Workers Defense League News Service" is a mimeographed release of the National Executive Board of the Workers Defense League, also mailed from national headquarters, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York, to members of the Workers Defense League.

THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE PRESS AND PUBLICATIONS

The papers listed below are the principal ones serving to channel Communist ideology, thought, and political attitudes into the various foreign language communities in the United States. Practically all of them are directed by individuals identified with the Communist movement either as members or unqualified sympathizers, and in their editorial policies follow the lead of the authoritative English language Daily Worker.

Armenian**BAIKAR ~ (Struggle)**

Armenian language organ of the Armenian Democratic Liberal Union published in Boston daily. Although not consistently uncritical of Soviet policy, its general attitude is sympathetic. Claims circulation of 5,000.

IRAPER ~ (The Armenian Herald)

Armenian language organ of the Armenian Progressive League of America published three times a week at 40 East 12th Street, New York City. It claims a circulation of 3,000. Editor and business manager is Oksen Sarian. Subscription rate is \$4.00 per year.

Bulgarian**NARODNA VOLYA ~ (People's Will)**

Bulgarian language mouthpiece of the Macedonian American People's League published weekly at 5856 Chene Street, Detroit, Michigan, with circulation in Bulgarian and Macedonian communities throughout the country. Allegedly controlled by George Pirinsky. Other dominant figures in the paper are Peter Grigoroff and Nicholas Kovacheff. Subscription rate is \$4.00 per year.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT COMMUNISM

Carpatho-Russian

KARPATSKA RUS - (Carpatho-Russia)

A pro-Soviet semi-weekly paper published as the official organ of the Carpatho-Russian National Committee in Yonkers, New York, claiming a circulation of 4,000. It is the semi-official organ of the Carpatho-Russian section of the Communist-led International Worker's Order, and also presents the views of the pro-Communist Lemko Association. Its editor is Dr. Simeon Pysh, and its articles are printed in Lemko dialect.

Czechoslovakian

NOVA DOBA - (New Era)

A semiweekly published at 1448 West 18th Street, Chicago, Illinois, and claiming a circulation of 10,000. Edited by Gustav Pikal, this paper is a faithful replica in the Czechoslovakian field of the English language Daily Worker. Subscription rate is \$4.00 per year.

L'UDOVY DENNIK - (The People's Daily)

Published at 1916 East Street, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and claiming a circulation of over 20,000. This Slovak language daily is under the editorship of Calvin Brook. Others active in publication of the paper are Martha Novak and John Zuskar. It is published daily except Sunday and Monday at a rate of \$7.00 per year.

PRAVDA - (Truth)

A weekly issued by L'udovy Dennik and following the same line. Claimed circulation of 8,000, and has same editorial staff.

Estonian

UUS ILM - (New World)

A weekly published at 126 East 120th Street, New York, New York, in the Estonian language. Has supported incorporation of Estonia into the U.S.S.R. Subscription rate is \$3.00 per year.

Finnish

ETEEPAIN - (Forward)

A daily published at 445 Saw Mill River Road, Yonkers, New York, which follows a straight Communist Line on all matters, particularly as they pertain to Finnish affairs. It is the organ of the Finnish-American section of the Communist-led International Worker's Order. Editors are Carl Heikkenen, Richard Pesola, William Lahtinan, and Arne Linala. Subscription rate is \$6.50 per year.

TYOMIES - (Workingman)

A Finnish language daily which never varies from the Communist line. It is the Midwestern organ of the Finnish section of the International Worker's

Order. Published in Superior, Wisconsin, it claims a circulation of over 8,000. Matt Wiitala and Sadie Villahueva make up the editorial staff, with Hugo Paasikivi being business manager.

NAISTEN VIIRI - (The Woman's Banner)

Organ of the women's division of the Finnish section of the International Worker's Order, this Finnish language weekly closely follows the Communist line. It is published at 445 Saw Mill River Road, Yonkers, New York, and claims a circulation of about 2,500.

Greek

HELLENOAMERIKANIKON VIMA - (Greek-American Tribune)

Greek language organ of the Hellenic American Fraternal Society (Greek Section of the Communist-led International Worker's Order) published weekly at 132 West 14th Street, New York, New York. Has a claimed circulation of 6,000 and invariably follows the Communist line. Its editor is Demetrius Christophorides. Subscription rate is \$4.00 per year.

Hungarian

MAGYAR JOVO)Hungarian Journal)

Published five times a week at 413 East 14th Street, New York, New York, this Hungarian language paper is the organ of Communist thought and ideology in the Hungarian community. Claims a circulation of about 15,000. Editorial direction is afforded by John Roman and Emory Komolos. Its editor is Dr. John Gyetvai and its business manager is S. Rakosi. Subscription rate is \$6.00 per year.

Italian

L'UNITA DEL POPOLO (Unity of the People)

Edited by Italian Communists this foreign language weekly is published at 13 Astor Place, Room 614, New York, New York, and religiously follows the maneuvers of the Communist line. It serves as the organ of the Italian section of the Communist dominated International Worker's Order. Circulation estimated at around 6,000. The editor is M. Salerno. Subscription rate is \$2.50 per year.

Latvian

AMERIKAS LATVETIS (American Latvian)

It is the Latvian language organ of the Lettonian Workingmen's Association. Circulation does not exceed 1,000. John Lyman is editor.

Lithuanian

LAISVE - (Freedom)

Published daily except Sunday at 427 Lorimer Street, Brooklyn, New York, and claiming a circulation of 15,000, this Lithuanian language paper is

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT COMMUNISM

regularly found on the same side of questions affecting Lithuania as the Communist Party of the United States. It has been a staunch supporter of Russian policy in the Baltic states. Roy Mizara is its editor and Mary Sincus its business manager. Anthony Bimba is associate editor. Subscription rate is \$6.50 per year.

VILNIS - (Surge)

Published daily at 3116 South Halsted Street, Chicago, Illinois, this Lithuanian language paper has a circulation of around 35,000. Editor-in-chief is Vincent Andrulis; Associate Editors are Fred Ambeck, Leo Pruseika, and J. Jonikas. Business Manager is John Mazeika. Every Thursday an English section is included and the subscription rate is \$6.00 per year.

Polish**GLOS LUDOWY - (People's Voice)**

This Polish language paper is published weekly at 5856 Chene Street, Detroit, Michigan. It is pro-Soviet and fully supports all phases of the Communist movement in the United States. Editorial staff includes Thomas Dombrowski, Walter Kucharski, and Adam Kujtkowski. The subscription rate is \$3.00 per year.

NASZ SWIAT - (Our World)

A weekly published at 5001 Grandy Avenue, Detroit, Michigan, and rather consistent in presenting a pro-Soviet viewpoint. Edited by Waclaw Soyda and Walter V. Golanski who are also co-owners. The subscription rate is \$6.00 per year.

Roumanian**ROMANUL AMERICAN - (American Roumanian)**

Official organ of the Roumanian section of the Communist controlled International Worker's Order, published weekly at 4726 St. Aubin Street, Detroit, Michigan. Consistently presents a pro-Communist, pro-Soviet point of view. Harry Fainaru is editor and Maria Mila is business manager. The subscription rate is \$3.00 per year.

Russian**RUSSKY GOLOS - (Russian Voice)**

Published daily at 130 East 16th Street, New York, New York, in the Russian language, it boasts a circulation of over 30,000. It serves as an for the pro-Soviet and Communist slanted propaganda of the Russian section of the International Worker's Order. Editor is Dr. Davis Z. Krinken. The subscription rate is \$9.50 per year for daily and \$12.00 per year for daily and Sunday.

Ukrainian**UKRAINSKI SHCODENNI VISTI - (Ukrainian Daily News)**

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Ukrainian language counterpart of the Daily Worker for the Ukrainian community in the United States. Published daily by the Ukrainian-American League, Inc. at 85 East 4th Street, New York, New York, it claims a circulation of 14,000. Mike Tkach is editor and dominant figure in the paper's policies. The subscription rate is \$7.00 per year.

Yugoslav

NARODNI GLASNIK - (National Herald)

This daily (except Saturday and Sunday) Croatian language paper is published at 1916 East Street, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and is under the editorship of Anton Minerich. It has consistently channelled Communist ideology and propaganda into the Croatian community of the United States, and is an organ for the Croatian section of the International Worker's Order. Others influential in the paper are, Mary Sumrak, Stephen M. Loyden, Stephen Mirkovich, Frank Tadey, and Captain Anton Rades. Circulation about 6,000. The subscription rate is \$6.00 per year.

SLOVENSKA REC - (Free Expression)

Edited by Mirko Markovich this Serbian language paper is published thrice weekly at 1916 East Street, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. It serves as the mouthpiece for the Serbian section of the International Worker's Order and consistently portrays Communist viewpoints. Its circulation runs about 2,000. Others active in the paper's operation are Srdja Prica, Charles Vuich, Zora Trbovic, and Reverend Nicola Drenovac. The subscription rate is \$4.00 per year.

Yiddish

MORNING FREIHEIT - (Morning Freedom)

The Yiddish language counterpart of the Daily Worker and regularly voices Communist thought in its news and editorials. It claims circulation of over 20,000 and is edited by Paul Novick and H. I. Costrell. It is published at 35 East 12th Street, New York, New York, and is distributed to Jewish communities throughout the country. The subscription rate is \$12.00 per year.

THE OVERSEAS NEWS AGENCY

One of the most important propaganda sources for the Soviet Line is the Overseas News Agency, a service which places news in the foreign language press and digests their comments and news for American and foreign subscribers. It is thus in a strategic position to render service to any group which it may wish to promote. It is presently edited by Jacob Landau and occupies space with the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in New York City.

Jacob Landau was born in Sadagora, Austria, July 2, 1892, the son of Moses Hirsch Landau and Elizabeth Landau nee Bienstock. His parents were reportedly Russian by birth. He attended the Gymnasium and University in Vienna, Austria, and later the University of Berlin in Berlin, Germany.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT COMMUNISM

He started his career as a newspaper correspondent in Europe. In February, 1917, he founded the first Jewish telegraph agency in the Hague, Holland. Following the First World War, he attended the Peace Conference as a correspondent of "De Telegraaf" of Amsterdam, Holland. He was also a member of the Committee of Jewish Delegations in Paris. He founded the "Wanderbund Blau-Weiss" in Austria and later edited the monthly journal, "Blau Weiss". In 1920 he founded the "News Agency" in London, England, and later organized and managed the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in London with branches in Berlin, Jerusalem, Warsaw, Paris and New York.

In 1921 he came to the United States and started the Jewish Correspondents Bureau at 480 Lexington Avenue, New York City. On March 7, 1921, he incorporated a concern known as the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Incorporated. This corporation was dissolved May 4, 1936, but in the meantime had been replaced by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Incorporated, chartered under the laws of the State of Delaware on December 17, 1935. Landau founded the Jewish Daily Bulletin in 1924 in New York City, the only Jewish daily publication printed in the English language. In 1928 he was listed as a director of the Palestine Bulletin, the only English daily in Palestine.

The Overseas News Agency reportedly serves 650 foreign language newspapers and 300 foreign language radio stations in the United States. Its Board of Directors consists of George Backer, Jacob Blaustein, Reverend Father Robert I. Gannon, John Francis Neylan, William J. Schieffelin, Dr. James T. Shotwell, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Herbert Bayard Swope and Jacob Landau. Heindrik Willem Van Loon and William Allen White, both deceased, are carried on the letterhead of the Overseas News Agency as members of the Board of Directors as well.

On this agency, the following data was received from an informant known to the General Secretary of the N.C.W.C.

The Agency was founded several years ago first as a press agency for the placement of news on European matters in the American Press and of articles, interviews, etc., dealing with subjects from Europe. When I was with the Office of War Information three years ago, I remember distinctly that Mr. Landau, the founder of it, enjoyed quite a reputation there as an authority in European matters, he was seemingly very popular with Mr. Joseph Barnes and Mr. James Warburg, although he never, at that time, was on the staff of O.W.I. From a friend who is with the United Nations Information Center in New York I have heard since, that the OVERSEAS NEWS AGENCY was founded by Landau and in its first years supported by the Czechoslovak Government. It was then rather small and struggling. In 1941 they started the Foreign Press Digest and the O. W. I. took a large subscription to it, I remember that I received then 4 copies for each Foreign Language Group and that must have cost the O. W. I. quite some money. The service is also kept by many of the Embassies here and their consulates in New York and elsewhere, so that it must have quite a circulation, besides the U. S. Government Agencies.

Mr. Dohrn who knows pretty well the various refugee groups in New York told me once, that Landau is in these circles now thought to receive a substantial subsidy from the Soviets. He does not travel much, but he has an assistant who regularly goes to Mexico City. The staff is almost exclusively composed of refugees belonging to the Jewish religion and of leftist

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT COMMUNISM

tendencies. I heard myself in the O. W. I. and again from my friend with the United Nations Information Center, that the staff is composed mainly of people of that kind.

The perusal of the Foreign Press Digests which I have made for you during the last three months supports this opinion. As a matter of fact, the writers who make the various digests are so zealous in their task which seems to be to promote "progressive ideals" that in order to prove the theory of their superiors that the Foreign Language Press here is strongly in favor of progress and even more, they stress the line more than is good for the papers themselves. The language they reserve for their digests of the various articles, varies according to the tendency of the periodical reviewed. While leftist papers receive large attention, are extensively quoted and mentioned, conservative ones, and above all the Catholic periodicals, are treated with a certain contempt and even disgust. They are called "sheets", "clerical" (a term which in Europe means priestridden and corrupt as well as biased), they "splash" their stories "in bold type", their attacks are "fierce" or "violent" and so on. Furthermore, whenever there is some personality mentioned, the man who makes the survey, adds a comment of his own, seldom complimentary, on the personal record of the person involved or the periodical mentioned. Larger quotations from Catholic papers are rather seldom and occur only when they can serve some other aim, like f. i. in the case of the Slovene Catholic papers here which like AMERIKANSKI SLOVENEC, Catholic Slovene daily of Chicago supports often Tito and pleads for Cooperation with the Soviets. Otherwise they are seldom mentioned.

The latter tendency was specially obvious in two cases: the Bishop's Statement in November 1944 and the Pope's Christmas Message. Overseas News Agency is very careful as to the treatment of American organizations and personalities; it seldom brings anything very aggressive, and when it does quotes the paper directly. This was the case with the Bishops' Statement, the Digest brought quite a good number of papers upholding and lauding it; I think, however, that the number must have been larger, especially with the papers in languages from the East of Europe, and I have the suspicion that favorable comments from non-Catholic papers were withheld. This I cannot prove because I do not have the papers themselves at my disposal. The same thing must be the case with the Portuguese and Spanish press here, especially in the latter there is very seldom some Catholic issue mentioned and if it is, like in articles on the policy of the Vatican and Spain, invariably in a derogatory way. Among the Portuguese language press here, a Protestant Mission Organ, EVANGELISTA, of Tauton, Mass., never fails to be mentioned or quoted. A similar case in the one of PRZEBUDZENIE, Chicago organ of the so-called Polish National Catholic Church the attacks of which on the Holy Father are never omitted.

When IL GROCIATO brings something against the Soviets, the author of the Italian Press Digest immediately adds a Note of the Editor stating that the author of the article in question is a former member of the Fascist Party and so on. With this they are extremely cautious, they would not say it themselves, but they quote some other newspaper. I have in these cases the impression that the author of the Digest intends to draw the attention of some American Government Office, F.B.I. for instance, to the writer and "bring the Law down on him".

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT COMMUNISM

Protestant periodicals, when they attack the Catholic Church of Her Leaders, never are omitted, this can be seen in the cases of some Swedish Mission Papers, Like AUGUSTANA, of Rock Island, or MISSION VANNEN, Lutheran from Chicago, or AURORA EVANGELICA, Protestant Mission Weekly of New Bedford, in Portuguese.

The above instances can be multiplied, but I think that they are sufficient in order to show the undisguised leftist tendency of OVERSEAS NEWS AGENCY.

The DIGEST OF THE AMERICAN FOREIGN LANGUAGE PRESS covers, as far as I could see from the various services we received during three months 369 periodicals ranging from dailies to quarterlies, in 25 languages, among which almost all European Languages as well as Arab, Armenian, Jewish (Hebrew). I know that they also have a Chinese Press Digest.

CONSTITUTION OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES
(Adopted July 28, 1945)

PREAMBLE

"The Communist Party of the United States is the political part of the American working class, basing itself upon the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism. It champions the immediate and fundamental interests of the workers, farmers and all who labor by hand and brain against capitalist exploitation and oppression. As the advanced party of the working class, it stands in the forefront of this struggle.

"The Communist Party upholds the achievements of American democracy and defends the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights against its reactionary enemies who would destroy democracy and popular liberties. It uncompromisingly fights against imperialism and colonial oppression, against racial, national and religious discrimination, against Jim Crowism, "anti-Semitism and all forms of chauvinism.

"The Communist Party struggles for the complete destruction of fascism and for a durable peace. It seeks to safeguard the welfare of the people and the nation, recognizing that the working class, through its trade unions and by its independent political action, is the most consistent fighter for democracy, national freedom and social progress.

"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. It recognizes further that the true national interests of our country and the cause of peace and progress require the solidarity of all freedom-loving peoples and the continued and ever closer cooperation of the United Nations.

"The Communist Party recognizes that the final abolition of exploitation and oppression, of economic crises and unemployment, of reaction and war, will be achieved only by the socialist reorganization of society - by the common ownership and operation of the national economy under a government of the people led by the working class.

"The Communist Party, therefore, educates the working class, in the course of its day-to-day struggles, for its historic mission, the establishment of Socialism. Socialism, the highest form of democracy, will guarantee the full realization of the right to 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,' and will turn the achievements of labor, science and culture to the use and enjoyment of all men and women.

"In the struggle for democracy, peace and social progress, the Communist Party carries forward the democratic traditions of Jefferson, Paine, Lincoln and Frederick Douglass, and the great working class traditions of Sylvis, Debs and Ruthenberg. It fights side by side with all who join in this cause.

"For the advancement of these principles, the Communist Party of the United States establishes the basic laws of its organization in the following Constitution:

ARTICLE I

Name

Section 1. The name of the organization shall be Communist Party of the United States.

ARTICLE II

Purposes

Section 1. The purposes of this organization are to promote the best interests and welfare of the working class and the people of the United States, to defend and extend the democracy of our country, to prevent the rise of fascism, and to advance the cause of progress and peace with the ultimate aim of ridding our country of the scourge of economic crises, unemployment, insecurity, poverty and war, through the realization of the historic aim of the working class -- the establishment of Socialism by the free choice of the majority of the American people.

ARTICLE III

Membership

Section 1. Any resident of the United States, 18 years of age or over, regardless of race, color, national origin, sex or religious belief, who subscribes to the principles and purposes of the Communist Party, shall be eligible for membership.

Section 2. Any person eligible for membership according to Section 1, who accepts the aims, principles and program of the party as determined by its constitution and conventions, who holds membership in and attends club meetings, who is active on behalf of the party, who reads the party press and literature and pays dues regularly, shall be considered a member.

Section 3. An applicant for membership shall be indorsed by at least one member of the Communist Party. Such application is subject to discussion and decision by the club to which it is presented.

Section 4. Party members three months in arrears in payment of dues cease to be members in good standing and shall be so informed. Members who are six months in arrears shall be dropped from party membership after a personal effort has been made to bring such members into good standing. If members who terminated their membership for these reasons apply for readmission within six months, they may, upon approval of the club Executive Committee, be permitted to pay up back dues and maintain standing as old members.

ARTICLE IV

Rights and Duties of Members

Section 1. Every member of the party who is in good standing has not only the right but the responsibility to participate in the making of its policies and in the election of its leading committees in the manner provided for in this constitution.

Section 2. After thorough discussion in any club, committee or convention, decisions are made by a majority vote of those in attendance, and all members are duty-bound to carry out such decisions.

COMMUNIST CONSTITUTION AND PERSONNEL

Section 3. Party members disagreeing with any decision of a club, county or State committee have the right to appeal such decision to the next higher body until they reach the National Committee and the National Convention. Decisions of the National Convention are final. While the appeal is pending, members shall adhere to the decision already rendered. All appeals must be heard by the respective committee within 30 days.

Section 4. In pre-convention discussions, members have the unrestricted right and duty to discuss any and all party policies and tactics, the right to criticize the work and composition of all leading committees, the right of full expression in the party press or other organs provided for such discussion.

Section 5. In accord with the principles of democratic centralism, and in accord with Art. VII, Sec. 6, Communist Party members shall be involved in the formulation of major policies and shall have the right and duty to examine the execution of policies.

Section 6. Communist Party members in good standing have the right to vote on the adoption of policies and in the election of officers, committees or delegates.

Section 7. Communist Party members, in accord with the provisions set forth in this Constitution, have the right to be nominated and elected to all offices or committees.

Section 8. The members of a Club, by majority vote, have the right to recall any of the Club officers or committees.

Section 9. A Party member shall have the right to prefer charges against any other member of the organization. Any member who has been subject to disciplinary action has the right to appeal to the next higher body up to the National Convention, including the right to testify and bring witnesses.

Section 10. 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 destroy the rights of labor and the people, or any section thereof, or 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.

Section 11. Every Party member in a mass organization shall work to promote and strengthen the given organization and protect the interests of its members.

Section 12. All members shall strive to acquire an understanding of the fundamentals of Marxism and at all times aim to apply Communist consciousness, understanding, responsibility and initiative in their work and activity.

Section 13. It shall be the obligation of all Party members to struggle against all forms of national oppression, discrimination and segregation, against all ideological influences and practices of 'racial' theories, such as white chauvinism and anti-Semitism. It shall be the duty of all Party members to fight for the full social, political and economic equality of the Negro people; and promote the unity of the Negro and white people as essential for the advancement of their common interests.

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Section 14. All members shall be required to belong to the respective trade unions to which they are eligible.

Section 15. All members eligible shall register and vote in the elections for all public offices.

Section 16. The Party shall give full aid in the acquisition of U. S. citizenship to those of its members who, because of unjust and undemocratic laws and practices, are deprived of this right.

**ARTICLE V
Initiation Fees, Dues and Assessments**

Section 1. Initiation fees and dues shall be paid according to rates fixed by the National Convention.

Section 2. The income from dues and initiation fees shall be distributed to the various subdivisions of the Party as determined by the National Convention.

Section 3. Special assessments may be levied by the National Convention or by a two-thirds vote of the National Committee. All local or district assessments are prohibited except by special permission of the National Committee.

**ARTICLE VI
Structure**

Section 1. The basic organization of the Party is the Club, which shall be organized on a community basis in cities, townships, rural areas, or on a shop basis.

The officers and executive committees of the Clubs shall be elected by the membership by a secret ballot once a year. Except for newly-organized Clubs, these elections shall take place in January of each year.

The Clubs shall meet at least twice a month. Standing committees shall be established as provided by the By-Laws, and shall function under the direction of the Club Executive Committees.

Section 2. The state organization shall comprise all Clubs in one state and shall be organized in such sub-divisions as may be found necessary in accord with the Constitution.

The highest body of the state organization is the State Convention, which shall convene at least once every two years and be composed of delegates elected by the conventions of the sub-divisions of the Party or by the Clubs in the state. The delegates shall be elected on the basis of numerical strength. Delegates to the state conventions shall have been members of the Party in continuous good standing for at least one year.

The State Convention shall elect, by secret ballot and majority vote, a State Committee. The State Committee may be composed of regular and alternate members. To be eligible to the State Committee, one shall have been a member of the Party in continuous good standing for at least two years. The State Committee has the responsibility to carry out the Convention decisions and direct the activities of the state organization between state conventions.

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The State Committee shall elect from among its members a State Board, Chairman, and such other officers as it decides upon. These shall all be responsible to the State Committee.

Special State Conventions may be called by either a majority vote of the State Committee, or upon written request of Clubs representing one-third of the membership of the state.

Section 3. District organizations may be established by the National Committee. Where these cover two or more states, the State Committees shall be under the jurisdiction of the District Committees, elected by and representing the Party membership of the states composing these districts. The rules for convening the District Conventions and the election of leading committees shall be the same as those provided for the state organization.

Section 4. State and District Committees shall have the power to establish all necessary subdivisions, such as county and city organizations and committees, and the rules for election of such committees shall be provided in the By-Laws.

Section 5. In matters of a state or local nature, the Clubs, County and State Committees, have the right to make decisions within the limits of the general policies and Constitution of the Party and its Convention.

Section 6. All officers and leading committees of the Party, from the Club Executive Committees to the highest committees, shall be elected either directly by the membership or through their elected delegates. Committees and officers must report regularly on their activities to the body which elected them.

Section 7. Any Party officer may be removed at any time from his position by a majority vote of the body which elected him, or by the committee to which he is responsible.

ARTICLE VII National Organization

Section 1. The highest authority of the Party in the National Convention. Regular National conventions shall be held every two years. The National Conventions are authorized to make political and organizational decisions binding upon the entire Party and its membership except as provided in Article VII, Section 6.

Special conventions may be called either by a two-thirds vote of the National Committee or by a two-thirds vote of all State Committees.

Section 2. The National Convention shall be composed of delegates elected by the State and District Conventions. The delegates shall be elected on the basis of the numerical strength of the state or district organizations. The basis for representation shall be determined by the National Committee. Delegates to the National Convention shall have been members of the Party in continuous good standing for at least two years.

COMMUNIST CONSTITUTION AND PERSONNEL

Section 3. Prior to conventions, at least 60 days shall be allowed for discussion in all Party Clubs of the main resolutions and problems coming before the convention. During this discussion all Party organizations have the right to adopt resolutions and propose amendments to the draft resolutions and the Constitution for consideration by the convention.

Section 4. The National Convention shall elect a National Committee by a majority vote. To be eligible for election to the National Committee, one must have been a member of the Party in continuous good standing for at least four years.

Section 5. The number of members of the National Committee shall be determined by a majority vote of each National Convention.

Section 6. The National Committee is the highest authority of the Party between National Conventions and is responsible for the enforcement of the Constitution and the execution of the general policies adopted by the National Convention. The National Committee represents the Party as a whole and has the right to make decisions with full authority on any problem or development facing the Party between conventions. The National 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 shall submit a certified, audited financial report to each National Convention.

Section 7. The National Committee shall elect a Chairman and such other officers as it decides upon. The National Committee shall elect a National Board. To be eligible for election to the National Board, one must have been a member of the Party in continuous good standing for five years.

The National Board shall be charged with the responsibility of carrying out the decisions and work of the National Committee between its sessions. The number of members of the National Board shall be determined by the National Committee by majority vote. The officers and the National Board are responsible for all their decisions and actions to the National Committee. The officers and members of the National Board may be removed by a majority vote of the National Committee.

Section 8. The National Committee shall meet at least three times each year (subject during war time to ODT regulations).

ARTICLE VIII National Review Commission

Section 1. In order to strengthen, as well as review the integrity and resoluteness of our cadres, to guard against violations of Party principles, to maintain and strengthen discipline, to supervise the audits of the financial books and records of the National Committee of the Party, the National Convention shall elect a National Review Commission. This Commission shall consist of tested members with exemplary records. The size of this Commission shall be determined by the National Convention.

COMMUNIST CONSTITUTION AND PERSONNEL

Section 2. The National Review Commission may meet jointly with the National Committee, but between Conventions shall be subordinate to the National Committee and its decisions shall be subject to review by the National Committee or its National Board.

Section 3. To be eligible for election to this Commission one shall have been an active member of the Party for at least five years.

Section 4. Full meetings of the National Review Commission shall be held at least once every four months, with a resident committee meeting at least semi-monthly.

**ARTICLE IX
Disciplinary Procedures**

Section 1. Conduct or action detrimental to the working class and the nation, as well as to the interests of the Party, violation of decisions of its leading committees or of this Constitution, financial irregularities, or other conduct unbecoming a member of the Party, may be punished by censure, removal from posts of leadership, or by expulsion from membership. Such conduct or action by any committee may be punished by removal of the committee by the State or National Committee, which shall then order new elections for said committee.

Section 2. Adherence to or participation in the activities of any clique, group, circle, faction or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy, whereby the majority of the American people can maintain their right to determine their destinies in any degree, shall be punished by immediate expulsion.

Section 3. The practice or advocacy of any form of racial, national or religious discrimination shall be grounds for expulsion from membership.

Section 4. Personal or political relations with enemies of the working class and nation are incompatible with membership in the Communist Party.

Section 5. Charges against individual members or committees may be made by any member in writing to the Club of which he is a member, or to the leading committee having jurisdiction. Clubs shall act upon charges directed against anyone holding membership in that club. All such charges shall be handled expeditiously.

Section 6. All persons concerned in disciplinary cases shall have the fullest right to appear, to bring witnesses and testify.

Section 7. The club or leading committee having jurisdiction shall have the right to decide by majority vote upon any disciplinary measure, including expulsion. Disciplinary measures taken by leading committees are subject to approval by the body to which they are responsible.

**ARTICLE X
Appeals**

Section 1. Any member who has been subject to disciplinary action has the right to appeal to the next higher body up to the National Convention, whose decision shall be final.

COMMUNIST CONSTITUTION AND PERSONNEL

ARTICLE XI Amending the Constitution

Section 1. This Constitution may be amended by a majority vote at any regular or special National Convention.

ARTICLE XII By-Laws

Section 1. By-Laws may be adopted, based on this Constitution, for the purpose of establishing uniform rules and procedure for the proper functioning of the party organizations. By-Laws may be adopted or changed by majority vote of the National Convention or, between conventions, by majority vote of the National Committee.

Section 2. State By-Laws not in conflict with the National Constitution and By-Laws may be adopted or changed by majority vote of the State Convention or, between conventions, by majority vote of the State Committee,

ARTICLE XIII

Section 1. The National Committee shall issue charters to State or district organizations, defining the territory over which they have jurisdiction and authority. State or District Committees shall issue charters to the clubs.

ARTICLE XIV

Section 1. 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.

DUES SCHEDULE ADOPTED BY NATIONAL CONVENTION

1. Continue present dues rates and membership cards until Jan. 1, 1946.
2. On Jan. 1, 1946, institute the following new dues schedule;

- (a) All dues shall be payable monthly.
- (b) Members earning up to

	Month
\$25 per week.....	35¢
(c) Members earning from	
\$25 to \$60 per week	\$1.00
(d) Members earning over	
\$60 per week	2.00
(e) Unemployed	10¢

3. The income from dues shall be distributed to the various sub-divisions of the party as follows:

- (a) 20 percent to the club.
- (b) 50 percent to the National Office.
- (c) The remaining 30 percent shall be distributed among the respective city, county and State organizations, in accordance with decisions of the State Convention.

4. The initiation fee shall be 50¢ and shall be forwarded in full to the National Committee.

COMMUNIST CONSTITUTION AND PERSONNEL

COMMUNIST POLITICAL ASSOCIATION
STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES
FOR THE 13 MONTHS OF
June 5, 1944 to June 30, 1945

INCOME:

Dues.....	\$ 154,396.51
Initiations	3,105.50
Donations from States (Political Education Fund).	12,261.70
Donations from Others	4,960.17
Speakers Fees	3,453.00
Supplies.	<u>359.47</u>
TOTAL INCOME	178,536.35

EXPENSES:

Donations to States	16,736.84
Donations to Others	22,061.72
Mass Education and Literature	18,575.68
Welfare	11,611.12
Wages	59,516.75
Rent	3,466.69
Travel	21,186.46
Telephone	2,204.52
Telegraph	1,018.53
Postage and Express	2,386.96
Stationery and Supplies	1,306.26
Organization Supplies	5,992.36
Organizing Mass Campaigns	1,585.84
Legal	2,519.95
Auditing	600.00
Social Security Taxes	471.88
Unemployment Insurance Taxes	1,417.00
National Committee Meetings	9,586.67
Repairs	3,066.24
Miscellaneous	<u>755.78</u>
TOTAL EXPENSES	186,067.17
EXCESS OF EXPENSES OVER INCOME FOR THE PERIOD	<u>7,530.82</u>

COMMUNIST CONSTITUTION AND PERSONNEL

BALANCE SHEET
AS OF JUNE 30, 1945ASSETS

Cash on Hand and in Bank	7,108.19
United States Government Bonds . . .	15,528.00
Loans Receivable	24,536.81
Rent Security	7,500.00
Office Furniture	<u>2,637.43</u>
TOTAL ASSETS	57,310.43

LIABILITIES

Taxes Payable	585.79
Bonds Payable	338.76
Defense (Contingent) Payable	<u>12,815.50</u>
TOTAL LIABILITIES	<u>13,740.05</u>

SURPLUS

Balance June 5, 1944	51,101.20
Excess of Expenses over Income . . .	<u>7,530.82</u>
TOTAL SURPLUS	<u>43,570.38</u>

Fraternally submitted,

Edited by:
 Morris A. Greenbaum
 Certified Public Accountant

Chas. Krumbein,
 Treasurer

NATIONAL BOARD

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER *	New York
EUGENE DENNIS *	New York
JOHN WILLIAMSON *	New York
ROBERT THOMPSON *	New York
BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, Jr.	New York
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN	New York
LOUIS WEINSTOCK	New York
JOTHU LAWRENCE	New York
IRVING POTASH	New York
JACK STACHEL	New York
STEVE NELSON	California

* National Secretariat.

COMMUNIST CONSTITUTION AND PERSONNEL

NATIONAL REVIEW COMMISSION

HELEN ALLISON	Michigan	WILLIAM NORMAN	New Jersey
PHILIP BART	Illinois	R. ROBERTS	Indiana
JAMES W. FORD	New York	DANIEL SLINGER	Delaware
MAY HANSBROUGH	Illinois	NED SPARKS	California
CHARLES KRUMBEIN	New York	ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG	New York
DORA LIFSHITZ	New York	ALFRED WAGENKNECHT	Illinois
WILLIAM MCKIE	Michigan	SAUL WEILMAN	New York
JACOB MINDEL	New York	ANITA WHITNEY	California
GEORGE MORRIS	New York	ROSE WORTIS	New York
		DAVID CARPENTER	Texas

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER	New York	JOHN GATES (armed Forces)	New York
EUGENE DENNIS	" "	CARL ROSS	" "
BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, Jr.	" "	ROBERT F. HALL (Armed Forces)	Alabama
ROBERT THOMPSON	" "	HENRY WINSTON (Armed Forces)	New York
JOHN WILLIAMSON	" "	JACK STACHEL	" "
GILBERT GREEN	" "	ALEXANDER BITTELMAN	" "
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN	" "	FRED BLAIR	Wisconsin
WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN	California	CLAUDIA JONES	New York
ROY HUDSON	New York	ABNER W. BERRY	" "
MORRIS CHILDS	Illinois	NATHAN COHEN	" "
ELLA REEVE BLOOR	Pennsylvania	GEORGE KANE	Pennsylvania
ALICE BURKE	Virginia	H. SMITH	Alabama
ANNA BURLAK	Massachusetts	TED RUSSELL	New Jersey
PETER C. CACCHIONE	New York	JOSEPH DOUGHER	Pennsylvania
DAVID DAVIS	Pennsylvania	CLARENCE SHARP	South Dakota
NAT GANLEY	Michigan	IRVING POTASH	New York
BEN GOLD	New York	FREDERICK N. MEYERS	" "
HENRY HUFF	Washington	JOSHUA LAWRENCE	" "
ARNOLD JOHNSON	Ohio	RALPH SHAW	Missouri
STEVE NELSON	California	ALBERT LIMA	California
LOUIS WEINSTOCK	New York	HERBERT MARCH	Illinois
MAX WEISS	Pennsylvania	NICK KOVAC	Indiana
DOXEY WILKERSON	New York	ALBERT LANNON	Maryland
CARL WINTER	Michigan	SAM DONCHIN	Pennsylvania
ROSE GAULDEN	New York	ISRAEL ANTER	New York
GUS HALL	Ohio	BELLA V. DODD	" "
MARTIN MACKIE	Minnesota	HAROLD SIMON	" "
WILLIAM L. PATTERSON	Illinois		

BREAKDOWN BY STATES

New York	27	Massachusetts	1
Pennsylvania	.6	Minnesota	1
Illinois	4	South Dakota	1
California	3	Missouri	1
Michigan	2	Virginia	1
The South	2	New Jersey	1
Ohio	2	Wisconsin	1
Maryland	1	Washington	1

DELEGATES AND VISITORS TO COMMUNIST
CONVENTION, July 26-29, 1945.ALABAMA

Louis Burnham, Birmingham

H. Smith, Birmingham

CALIFORNIA

David Buehanan, Los Angeles
Dorothy Healey, Los Angeles
Albert Lima, San Francisco
Steve Nelson, San Francisco
William O'Neal, Los Angeles

John Pittman, San Francisco
William Schneiderman, San Francisco
Ned Sparks, Los Angeles
Ray Thompson
Steve Toby
Anita Whitney, San Francisco

COLORADO

Tracy Rogers, Denver

CONNECTICUT

John Lyle Hilton

Andres Gnda, Bridgeport

DELAWARE

Daniel Slinger, Wilmington

ILLINOIS

Philip Bart, Chicago
Morris Childs, Chicago
Bobbie Davis, Chicago
Yolanda Hall, Chicago
Zach Kretz, East St. Louis
Ray Hansbrough, Chicago

Frank Mutchie, Chicago
William L. Patterson, Chicago
Herbert March, Chicago
Louise Thompson, Chicago
Rose Torpercer, Chicago
Alfred Wagenknecht, Chicago

INDIANA

Joseph Bush, Indianapolis
Ralph Hyndman, Gary
Elmer Johnson, Indianapolis

Nick Kovac
Howard Lawrence, Gary
R. Roberts

MARYLAND

William Johnson

Albert Lannon, Baltimore

MARRACHUSETTS

Ann Burlak, Boston
Jack Simon, Boston

Larry Parrish, Boston

MICHIGAN

Helen Allison, Detroit
Thomas Dombrowski, Detroit
Nat Ganley, Detroit

Carl Winter, Detroit

James Keller, Detroit
William McKie, Detroit
Robert Washington,

COMMUNIST CONSTITUTION AND PERSONNELL

MINNESOTA

Meridel LeSueur, Minneapolis Martin Mackie, Minneapolis

MISSOURI

Ralph Shaw, St. Louis William Sentner, St. Louis

MONTANA

Ira W. Siebrasse, Great Falls

NEBRASKA

Warren Batterson, Omaha Caroline Drew, Omaha

NEW JERSEY

Walter Barry, Newark	Charles Nusser, Newark
Anna Johnson	Ted Russell, Camden
William Norman, Newark	Ernest Thompson

NEW YORK

William Albertson, New York City
 Israel Amter, New York City
 Isadore Begun, New York City
 Murray Benedict, New York City
 Lionel Berman, New York City
 Abner W. Berry, New York City
 Alexander Bittelman, New York City
 Emanuel Blum, New York City
 Fred Briehl, Wallkill
 Earl Browder, New York City
 Louis F. Budenz, New York City
 Peter V. Cacchione, New York City
 Lee Candia, New York City
 Rose Chernin, New York City
 Arthur Coco, New York City
 Nathan Cohen, New York City
 Martin Cody, New York City
 Charles A. Collins, New York City
 Jesus Colon, New York City
 Benjamin J. Davis, Jr. New York City
 Lena Davis, New York City
 Bella V. Dodd, New York City
 Eugene Dennis, New York City
 Frank Drucker, New York City
 Jacob Epstein, New York City
 Frederick V. Field, New York City
 Elizabeth G. Flynn, New York City
 James W. Ford, New York City
 William Z. Foster, New York City
 Betty Gannett, New York City
 Lillian Gates, New York City
 Rose Gaulden, New York City

Louis Genevesi
 Ben Gold, New York City
 David Goldway, New York City
 Fannie Golos, New York City
 John Goodman, New York City
 Gilbert Green, New York City
 Sid Harris, New York City
 Roy Hudson, New York City
 Sadie Ivonelli, Schenectady
 V. J. Jerome, New York City
 Claudia Jones, New York City
 Joseph Kehoe, New York City
 Lloyd Kinsey, Buffalo
 Charles Krumbein, New York City
 Relix Kusman, New York City
 Gertrude Lane, New York City
 Joshua Lawrence, New York City
 William Lawrence, New York City
 John Lavin, Hempstead
 Andrew Leredu, New York City
 Dora Lefshitz, New York City
 Charles Loman, New York City
 Jennie Lumpkin, Buffalo
 James Lustig, New York City
 Mildred McAdory, New York City
 Allen McKenzie, New York City
 Louis Merrill, New York City
 Jacob Mindel, New York City
 Robert Minor, New York City
 Audley Moore, New York City
 Alberto Moreau, New York City
 George Morris, New York City

COMMUNIST CONSTITUTION AND PERSONNEL

NEW YORK (Con't)

Tony Morton, New York City
 Frederick N. Meyers, New York City
 Herbert Newton, New York City
 Joseph North, New York City
 Paul Novick, New York City
 Steve O'Donnell, New York City
 Gerald O'Reilly, New York City
 Samuel C. Patterson, New York City
 Felix Pedilla, New York City
 Max Perlow, New York City
 Irving Potash, New York City
 Martin Putter, Syracuse
 Constantine Radje, New York City
 Armando Ramirez, New York City
 Mercedes Reed, New York City
 Carl Ross, New York City
 Jay Rubin, New York City
 Annette Rubinstein, New York City
 Alex Schaeffer, New York City
 Morris U. Schappes, New York City
 Louis Secundy, New York City
 Howard Selsam, New York City
 Samuel Sillen, New York City

Harold Simon, New York City
 Ferdinand C. Smith, New York City
 Jack Stachel, New York City
 Joseph Starobin, New York City
 Meyer Stern, New York City
 John Steuben, New York City
 Jack Strong, New York City
 Robert Thompson, New York City
 Pat Toohey, New York City
 Alexander Trachtenberg, New York City
 Abe Unger, New York City
 William Weiner, New York City
 Louis Weinstock, New York City
 Saul Wellman
 Reverend Eliot White, New York City
 Dokey Wilkerson, New York City
 John Williamson, New York City
 Henry Winston, New York City
 Leon Wefsy, New York City
 Rose Wortis, New York City
 Max Yergan, New York City
 Martin Young, New York City
 Ruth Young, New York City

NORTH CAROLINA

Robert Latham, Winston-Salem

OHIO

Joseph Brandt
 Charles Corrigan, Akron
 Curtis Garvin
 Elizabeth Hall
 Gus Hall, Cleveland
 Frank Hashmall, Clevelar'

Arnold Johnson, Cleveland
 Admiral Kilpatrick, Cleveland
 Adeline Kohl, Cleveland
 John Lautner, Youngstown
 Abraham Lewis, Cleveland
 Clara Varde, Cleveland

OKLAHOMA

Alan Shaw, Oklahoma City

PENNSYLVANIA

Jules Abercaugh, Philadelphia
 Ella Reeve Bloor, Philadelphia
 Ben Careathers, Pittsburgh
 Frank Cestare, Philadelphia
 David Davis, Philadelphia
 Daniel Delano, Philadelphia
 John Devine, Philadelphia
 Sam Denchin, Philadelphia
 Joseph Dougher, Philadelphia
 J. Granville Eddy, Philadelphia

May Forbes, Philadelphia
 George Kane, Pittsburgh
 Joseph Kuzma, Bethlehem
 Walter Lowenfels, Philadelphia
 Thomas Nabried, Philadelphia
 Vincent Pieri, Philadelphia
 Elsie Smith, Philadelphia
 Sarah Walsh, Philadelphia
 Leon Weiner, Philadelphia
 Max Weiss, Pittsburgh

COMMUNIST CONSTITUTION AND PERSONNEL

SOUTH DAKOTA

Clarence Sharp Sioux Falls

TEXAS

David Carpenter Houston

UTAH

Wallace Talbot Salt Lake City

VIRGINIA

Alice Burke Richmond

WASHINGTON

Barbara Hartle	Seattle
Henry Huff	Seattle
Harold Johnston	Seattle
William Wallace	Bellingham

WISCONSIN

Fred Blair	Milwaukee
Emil Costello	"
Joseph Ellis	"
Ed Jones	"

CANADA

Tim Buck, Toronto, (Chairman, Labor Progressive Party of Canada.)

Of the 93 delegates, 71 had what was classed as a "working class background". Twenty-two were white collar workers; 45% were full-time Communist Party functionaries, with an additional high percentage classified as volunteer Communist Party functionaries; 41 of the delegates represented CIO unions; 10 represented AFL unions; 18 negroes were official delegates. The leading trade unionists taking part were Ruth Young of the UE and Louis Weinstock of the Painters Union. Weinstock was officially elected to the National Committee. In a committee meeting John Williamson was quoted as stating that Ruth Young would likewise be a member of the National Committee except that the "top UE people did not want her exposed." While he did not agree with this opinion, Weinstock stated that she would be made a member of the National Committee when the time is more appropriate, along with Louis Merrill of the U.O.P.W.A. and Abram Flaxer of the State, County, and Municipal Workers.

APPENDIX III. SELECTED COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

The list of Communist Front Organizations given here is not exhaustive. The Party is prolix in producing such groups, and many flourish only for short periods of time. The group selected is representative of wide fields of activity. It is given in alphabetical order, except for those which were not available at the time the first stencils were typed.

**AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION
OF FOREIGN BORN**
23 West 26th Street, New York City

This organization is a compact non-membership group in the sense that it does not have membership meetings. The organization does have participating members and sponsors. Its actual purpose is to provide legal assistance to aliens and foreign-born citizens, as well as propagandize in behalf of their rights. Its program has paralleled that of the Communist Movement for a number of years.

Its current officers are Stanley Nowak, Chairman; Isidore Englander, Treasurer; Abner Greene, Executive Secretary; Carol King, counsel; Marjory Spector, Naturalization Aid Director.

These persons have been alleged to have close Communist affiliations.

Its sponsors include the following people: Professor Edith Abbott, Boris Artzybasheff, Professor G. A. Borgese, Rt. Rev. John M. Cooper, Joseph Curran, Dr. Walter Damrosch, Dr. Frederick May Eliot, Dr. Guy Stanton Ford, Waldo Frank, Dr. Rudolph Ganz, Dr. Karen Horney, Fanny Hurst, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Robert Morss Lovett, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Edward G. Robinson, Reid Robinson, Cesar Saerchinger, Lisa Sergio, Dr. Henry E. Sigerist, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Donald Ogden Stewart, Professor Oswald Veblen.

HEADQUARTERS

The headquarters of this organization, as indicated above, is at 23 West 26th Street. This is the building which is commonly known as the Institute for International Democracy. It was purchased in 1943 by Frederick Vanderbilt Field, Edith C. Field and Max Yergan. In addition to the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born being housed in these quarters there are also a number of other groups including such organizations as the Council on African Affairs, the Council for Pan-American Democracy, and others.

AIMS AND PURPOSES

In March, 1945, the organization distributed a pamphlet entitled "The Challenge of our Immigration Laws." On the last page of this pamphlet the following program as pursued by the organization is set forth:

1. "Increased participation by the foreign born in the political life of the nation."
2. "The exposure and routing of fifth column and anti-democratic elements in the foreign born communities."

SELECTED COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

3. "The elimination of all existing handicaps, such as discrimination because of race or national origin, in the naturalization laws, in production and in all phases of our national life.
4. "The defeat of all 'Anti-Alien-Bills' in Congress and the passage of legislation to facilitate and encourage the naturalization of non-citizens."

"The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born maintains a Naturalization Aid Service to assist non-citizens who wish to become naturalized citizens. Advice and assistance on naturalization and citizenship problems can be obtained free of charge by applying at the Committee's office, either in person or by mail."

AMERICAN-RUSSIAN INSTITUTE, INC.

Also known as American-Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union, Inc.

58 Park Ave., New York City & 101 Post St., San Francisco, Calif.

This organization is a service type group having close affiliations with Communist functionaries in the United States. It serves in the capacity of an information bureau relative to the Soviet Union. Occasionally it holds meetings and conferences in honor of some phase of Soviet life. The organization is not registered as a foreign agent; however, it is known that the groups have close ties with the Soviet Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (VOKS).

The organization was first formed in the United States in 1926, and in 1930 it assumed its present name. It was originally organized in New York City and subsequently in the early 1930's the San Francisco Unit was established. There is no apparent control exercised by the New York group over the San Francisco group; however, their general activities and approach to their work are most similar.

In New York City the organization is run by Harriet Lucy Moore serving for a Board of Directors including the following: Basil Bass, Aaron Bodansky, Edward Clark Carter, Samuel H. Cross, Mortimer Graves, William W. Lancaster, Robert S. Lynd, Harriet L. Moore, Arthur Upham Pope, Henry E. Sigerist, Ernest J. Simmons, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, and Maxwell F. Stewart.

Of the above persons the following are also members of the National Council of American Soviet Friendship: William W. Lancaster, Arthur Upham Pope, Henry E. Sigerist, and Vilhjalmur Stefansson.

In San Francisco the organization has the following officers:

Holland Roberts	President
Rose Isaak	Executive Secretary
Dorothea Eltenton	Educational Director
Louise Bransten	Publication Director
Rhona Gerber	Office Assistant

SELECTED COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

The organization is financed through contributions, sustaining memberships, sale of literature, and through contributions made at its various functions often held in connection with a fund-raising campaign. The periodical published by the New York Unit in addition to its pamphlets and other types of literature, is "The American Review on the Soviet Union." The periodical published by the San Francisco Unit in addition to its other literature, is "Soviet Culture in War-time."

Literature distributed by the organization is not only directed to private individuals but to libraries both public and private, colleges, and other similar organizations. In addition to the preparation and distribution of literature, the organization maintains extensive libraries of reference material on the Soviet Union both in New York City and in San Francisco. The organization has also engaged in radio work, sponsoring forum and discussion type programs. In addition, the New York Unit has established a series of courses dealing with the Russian language.

AMERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY
150 Nassau Street, New York City

This organization is an outgrowth of the Young Communist League, which was officially disbanded in October, 1943. On the same week end that the Young Communist League was disbanded, American Youth for Democracy was formally inaugurated. Thereafter in all districts where the Young Communist League had been active, American Youth for Democracy took over.

OFFICERS

The last official list of officers and National Council members of this organization included the following:

Co-Chairmen	NAOMI ELLISON
Vice Chairmen	ROBERT THOMPSON
Executive Secretary	JOHN GALLO
Secretary-Treasurer	WINIFRED NORMAN
	CARL ROSS
	W. ROBERT McCARTHY

National Council
(Partial List)

MARY ADAMS	DAISY LOLICH
JEAN ADDIS	MABEL LEE SMITH
PAULA ALEXANDER	VIVIEN LEVIN
PAULINE ANNONE	JONNIE JUMPKIN
DOROTHY AUKAMP	DAVID LIVINGSTON
ISABEL BARON	W. ROBERT McCARTHY
MIRIAM BAR	WEEMS MAGEE
BARBARA BENNETT	WINIFRED NORMAN
GUNHILD BJORKLUND	ROBERT PAGNOTTA
BERNICE BLOHM	FRANK PARKER

SELECTED COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

MARGARET CAMPBELL	FRANCES PAUL
MARION DINKIN	VINCENT PERRY
ELIZABETH EHRHART	HELENE POWELL
NAOMI ELLISON	CARL ROSS
JACOB EPSTEIN	LILLIAN ROSS
ANGELINA FIORENTINO	THEODORE SALO
MAYER FRIEDEN	PHILIP SCHATZ
JOHN GALLO	HERBERT SIGNER
FRANCES GULOTTA	MARCELLA SLOAN
BERNARD GOODFRIEND	MOLLY SHEIMAN
NADA HUDSON	LAUREN TAYLOR
CLARE HUNT	EVERETT THOMSON
CLAUDIA JONES	ROBERT THOMPSON
HELEN KAMEN	CLARISSA WATSON
BEULAH KRAMER	SELMA WEISS
VIRGINIA KOUGLAS	IRENE WHEELER
GERALDINE LIFHTFOOT	TALLEY WILLIAMS

MEMBERSHIP

American Youth for Democracy has been active in the following districts: New York, California, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey, Eastern Pennsylvania, Maryland-District of Columbia, Massachusetts, Ohio, Connecticut, Washington-Oregon, Wisconsin, Missouri, Western Pennsylvania, Minnesota and Colorado.

The above listed districts appear in the order of their size and membership.

In June, 1944, it was claimed that there was a total of 16,194 members in American Youth for Democracy. In June, 1945, American Youth for Democracy functionaries placed their national membership as 6,200. The following breakdown was given:

New York State	3,000
State of California	1,350
Chicago, Illinois	800

The remaining figure of 1,050 was probably distributed in other areas set forth above.

SCOPE

The organization through representations reportedly made by some of its officers has been probably most successful in its work through an affiliated group known as "Sweethearts of Servicemen." In practically every area where the organization has been active, this affiliate has been formed. In the "Sweethearts of Servicemen" units, the ostensible purpose has been to band together girls and women who have husbands or sweethearts or friends in the Armed Forces. Their purpose in turn is to keep their husbands, sweethearts and friends informed concerning issues involving the welfare of servicemen. The secondary purpose has been publicly pronounced to be the building up of homefront morale through the checking of false rumors, the striving for inter-racial unity, the purchasing of war bonds, the donating of blood and engaging in other similar activities.

SELECTED COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

With regard to the attitude of leaders of American Youth for Democracy toward "Sweethearts of Servicemen," it is reported that on April 17, 1944, a regional council meeting of the "Sweethearts of Servicemen" branch of American Youth for Democracy was held in Chicago, Illinois. At this time, Carl Ross, who is reported to be a Communist and who is National Executive Secretary of American Youth for Democracy, spoke at the meeting, paralleling the Communist line. During the course of his remarks he is said to have reminded the "Sweethearts of Servicemen" group of its obligation in building up morale of the Armed Forces by writing letters to men overseas. He also urged that the group organize a Public Affairs Committee to clip "good" newspaper and magazine articles of "political" and "win-the-war" character and send them to servicemen.

RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

Prior to the dissolution of the Young Communist League, there appeared in the September, 1943, issue of the "Communist" on Page 792, an article entitled "Toward a New Anti-Fascist Youth Organization" by Max Weiss. In referring to the character of the proposed new organization to replace the Young Communist League he stated that the general principles which would form the basis for the new organization were supported by hundreds of thousands of youths among whom were members of such groups as the Catholic Youth Organizations. He said that while the specific function of such groups as the Catholic Youth Organizations cannot be substituted for by other organizations, "There is room for, and need for, the growth and development to many times their present size of each of the traditional youth-serving organizations now in the field."

Weiss further stated:

".....What is needed, in fact, is not only such an organization as that into which the U.C.L. is transforming itself but also the establishment on a national scale of a center of collaboration through which all patriotic, democratic youth organizations, including this new organization, can collaborate and coordinate their activities in the fight for victory and a just peace."

".....The organization we envisage will work to help establish such national cooperation between all youth organizations in order to bring about the maximum mobilization of the energies of all youth for victory in the war and for guaranteeing the future of the youth after victory has been won."

CONSUMERS' UNION OF THE U.S., INC. 17 Union Square, New York City

This organization, which is more commonly known as Consumers' Union, was organized from a group of strikers, striking from Consumers' Research in February, 1936, by Arthur Kallet, a reported Communist. The announced purpose was to perform the same services as the Consumers' Research which has served as a Consumers testing organization issuing reports on the relative merits of merchandise. The Consumers' Union has approximately 45 employees and publishes weekly "Bread and Butter," monthly "Consumers' Report" and annually "Consumers" Buying Guide." The

SELECTED COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

Consumers' Union claims that it has about 100,000 members. The organization is reportedly controlled by Communists and is affiliated with organizations in which reported Communists and Communist sympathizers have taken active leadership.

The fundamental approach to work on consumers matters by the Communists is the abolition of the American system of privately owned industry. In this regard, Arthur Kallet published a book entitled "Counterfeit" in 1935, shortly before he is accredited with the founding of the Consumers' Union. In this volume he wrote "Good counterfeiting cannot be ended so long as it pays; that is, so long as industry is privately owned and profits are the motivating force behind production; and to suggest any remedy will be to offer only one more counterfeit to consumers..... The reader may ask the person questions as to how completely good counterfeiting has been eliminated, along with private industry in Soviet Russia."

In spite of the background of many of the leading spirits of Consumers Union, they have not made a practice of introducing political elements into the Reports. This was tried at one time, but objections from subscribers led to the dropping of the attempt.

Officers

Director	Arthur Kallet
Editor	Madeline Ross
President	Colston E. Warne
Vice President	Hartley Cross
Secretary	Harold Aaron
Treasurer	Bernard J. Reis
Board of Directors	
Harold Aaron	Paul J. Kern (on leave to armed forces)
Eleanor C. Anderson	Emanuel Klein
Hartley W. Cross	Bernard Reich
Osmond K. Fraenkel	Bernard J. Reis
Leland Gordon	Madeline Ross
Harry Grundfest	Adelaide Schulkind
Jerome Hellerstein	
Arthur Kallet	Colston Warne

COUNCIL FOR PAN-AMERICAN DEMOCRACY
23 West 26th Street
New York City

This organization is a nonmembership type group, under the leadership of Frederick Vanderbilt Field, former leader of the American Peace Mobilization, and Marion Bachrach, Chairman and Executive Secretary respectively.

It is reported that the Council for Pan-American Democracy distributes large quantities of pamphlets relative to Latin America both in English and in Spanish. Many of its publications are published by the Council itself, while others are sent by the Confederacion de Trabajadores de la America Latina, or by the Workers University of Mexico. It is also said that the organization has

SELECTED COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

publications available published by the American Government concerning Latin America, most of which material is issued by the Pan-American Union of Washington, D. C.

Officers and Executives

Chairman	Clifford T. McAvoy
Executive Vice Chairman	Frederick V. Field
(Field has recently designated himself on correspondence emanating from the subject organization as the Chairman)	
Secretary-Treasurer	A. J. Isserman
Executive Secretary	Marian Bachrach

National Committee Members

Comfort A. Adams	Marina Lopes
George F. Adæs	James McLeish
Mrs. Edmond Barach	George Marshall
John Bright	Prof. F. O. Matthiessen
Louis Colman	Samuel D. Menin
Charles H. Coldin	William Morris
Joseph Crown	Grant W. Oakes
Joseph Curran	Herman P. Osborne
David Effron	Rabbi David Philipson
Dr. Louis A. Eldridge, Jr.	Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.
Gerald Field	Samuel Putnam
Michail Gerramone	Charles Eoche
Hugo Gellert	Ruth Reeves
Ben Golden	Bertha G. Reynolds
Prof. Ralph H. Gundlach	Holland Roberts
Prof. F. Ralph Harlow	Earl Robinson
Joseph T. Selly	Ferdinand C. Smith
Tredwell Smith	Max Yergan

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
 23 West 26th Street
New York City

This organization is under the leadership of Max Yergan, the Executive Director.

OFFICERS

Paul Robeson, Chairman; William Jay Schieffelin, Vice Chairman; Max Yergan, Executive Director; Edith C. Field, Treasurer; W. A. Hunton, Educational Director.

COUNCIL MEMBERS

Leonard Barnes; Mrs. C. A. Bass; Bishop W. Y. Bell; Dr. R. T. Bokwe; Mrs. Lida N. Broner; Charlotte H. Brown; William F. Cochran; F. E. Defrantz; Hubert T. Delany; Earl B. Dickerson; E. Franklin Frazier; John Hammond; David D. Jones; Norman Mackenzie, Adah L. Kieffer, George Marshall; Mrs. John F. Moors;

SELECTED COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

Bishop David H. Sims; Ferdinand C. Smith; Mrs. Stanley F. Smith; Channing H. Tobias; Doxey A. Wilkerson.

OBJECTIVES

In a pamphlet distributed by this organization in April, 1945, the following was set forth: "The Council on African Affairs exists for the purpose of disseminating accurate information concerning Africa and its people, and of directing public opinion toward furthering such policies and interests are are consistent with the needs and aspirations of Africans and with the requirements of International Security. The Council sponsors forums and public meetings, publishes a monthly bulletin, "New Africa" and other publications, and provides a press release service. The Council is a private non-profit organization, financed entirely through voluntary contributions and subscriptions to its publications."

While the organization holds itself out to be primarily interested in Africa, the group, according to confidential sources advocates the International Communist idea with respect to colonial possessions and colonial problems. In a pamphlet distributed by the organization in April, 1945, entitled "The San Francisco Conference and the Colonial Issue" the following objectives and recommendations were set forth:

1. ("Colonies of Enemy Powers in this War"). "All colonial territories taken from the enemies of the United Nations in this war which are not to be granted immediate self-government should be placed under an International Administration appointed by the Colonial Commission (defined below) and the administration of these territories should be directed toward the same goal of self-determination for the inhabitants as is the case of other colonial territories.... International administration of civil affairs in these territories is proposed with a view of facilitating the transition to self-government by preventing any single nation from assuming a prior interest in and control over a territory....."
2. ("Military Bases in Other Colonial Areas"). "The Military Staff Committee should be made responsible for the administration and military bases which have been or may be established in any other colonial territory of the world. The presence of such military bases on colonial territory should not be construed as infringing upon the control which is otherwise exercised in this territory which the sovereign power or in any sense retarding or limiting the exercise of political self-determination by the inhabitants thereof."
3. ("The Mandated Territories"). "None of the territories within the provisions of the League of Nations mandate system should be annexed to any adjacent colonial territory or by the mandatory power. The qualifications of each present mandatory power and the character of its colonial administration should be reviewed by the Colonial Commission (defined below), which should supplant the Mandates Commission. After such review the Colonial Commission should be empowered to recommend the transfer of mandatory authority in any territory to an international administration....."
4. ("The International Colonial Commission"). "Membership -- This Colonial Commission should be composed of representatives of all permanent members of the Security Council, additional representatives elected by the General Assembly, and members who represent directly the several broad groups of colonial peoples.

SELECTED COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

The Commission should appoint its own staff of colonial experts and advisers, including the services of qualified persons of all races, and particularly persons indigenous to the colonies.

"Scope of Authority --- With the exception of such dependent territories for which there is immediate prospect of self-government and self-determination, all colonial territories, including the League mandates and colonies of enemies in this war, should come under the direct supervision of the Colonial Commission. The Commission should be responsible for supervision of all non-military phases of administration in those colonial areas where international military bases are or shall be established.

"Functions --- The minimum functions of the Colonial Commission, in addition to those already mentioned above, should be:

1. To establish an International Convention governing social, political, labor and other economic standards to be maintained in the administration of all colonial territories.
2. To use the powers designated below to insure adherence to the Convention by all colonial administrators.
3. To determine the time necessary for each colonial territory to develop to the stage at which it can exercise political self-determination, and to declare the date on which this right is to be exercised.
4. To promote the fullest measure of international cooperation in securing for all colonial areas the modernization of the economy.... To this end an international fund for colonial development....should be established.....
5. To insure equal opportunity for all nations to engage in trade and commerce in all colonial territories,

"Powers --- In addition to the authority vested in the former Mandates Commission..... The colonial Commission should be authorized as a minimum:

1. To make direct, on-the-spot inspection or investigation in any colonial territory.
2. To hear and receive direct petitions, both oral and written, from established organizations or agents of the inhabitants of any colonial territory.
3. To submit recommendations for the approval and action of the General Assembly in any case in which a governing power is in disagreement with the Colonial Commission.....
5. ("Regional Commissions Embracing Colonial Territories"). "Central authority for supervision of all dependent territories must rest exclusively in the General International Organization. Regional commissions for colonial areas should not be regarded as a substitute for colonial supervision vested in the General International Organization. Neither should such regional commissions, if they are established, be regarded as autonomous or semi-autonomous units, more or less independent of the General International Organization....."

SELECTED COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

 HOLLYWOOD WRITERS MOBILIZATION
 HOLLYWOOD, CALIFORNIA

This organization is composed primarily of the screen writers working for the various motion picture concerns in Hollywood. After June 22, 1941, the date of the German invasion of the Soviet Union, the League of American Writers began to retrench in order to cover its former connections with and support of the American Peace Mobilization. In December, 1941, the League of American Writers began conferences which resulted in the formation of the Hollywood Writers Mobilization.

Since its formation, the organization has taken an active interest in the political scene in the State of California. Until recently, its main function was its working arrangement with the Office of War Information to produce documentary overseas films. The organization had a subcommittee working on this project and fifty writers, eighteen of whom are alleged to be Communists. The current officers of the organization are:

Chairman	Emmett Lavery
Vice-Chairman	Dr. Franklin Fearing - Professor of Psychology, Univ. of Calif.
Second Vice-Chairman	W. F. (Bill) Blowits - Hollywood publicist
Third Vice-Chairman	John Houseman - Screen writer
Treasurer	Abraham S. Burrows - Screen writer
Secretary	Howard Estabrook

The Editorial Board of the Hollywood Writers Mobilization, which produces its publication known as "Communique" has thirteen members, among whom are John Howard Lawson, Robert Rossen, Sidney Buchman and Meta Reis.

 INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE
 112 East 19th Street
 New York City

This organization was organized in 1925. At one time it was reportedly affiliated with the International Red Aid.

The International Labor Defense has for its President Congressman Vito Marcantonio.

The organization claims to devote most of its activities to furnishing financial aid and legal assistance to members of organized labor and others who, because of their political beliefs, are in trouble with law enforcement bodies. At the same time, however, it follows the Communist line in its propaganda that it distributes in the form of press releases, open letters and various publications such as its present day "Legislative Service". In the last named publication the organization sets forth pending and existing legislation which the Communist movement is either in favor of or is against and accordingly advocates either the passage or the changing of certain legislation which it analyses in toto as that which the Communist movement desires to be enacted.

SELECTED COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

Officers

The officers of the International Labor Defense are as follows:

Vito Marcantonio	-	President
Doxey A. Wilkerson	-	Vice President
Lewis Colman	-	Secretary
Robert W. Dunn	-	Treasurer

The organization is presently advocating the following legislation: A permanent fair employment practices committee, passage of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill covering Social Security, the Full Employment Bill, the Anti-Poll Tax Bill, the adoption of the Bretton Woods Proposals.

Other bills which it is offering its support are those providing for the independence of Puerto Rico; the bill making it a criminal offense to assault or attack members of the armed forces; the bill to abolish segregation in the armed forces; the bill to provide equality for races in travel and travel accommodations; the bill against racial incitement through the mails; the resolution to investigate "Jim Crow" baseball; and the bill to make it possible for Filipinos to become American citizens.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.
232 Madison Avenue, New York City.

This organization was officially launched as a result of a Congress of American Soviet Friendship held in New York City in November, 1942. The organization is alleged to be an outgrowth of this temporary body, which in turn was planned by the American Council of Soviet Relations, which group during its existence was described as a Communist front. The organization operates nationally from New York City and has affiliated with it a number of local councils throughout the country. At one time it claimed to have thirty-five affiliated local councils in principal cities throughout the nation. At the present time, however, the most active councils outside of the New York City group are those in Boston, Chicago, Milwaukee, Baltimore, San Francisco, Seattle and Portland.

The officers of this organization are as follows:

Chairman	Corliss Lamont
Vice Chairman	William Morris, Jr.
Executive Director	Arthur Upham Pope
Secretary	Edwin S. Smith
Treasurer	Edwin S. Smith Nan Golden (Philip Jacob Jaffe has just recently resigned as Treasurer.)

Acting on a national basis is the Steering Committee and the persons on this Committee include Theodore Bayer, Jessica Smith, Nan Golden, Corliss Lamont, Edwin S. Smith, and Samuel B. Leavin.

In addition to this Steering Committee and the above-designated officers, there is an Executive Board of this organization of more than twenty-five members.

SELECTED COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

SCOPE OF ORGANIZATION

In the organization's make-up there are a number of subcommittees formed to bring "information" concerning topics of interest specified to each committee. The "information" emanates in the Soviet Union in most instances. This is verified by the constant stream of cablegrams and literature, containing Soviet propaganda, coming from the Soviet Union to the various countries. The committees consist of the following: agriculture, architecture, art, dance, education, music, nationalities, publications, science, trade union and women. These committees function not only to spread "information" concerning their topics but also endeavor to collect both information and material and submit them to the Soviet Union in an attempt to further "American-Soviet Friendship." As an example, the Science Committee has been successful in exchanging scientific data with the Soviet Union as well as arranging exchange of scientists between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship has cooperated in the publication of pamphlets and literature and the distribution of films and exhibits with such organizations as the magazine "Soviet Russia Today"; the American Russian Institute, Inc.; Sovfoto (Soviet Photo Agency); Artkino Pictures, Inc.; and Branden Films, Inc. Sovfoto and Artkino Pictures, Inc. are registered agents of Soviet principals whose purposes are to send propaganda to the United States and other countries. The subject organization obtains from Artkino and Branden Films, Soviet produced films, which in turn are distributed to the various affiliated councils and other interested organizations.

NATIONAL FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES 205 East 42nd Street, New York City

This organization was formed in 1940. Since that time it has reportedly followed the Communist program. The organization is a non-membership type of group and conducts most of its activities through the distribution of literature and the occasional sponsoring of conferences or mass meetings.

OFFICERS

George Marshal, Chairman; Frances M. William, Executive Secretary; Mary D. Pond, Associate Secretary; A. J. Isserman and Nathan Witt, Counsels; Lyman R. Bradley, Academic Council's Secretary; Andy Seller, Washington Secretary.

AIMS AND PURPOSES

The organization propagandizes and agitates for Legislation ostensibly affecting the civil rights of the individual. However, a close examination of its program reflects that it has followed closely the program of the Communist Movement in the United States. It has primarily concerned itself with National issues regarding the rights of Communists, persons whom it designates "liberals", Negroes and other groups allegedly discriminated against as minority. The most recent pamphlet of wide scale distribution has been one pertaining to "a statement by leading Americans on the criteria for Army commissions and other

SELECTED COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

appointments." This pamphlet hailed the decision of the War Department along the following lines: "With regard to the question of rendering Communists and Communist sympathizers eligible for Army Commission, we support the War Department's position as reported in the press, that in granting Commissions and making various other Army assignments 'the basic consideration is not the propriety of the individual's opinions, but his loyalty to the United States!'" After the short statement there is a long list of some two or three hundred signers, a number of whom have lent their names to other Communist groups and movements in the past. With regard to the pamphlet itself, it has been reported that in several areas the Communist Political Association assisted in obtaining names of signers for the statement.

In addition to the publication mentioned above, the organization, on numerous occasions, distributes pamphlets on various issues which pamphlets can be generally said to be in favor of the Communist side of the particular issue. It also distributes news releases at least monthly, if not more frequently, most of which pertain to Legislation in which the rights of individuals figure.

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD
16 East 41st Street
New York City

The National Lawyers Guild was established in 1937 by a group of persons who met in Washington, D.C. It was stated that the National Lawyers Guild did not have the intention to compete with the American Bar Association but that it was not in agreement with the policies of the American Bar Association with respect to reasonable business regulations, Social Security, labor Legislation and child labor. It subsequently supported unequivocally the reorganization plan to increase the size of the United States Supreme Court.

On September 5, 1939, Earl Browder, then Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, testified before the Dies Committee in Washington, D.C., at which time he was asked as to the organizations being used by the Communist Party as "transmission belts." Among the organizations which Browder admitted as being used as a transmission belt was the National Lawyers Guild.

On June 6, 1940, it was publicly announced that Adolph A. Berle, Jr., then Assistant Secretary of State, resigned from the National Lawyers Guild because as he was quoted, the National Lawyers Guild is "not prepared to take any stand which conflicts with the Communist Party line." At approximately this same time the then Attorney General of the United States, Robert H. Jackson also resigned from the National Lawyers Guild.

The principal officers of this organization are its president, Robert W. Kenny, and Martin Popper, its Executive Secretary. Its primary function is to issue the National Lawyers Guild Review, a bi-monthly publication, to issue its official statements to the press and to occasionally hold conferences and meetings.

Recently, during the United Nations Conference, the organization was active in furnishing speakers to discuss the Dumbarton Oaks Agreement and the Bretton Woods proposals. The two representatives of the organization at the United Nations Conference were Robert W. Kenny and Martin Popper.

SELECTED COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

The most recent proposed program of the National Lawyers Guild was that advocated in its March-April, 1945, issue of the Lawyers Guild Review advocating a permanent Court of International Justice. Prior to this issue in a January-February, 1945, issue there is contained a report of the Committee on Postwar Planning of the National Lawyers Guild entitled "The Human Aspects of the Transition From War to Peace". In this report it advocated the enactment into law of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill.

NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS
 307 Lenox Avenue
 New York City

The National Negro Congress was formed at the suggestion of National leading Negro Communist Party members in 1934, as a result of the failure of the Communist Party to build the League of Struggle for Negro Rights and its predecessor organization, the American Negro Labor Congress.

The National Negro Congress continued until 1942 to be a mass membership organization. To a certain extent this same thing is true at the present time. However, the number of chapters and subordinate bodies of the organization have been decreased exceedingly until there are only presently active chapters of this organization in Chicago, Detroit, Washington and New York City. The primary function of these organizations at the present time is to work among the Negro community in the cities in which they are organized. Nationally, the organization functions only to sponsor an occasional mass meeting and to distribute news releases and a publication printed monthly known as "The Congress' View".

The current officers of the National Negro Congress are as follows:

Dr. Max Yergan	President
Edward E. Strong	Executive Secretary
Ferdinand C. Smith	Treasurer
Thelma M. Dale	Secretary
Dorothy K. Funn	Labor & Legislative Director
Mayme Brown	Director of Organizations

The Editorial Board of "The Congress' View" consists of the following:

W. Alphaeus Hunton	Frederick V. Field
Mayme Brown, Managing Editor	Elizabeth Caplett, Staff Artist

As regards the activities of this organization before the National Political Elections in the United States, 1944, the organization formed a political action campaign to support former President Roosevelt. At the present time the organization is carrying on campaigns, particularly through the distribution of literature, for the establishment of a permanent fair employment practice committee and the passage of the bill abolishing poll tax. The organization is also advocating strenuously a campaign to preserve the gains made by Negroes in industry during the war.

SELECTED COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE OF APPLIED RELIGION
 420 Transportation Building, Detroit,
 Michigan

This organization founded in August, 1939, by Reverend Claude Clossie Williams, formerly a Presbyterian minister, is said by Williams to have been at its conception a voluntary organization of rural and urban ministers whose purpose was to apply the principles of cooperation and brotherhood.

The most recently reported aims and purposes of the organization were illustrated by the program of the People's Congress of Applied Religion sponsored by the subject organization in Detroit, July, 1944. Among the plans of action discussed at this Congress were plans:

- (a) for the utter defeat of all Fascist forces
- (b) for racial equality
- (c) against anti-Semitism
- (d) against the poll tax
- (e) for the organization of all workers into labor unions and act for the wholehearted support of principles and conditions set forth at the Teheran Conference.

In the past, it is said that "institutes" have been held in various states and larger meetings in July, 1941, by this organization in Memphis, Tennessee, and at Misco Homestead, near Wilson, Arkansas. Sources state these meetings were conducted as religious revivals but the programs were actually a scriptural justification of Communist doctrine and an attempt to incite the under-privileged people to open rebellion against the wealthy classes. In Detroit the organization has made attacks against the Ku Klux Klan, Gerald L.K. Smith and the America First Committee, as well as other groups and persons labelled as Fascists in an article entitled "Hell Brewers of Detroit".

The following persons are listed as officers and sponsors of the organization:

Claude C. Williams, Director
 Edna Joyce King, Executive Secretary
 Merrill O. Bates, Treasurer

Owen H. Whitfield)
 Winifred L. Chapell) Associate Directors
 Frances L. Price, Assistant Secretary
 Lynd Ward, Artist

Sponsors

James Luther Adams	John A. MacCallum
Frank C. Bancroft	C. F. MacLennan
Cedric Belfrage	Paul G. Macy
Walter G. Berhman	Harold P. Marley
L. M. Birkhead	Francis J. McConnell
Henrietta Buckmaster	N. Brunett Magruder
Malcolm C. Dobbs	Jack R. McMichael, Jr.
James Dombrowski	John Miles

SELECTED COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

Sponsors (Con't)

Joseph F. Fletcher	Clyde R. Miller
Carl Haessler	Joseph G. Moore
Herman C. Hahn	Richard Morford
John Paul Jones	Jessie Lloyd O'Connor
G. Richard Kuch	Liston Pope
John Howland Lathrop	E. McNeill Poteat
Howard Lee	Bertha C. Reynolds
Kenneth Leslie	Charlemae Rollins
Donald Lathrop	Mrs. Sydney B. Snow
William B. Spofford	Clara M. Vincent
Alva W. Taylor	Gregory Vlastos
Calla E. Tennant	Harry F. Ward
John B. Thompson	Charles C. Weber
Channing H. Tobias	Sidney R. Williams
Willard E. Uphaus	Max Yergan

Field Leaders

A. L. Campbell)	Arkansas
Robert D. Shumpert)	
Leonard M. Sizer, Colorado		
William W. Sullivan, Connecticut		
F. J. Smith, Florida		
Donald L. West, Georgia		
Paul J. Foling, Illinois		
Bruce McKenzie)	Michigan
Virgil Vanderburg)	
Daniel C. Williams		
Zella Whitfield)	Missouri
John Whittier Darr, Jr., New York		
William Deberry, North Carolina		
Richard Comfort, Tennessee		
Harry Koger, Virginia		

Headquarters

The headquarters of this organization at 420 Transportation Building, Detroit, Michigan, are listed with the building superintendent under the headings "People's Congress," "Institute of Applied Religion," and "The Protestant, Detroit Branch." The Institute does not have a church of its own and it is said the arrangements are made to meet in other churches in the City of Detroit.

Scope of Organization

In 1941, the organization is said to have distributed "subjects for Bible study," two pages of which contained excerpts from the Old Testament, including the Book of Amos in the following:

SELECTED COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

"Habakkuk 1:3-4, 2:6-9, 2:12
 Zephaniah 1:18a, 3:1-4, 3:18-19
 Malachi 1:10, 3:5
 Isaiah 3:14-15, 5:7-8, 5:11-15, 5:13, 10:1-3"

The quotations from the above designated Books taken individually from the particular Book and combined with one another, reflect an opposition to wealth and the exploitation of the poor by the wealthy.

SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH CONGRESS
 Room 526-28, Negro Masonic Temple Building,
Birmingham, Alabama

This organization has been in existence since 1938. At present the organization is active primarily in Birmingham, Alabama and New Orleans, Louisiana. It was formerly active in Miami, Florida and in Atlanta, Georgia.

The persons who are reliably reported to be the policy-making officers of this organization are Esther V. Cooper, Executive Secretary and Louis Burnham, Negro, Organizational Secretary.

Generally, the organization is ostensibly interested in the advancement of the Negro in the United States, and particularly in the South. More specifically, the organization has interested itself in the problems of veterans and service personnel, economic security, education, community welfare, constitutional liberties and the franchise of voting.

Officers

President	Rose Mae Catchings, Chicago Illinois
Vice Presidents	Kenneth C. Kennedy, U.S. Army Edgar Holt, U. S. Army Alton Adams, Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia Ernest Wright, New Orleans, Louisiana Barbara Oldwine, Fisk University Nashville, Tennessee
Executive Secretary	Charles Rhodes Esther V. Cooper, Birmingham, Alabama
Organizational Secretary	Louis E. Burnham, Birmingham, Alabama
Educational Director	James E. Jackson, Jr., U.S. Army
Acting Educational Director	Alestine M. Robertson, Birmingham, Alabama
Acting Administrative Secretary	Ruth Jett, Birmingham, Alabama

National Council

The following list of officers represent the last elected National Council of the Southern Negro Youth Congress:

SELECTED COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

Columbus W. Banks, Matthews, Missouri
 T. Rupert Broady, U.S.Army
 Fred Brown, U. S. Army
 Dorothy Burnham, Birmingham, Alabama
 Noel I. Cunningham, Gretna, Louisiana
 Charles A. Davis, Atlanta, Georgia
 Earl Joseph Dearing, Richmond, Virginia
 Hilda V. Grayson, Washington, D.C.
 Philip Harley, Atlanta, Georgia
 Roy Leland Hopkins, New Orleans, Louisiana
 Robert Jackson, U. S. Army
 Charles N. Johnson, Jr., Nashville, Tennessee
 Alvin Jones, U. S. Army
 Jewel Mazique, Washington, D.C.
 Clarence Murrell, U. S. Army
 Norman Randall, Birmingham, Alabama
 Elizabeth Richardson, Miami, Florida
 Arlington Sands, 142 N.W. Tenth Street, Miami, Florida
 Sherman Smith, West Virginia
 Grace Tillman, New Orleans, Louisiana
 Woody Tolbert, U.S.Army
 Gloria Washington, Tuskegee, Alabama
 Donald Watson, Durham, North Carolina
 Manetta Steele, Fairfield, Alabama
 F. Morine Dickson
 Johnny E. Jordan
 L.E.Marsh

National Advisory Board

At the Sixth All-Southern Negro Youth Conference sponsored by the subject organization in Atlanta, Georgia, December 1, 1944, the following persons were among those elected to the National Advisory Board:

Dr. F. D. Patterson, Tuskegee Institute
 Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown
 Dr. W. L. DuBois, Atlanta University
 Roscoe Dunjee, The Black Dispatch
 Andrew J. Higgins, New Orleans, Louisiana
 Warren G. Horie, International Board Member,
 Transport Workers Union, Louisiana
 Dr. Ira De Reid

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE
 Presbyterian Bldg. Nashville, Tenn.

This organization was formed in 1938, according to its own statement by "1500 Southerners: to work for improvement in social, economic and cultural conditions....."

The organization has an Alabama Chapter located at 921 Massey Bldg., Birmingham, Alabama. Pauline T. Dobbs is the Secretary of the Alabama Chapter, and she is alleged to cooperate with Communists.

In 1942, the present writer attended the Nashville Convention of the Southern Conference. His opinion at the time was that the Communist minority was effectively subdued. Since that time, however, Communists have continued

SELECTED COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

to attempt infiltration. Some evidence of success appears in their publication, the "Southern Patriot." The main reason for inclusion of this group, however, is the policy adopted in the recent Communist Convention, of concentrating heavily upon the South. Undoubtedly major efforts will be made to take over this and other Southern organizations.

SCOPE

The organization issues a monthly publication known as "The Southern Patriot" which, in general, pertains to social, economic and political matters in the South and in many instances records opposition to "reactionary" Southern institutions and ideas.

An Executive Board meeting was held in Chattanooga, Tennessee, on January 27 and 28, 1945, at which time plans were discussed to continue the organization's fight against poll tax and its fight for a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee. At this meeting it was proposed that the budget of the organization be set at \$50,000.

OFFICERS

The latest list of officers and other Executives of this organization is as follows:

Honorary Presidents

Judge Louise O. Charlton
United States Commissioner, Alabama

Dr. Frank P. Graham
President, University of
North Carolina; Member,
National War Labor Board.

President

Dr. Clark Foreman
Georgia

Vice-Presidents

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Mr. Paul R. Christopher
Regional Director, CIO, Tennessee | 5. Bishop Paul B. Kern, Bishop,
Methodist Church, Tennessee |
| 2. Mr. Roscoe Dunjee
Editor, The Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City | 6. Mr. William Mitch, President,
District 20, United Mine
Workers, Alabama |
| 3. Mrs. Clifford Durr
Vice-Chairman, National Committee to
Abolish the Poll Tax, Virginia | 7. Mr. Hollis V. Reid, Chairman,
Legislative Board, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen
and Enginemen, Tennessee |
| 4. Mr. George Googe
Southern Director, American Federation of
Labor, Georgia | |

Secretary & Treasurer

Dr. Alva W. Taylor, Editor, Mountain Life, Tennessee

Executive Secretary

Dr. James A. Dombrowski

SELECTED COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

Executive Board

1. Dr. W. W. Alexander
Vice-Pres., Julius Rosenwald Fund,
North Carolina
2. Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune
Pres., National Council of Negro
Women, Florida
3. Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown
Pres., Palmer Institute, Sedalia,
North Carolina
4. Mr. Louis Burnham
Sec., Southern Negro Youth Congress,
Alabama
5. Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Pres., Atlanta University
Georgia
6. Dr. William E. Cole
Prof. of Sociology,
University of Tennessee
7. Mr. Tarleton Collier
Associate Editor, Louisville
Courier Journal, Kentucky
8. Mr. John P. Davis
Washington, D. C.
9. Miss Helen Fuller
Washington Correspondent, The
New Republic, Alabama
10. Rev. F. Clyde Helms
Pastor, Shandon Baptist Church,
South Carolina
11. Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Director, Department of Social
Science, Fisk University, Tennessee
12. Mr. Roy R. Lawrence
Regional Director, Textile Workers'
Union, North Carolina
13. Miss Lucy R. Mason
Southern Public Relations Representative,
CIO, Georgia
14. Mr. Mortimer May
May Hosiery Mills, Tennessee
15. Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Director
CIO-PAC, Georgia
16. Rev. A. T. Mollegen
Prof., Theological Seminary,
Virginia
17. Mr. M. C. Plunk
General Chairman, Gulf States
Federation Brotherhood of
Maintenance of Way Employees
(A.F. of L.), Tennessee
18. Mr. Nelson Poynter
Publisher and President, St.
Petersburg Times, Florida
19. Mr. Frank Prohl
Chairman, Southern Conference
of Teamsters, Atlanta, Ga.
20. Dr. Arthur F. Raper
Senior Social Analyst, Dept.
of Agriculture, Georgia
21. Dr. Ira De A. Reid
Prof. of Sociology, Atlanta
University, Georgia
22. Miss Lillian E. Smith
Editor, The South Today, Ga.
23. Mr. Harry S. Strozier
Attorney and Contributing
Editor, Macon News, Georgia
24. Dr. John B. Thompson
Pastor, First Presbyterian
Church, Oklahoma
25. Miss Jimmie Woodward
Regional Student Secretary,
Southwest Division, Y.W.C.A.
and Y.M.C.A., Missouri

SELECTED FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

Miscellaneous Front Organizations: Mainly Foreign-Language

ASIA

American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations. Executive Committee: Frederick V. Field; Edward C. Carter. Other names: T.A. Bisson; Mrs. Edward C. Carter; Israel Epstein; Lawrence E. Salisbury; and Mrs. Edgar Snow. It is to be noted that Field is one of the chief agents of the Communist Party in Pacific matters. Also of interest is the fact that pro-Communist Owen Lattimore is advising Pauley on reparations in Tokyo. For a complete list of names, see the Chinese and Japanese fronts below.

ARMENIA

Armenian Progressive League of America, 40 East 12th St., N.Y.C. Pres: Krikor Bohjelian; Treas: A. Goreghian; Sec: O. Sarian.

AUSTRIA

Austro-American Association, 200 W. 72nd St., N.Y.C. Pres: Dr. Henry Spitz; V.P: Lily Spitzer; Sec.-Treas: Mrs. Dorrit Eissler

Austro-American Trade Union Committee, 236 W. 55th St., N.Y.C., Pres: Frank Wedl.

Austro-American Tribune, 236 W. 72nd St., N.Y.C. Pres: Jacob Auslander; Treas: Vera Ponger; Sec: William Green; Ed: Dr. William Green

BULGARIA

Bulgarian-Macedonian Congress of America, 515 Park Ave., N.Y.C. Chairman: Peter Peff; Sec: Dr. V. Sharenkoff; Treas: Dr. G. Popoff; Vice-Chairmen: Dr. C.M. Stoycoff; Prof. Ivan Dosseff; Dr. David Nakoff; Andro Christoff; Dr. D. Dosseff.

CARPATHO-RUSSIA

Carpatho-Russian American Mutual Aid Society (IWO), 80 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C. Sec: Michael Logoyda.

Carpatho-Russian National Committee of the Lemko Assoc. of the U.S. and Canada, 556 Yonkers Ave., Yonkers, N.Y. Pres: John Holovach; Treas: William Worholak; Sec: Stephen Kitshura; Mgr: Anthony Chislok; Organizers: Demetrius Vislotsky; Michael Logoyda

CHINA

The Committee for a Democratic Policy Towards China, 58 Park Ave., N.Y.C. Sponsors: Dr. Phyllis Ackerman; T.A. Bisson; Israel Epstein; Frederick V. Field; Talitha Gerlech; Rev. Jack McMichael; Arthur Upham Pope; Ilena Ralf Sues; Lawrence E. Salisbury; Michael Sayers; Vincent Sheean; Mrs. Edgar Snow; Maxwell E. Stewart; Leland Stowe; Rose Turlim; Richard Watts, Jr; and Dr. Max Yergan.

China Daily News, 105 Mott St., N.Y.C., T.F. Quong, Ed.

SELECTED FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

El Frente Unido Dominicano de Nueva York (no address given). Pres: Dr. Gerardo Ellis Cambiaso; Sec, Gen: Juan M. Diaz, Jr; Sec: Mauricio Cellejo

Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (no address given). Sec. Gen: Juan M. Diaz, Jr; Gen. Vi. Sec: Hugo S. Brache; Fin. Sec: Aristides Gullen

FINLAND

Finnish-American Mutual Aid Society, 80 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C. Pres: Richard Bjarbacka; Sec: Carl Paivio

GERMANY

German-American League for Culture, 799 Broadway, N.Y.C. Pres: Otto Sattler; Sec: Georg Schmidt.

German-American Emergency Conference, 305 Broadway, N.Y.C. Chairman: Dr. Felix Boenheim; Sec: Walter Mueller; Treas: Albert Schoenherr; Executive Board: Hans Dicbele; Rudolph Kohler; Karl Meyer; Otto Sattler; Georg Schmidt; Paul Sturm.

Nature Friends of America, Inc., 27 East 17th St., N.Y.C. Pres: Georg Schmidt; V. Pres: Julia Jarius and Oscar Friedman; Sec: Charlotte Bleicher; Treas: Gertrude Juretschse; Ed: Louis Sutherland; Ed. Direct: Gertrude Sherman; Bus. Mgr: Lottie Kransler; Circ. Mgr: Else Thiellman.

Victory Committee of German-American Trade Unionists, 305 Broadway, N.Y.C. Chairman: Michael Obermeier; Sec: Gustav Faber; Treas: Fred Snopek

German-American Anti-Axis Students Committee, 799 Broadway, N.Y.C. Chairman: Lawrence G. Wolf; Sec: Irmgard Heymann; Ex. Bd: Heinz Krohn; Henry Stern; Klaus Motulsky

Council for Democratic Germany, 3041 Broadway, N.Y.C., Chairman: Paul Tillich; Directors: Felix Boenheim; Albert A. Schremmer; Elizabeth Bergner; Peter Lorre; Karl Oberman; Paul Hagen.

American Friends of German Freedom, 120 East 16th St., N.Y.C., Chairman: Prof. Reinhold Neibuhr; Treas: Adolph Helm; Sec: Mary Fox; Ex. Sec: Anna Caples; Res. Director: Paul Hagen

German Labor Delegation in the U.S.A., 31 Union Square, N.Y.C., Pres: Albert Grazesinski; V. Pres: Max Brauer and Carl Misch; Treas: Dr. Werner Thorman; Ex. Sec: Dr. Rudolf Katz; Directors: Dr. Horst Baerensprung; Gerhart H. Segers; Fritz Tejessy.

Society for the Prevention of World War III, 515 Madison Ave., N.Y.C. Pres: Rex Stout; V. Pres: Lyle Evans Mahan; Directors: Rudolph Fluegge; Frederick V. Foorster; C. Monteith Gilpin; Julius L. Goldstein; Isidore Lipschutz; Peter B. Olney; Harry L. Selden; Paul "Inkler

GREEK

Hellenic-American Fraternal Society (IWO), 80 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., Sec: Nick Marinos

HUNGARY

Hungarian-American Council for Democracy, 23 West 26th St., N.Y.C.
Hon. Pres: Count Mihaly Karolyi; Pres: Bela Lugosi; Sec: Mozes Simon; Rec.
Sec: Oscar Kozma; Selected Directors: John Roman; Dr. G. Geza Arato; John
Gyetvay; Dr. Emil Lengyel.

National Council of Hungarian American Trade Unionists, 23 W. 26th St.
N.Y.C. Hon. Pres: Julius Emspak; Pres: James Lustig; Sec. Treas: Frank Pecha

Hungarian Brotherhood (IWO), 80 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., Sec: Emery Komlos;
Pres: Irving Eisner.

ITALY

Garibaldi American Fraternal Society (IWO), 80 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., Pres:
Mario D'Inzillo; Hon. Pres: Vito Marcantonio; Sec: Luigi Candela

JAPAN

Japanese-American Committee for Democracy, 72 W. 52nd St., N.Y.C., Chair-
man: Ernest S. Iiyama; Vice-Chairmen: Kosho Itotagawa; Dr. K.K. Kurihara;
Ex. Sec: Yoshitaka Takaji; Assnt. Ex. Sec: Nori Ikeda; Treas: Isaka Kida;
Advisory Board: Rev. Alfred Akamatsu; Pearl Buck; Albert Einstein; Abner Green;
Lewis Merrill; Michael J. Obermeier; Adam Clayton Powell; Katherine Terrill;
Bishop Francis J. McConnell; Rt. Rev. Edw. L. Parsons

JEWISH (See also YIDDISH)

Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order (IWO), 80 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., Sec: Rubin
Saltzman

Jewish People's Committee, 22 East 17th St., N.Y.C. Pres: Bernard J.
Harkavy; Act. Pres: Max Perlow; Organizer: Silas Stone; Treas: Reuben Saltzman;
Chairman: Harry Mintz

LITHUANIA

Association of Lithuanian Workers, Inc., 419 Lorimer St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Pres: Rojus Mizara; V. Pres: Dr. J.J. Kashkevich; S.K. Mosan; George Kwain;
Treas: Joseph Weiss; Sec: John Gasiunas; Ed. of Tiesa, J. Gasiunas

American-Lithuanian Workers Literary Association, 419 Lorimer St., Brook.
Pres: Anthony Bimba; Sec: Dominick Sholomskas; Treas: Eva Mizara; Ed. Sviesa
Anthony Bimba. Directors: Roy Mazara; John J. Kashkevich; Joseph Kairys.

Committee to Aid Lithuania, 419 Lorimer St., Brooklyn, N.Y., Chairman:
Anthony Bimba; Fin. Sec: Lillian Kavalianskaite; Gen. Sec: V. Cepulis; Treas:
Frances Pakaluiskiene.

MEXICO

Sociedad Mutualista Obrera Mexicana, Inc., 1490 Madison Ave., N.Y.C.
Directors: Antonia Perez; Alesandro Benitez; Carmen Colon; Arturo Ruelas;
Pedro Gonzales; Cesar Martinez; Jose Farina; Jose Macias; Enrique Martinez;
Felix Galindo.

SELECTED FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

POLAND

Polonia Society (IWO), 80 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C. Pres: Boleslaw Gebert; Sec: Walter Haracz.

American Friends of Polish Democracy, 55 W. 42nd St., N.Y.C., Chairman: Robert MacIver; Vice-Chairmen: Louis Adamic; Paul Douglas; Oscar Lange; Treas; Arthur Held; Director: Arthur Lazell.

American Polish Labor Council (address not available), Pres: Leo Krzycki. Note also American Federation of Polish Jews, and other data in Ch. I.

PUERTO RICO

Sociedad Cultural Puertorriquena, Inc., (address not available), Pres: Angelino Casiano; V. Pres: Edelmiro Borras; Ex. Sec; Manuel Torres; Auditor: Agustin Crespo.

Puerto Rican Freedom Committee. Chairman: Ruth Reeves. Committee: Comfart Adams; William Albertson; Rabbi Michael Alper; Algernon Black; Dr, Lewis A. Eldridge; Vito Marcantonio; Adam Clayton Powell, Jr; Paul Robeson; Donald Agden Stewart.

RUMANIA

Roumainian Society (IWO), 80 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C., Pres: George Pojar; Sec: Margaret Papas

RUSSIA

American-Russian Fraternal Society (IWØ), 80 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C. Chairman: S. Nokolauk; Sec: Daniel Kazustchik.

SLOVAKIA

Slovak Workers Society (IWO), 80 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., Pres: Helen Vrabel; Sec: Charles Musil.

Slovak National Alliance of America. Pres: Rev, J.J. Pelikan; Vice-Pres: John Zeman and J. Saladiak; Sec: Jan Golosinec; Treas: James Hovorka; Director: Andrew J. Valushek

SPAIN

American Committee for Spanish Freedom, 55 West 42nd St., N.Y.C. Chairman: Bishop Lewis O. Hartman; Vice-Chairmen: John M. Coffee; Bartley C. Crum; S.L.M. Barlow; Sec: Allan Chase; Treas: Samuel J. Novick. Sponsors: Bennett Cerf; Eugene P. Connolly; Joseph Curran; J. Raymond Walsh; Johannes Steel; Lewis Merrill; Elmer A. Benson; Norman Corwin; John M. Cowles; Jo Davidson; Mark Van Doren; William S. Galmor; Stanley M. Isaacs; Albert E. Kahn; George S. Kaufman; Bishop John J. McConnell; Mrs. Vincent Sheean; Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam; Michael J. Quill; Mrs. William L. Shirer; Pierre Van Passen; Mrs. George Marshall.

Cervantes Fraternal Society (IWØ), 80 Fifth Avel, N.Y.C., Pres: Jesus Colon

SELECTED FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

THE UKRAINE

Ukrainian-American Fraternal Union (IWO), 80 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C. Pres: Michael Tkach; Sec: Walter Riback.

YIDDISH (see also JEWISH)

Morning Freiheit Association, 35 East 12th St., N.Y.C. Pres: Ben Gold; Gen. Sec: Alexander Bittelman; Vice-Presidents: Rubin Saltzman; Louis Weinstock; Max Perlow; P. Novick; Julius Aberhoff; Harry Mintz; Paula Robinson.

Icuf, 189 Second Ave., N.Y.C. Hon. Chair: Dr. Chaim Zhitlovsky; Chairman: Dr. A. Muckdoni; Ex. Sec: A. Olken; Sec: J. Opatosho; Treas: J. Melch.

Icor, 1 Union Square, N.Y.C. Pres: Charles Kuntz; V. Pres: Jean Posner; Sec: Abraham Jenofsky; Treas: M. Stern and M. Lieberman; Organizer, M. Olkin; Editor: I. Runch.

YUGOSLAVIA (also General Slav Organizations)

National Council of Americans of Croatian Descent, 236 West. 40th St., N.Y.C. Hon. Pres: Don Niko Graskovich; Pres: Zlatko Balokovic; V. Pres: Ivan D. Butkovic; Peter Radic; Sec. Josip Ladesic

American Croatian Women's Congress, 236 W. 40th St., N.Y.C. Hon. Pres: Joyce Balokovic; Zinka Milanov; Pres: Rose Plodinec; V. Pres: Marija Sumrak; Sec: Anna Devenic; Nat. Com: Mary Perkins; Theresa Orez.

Croatian Benefit Society of America (IWO), 80 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C. Pres: Anthony Gerlich; Sec. N. Rajkovic

Serbian-American Federation (IWO), 80 Fifth Ave., NYC, Pres: Michael Vuletic; Sec: Peter Vukcevic.

American Slav Congress, 205 East 42nd St., N.Y.C. Pres: Leo Krzycki; Vice Pres: Prof. J.J. Zmrhal; Harry Payer; Zlato Balokovic; Sec: Stephen Zeman; Ex. Sec: George Pirinsky; Treas: Martin Krasich.

United Committee for of South Slavic Americans, 465 Lexington Ave., N.Y.C. Pres: Zlato Balokovic; V. Pres: Zarko M. Buncick; Etbin Kristan; Sec. Peter Radic; Treas: M. J. Bogdanovic.

MISCELLANEOUS

Joint Antifascist Refugee Committee (Apparently dormant)

Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, N.Y.C. Jo Davidson, chairman; Treas: Frederick March; Fin. Com: Herman Shumlin; Pub. Dir: Ray Torr; Ex. Sec: Hannah Doerner. Full letterheads not yet circulating. In N.Y. State Communist Convention this was considered as a Communist-fronted organization. It is one of the most important fronts. There is discussion of its absorbing the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (as a civil rights branch) while this in turn may absorb the International Labor Defense. Full decisions of these matters are deferred pending the N.Y. City elections in Nov. 1945. After that, we can expect this new front to assume considerable importance.

APPENDIX IV

COMMUNIST CONTROL IN LABOR

The material contained in this appendix is gathered from diverse sources. Much of the information about controlled unions and locals stems originally from confidential informants within the Communist Party. The same applies to most of the names of prominent labor Communists and fellow travelers. The listing of A.F. of L. locals is mainly for the purpose of indicating their strength in the entertainment and publicity fields. The names of labor leaders are given primarily for use in noting future front groups. A high concentration of Communist names usually indicates that an organization is a front. Finally, the breakdown of C.I.O. unions into right, middle, left, and unclassified is a useful indication of the leanings of this body.

1. Communist-controlled Locals in the A.F. of L.A. In New York City.

Analgamated Meat Cutters Locals
 Bakery & Confectionery Workers locals
 Hotel & Restaurant Workers locals
 International Ladies Garment Workers locals (national leadership strongly opposed to Communism and securely entrenched.)
 International Longshoremen's Association insurgent group (Glasgow, Conzo, Bozas)
 Painters locals, and also other building trades locals
 Waiters, Waitresses, and Bartenders locals

B. In New York City and Los Angeles

Actors' Equity Association	Guild of Variety Artists
American Federation of Musicians	Indep. Assoc. of Theatrical
American Federation of Radio Artists	& Stage Employees
Authors' Guild	Radio Directors' Guild
Chorus Equity	Scenic Artists
Dramatists' Guild	Screen Actors' Guild
Guild of Musical Artists	Screen Writers Guild

C. In Los Angeles

American Federation of Teachers	Screen Cartoonists Guild
Building Service Employees	Screen Office Employees Guild
Film Technicians	Screen Publicists

D. Miscellaneous

Building Service Employees, Seattle
 Machinists, Seattle
 Painters, Cleveland

2. Prominent Communist (A), Fellow Traveler (B) and Opportunist (C) Labor Leaders (C.I.O. unions unless otherwise indicated; abbreviations given in the following section)

COMMUNIST CONTROL IN LABOR

John Abt (A) Amal.Clothing,N.Y.C.
 George Addes, (B),UAW, Detroit
 John Anderson (A) UAW, Detroit
 Lewis A. Berne (B) FTA,N.Y.C.
 Harry R. Bridges, (A), ILWU, San Francisco
 Philip Connelly (A) CIO, Council, Los Ang.
 Joseph Curran (B), ILWU, N.Y.C.
 Len DeCaux (A), CIO, Wash. D.C.
 Ernest Deliaio (A), UE, Chicago
 Bella V. Dodd (A) State, County, N.Y.C.
 Thomas Bombrowski (A), Newsp.Guild, Detroit
 Albert Fitzgerald (C), UE, N.Y.C.
 Abram Flaxer (A), State, County, N.Y.C.
 Eleanor Fowler (B) Nat.CIO., Wash.G.D.
 Richard Frankensteen (C) UAW, Detroit
 Leo Gallagher (A) Labor Attorn.Los.Ang.
 John Gallo (A) UAW, Detroit
 Nat Ganley (A) UAW, Detroit
 Virginia Gardner (A) Newsp. Wash.,D.C.
 Ben Gold (A) Fur. N.Y.C.
 Louis Hahn (A) Amal.Cloth. Cleveland
 Travis Hedrick (A), Fed.Press,Wash.,D.C.
 Sidney Hillman (C) Amal.Clothing, N.Y.C.
 Milton Kaufman (A) Newsp.N.Y.C.
 Leo Krzycki (B) Amal.Cloth.N.Y.C.
 Leo Lamotte (B) UAW, Detroit
 Frank McGrath (B) Shoe, Wash.D.C.
 William McKie (A) UAW, Detroit
 Herbert March (A) Packinghouse,Chicago
 Hodges Mason (A) UAW, Detroit
 James J. Matles (A) UE, N.Y.C.
 Louis Merrill (A) UOPWA;N.Y.C.
 Lewis Michener (A), UAW, Los Angeles
 Saul Mills (B) Indus. U.Council, N.Y.C.
 Windham Mortimer (A) Mine, Mill, Calif.
 Chester "Moon" Mullins (B) UAW, Detroit
 Frederick H. Myers, (A) ILWU, N.Y.C.
 Eleanor Nelson (A) Fed. Workers, Wash. D.C.
 Grant Oakes (A) Farm. Chicago
 Jerry O'Connell (A) PAC, Seattle
 Max Perlow (A) Furniture, N.Y.C.
 Walter Pollard (B) ILWU, Los Angeles
 Irving Potash (A) Furniture, N.Y.C.
 Lee Pressman (A) Nat. CIO, Wash. D.C.
 Michael Quill (A) TWU, N.Y.C.
 Patrick Quinn (B) UAW, Detroit
 Mervyn Rathborne (A) State CIO, Calif.
 Reid Robinson (A) Mine, Mill, Denver.
 John Santo (A) TWU, N.Y.C.
 Marcel Sherer (A) ACA, N.Y.C.
 Joseph Selly (A) ACA, N.Y.C.
 William Sentner (A) UE, St. Louis
 Edwin S. Smith (B) Oil Workers, N.Y.C.
 Ferdinand C. Smith (A) ILWU, N.Y.C.
 Maurice Sugar (A) UAW, Detroit
 Sam Sweet (A) UAW, Detroit

Louis Horre (A) UE, Chicago
 Philip VanGelder (B) ILWU
 Camden
 Courtney B. Ward (A) A.F.L.
 Painters, Cleveland
 Louis Weinstock (A) A.F.L.
 Painters, N.Y.C.
 Morris Yanoff, ^A UOPWA, Chicago
 Ruth Young (A) UE, N.Y.C.

COMMUNIST CONTROL IN LABOR

3. Communist Strength in the C.I.O.

General: In Chapter IV the subject of Communist influence in the C.I.O. was discussed. This present section is an effort to document the statements made in the text. On the whole, the concern here is with the political leanings of the top officers of the various unions: the officials who are on the executive board of the C.I.O. Less certainty can be had of leanings in conventions, since these officers are not always able to control their delegates. In this regard it is noteworthy that the N.Y. Times, Nov. 3, 1945, reports that the convention will be dispensed with next year, and that an enlarged executive board meeting will replace it. This gives added significance to the subsequent analysis. That same news item, and a longer report in the Daily Worker of Nov. 3, 1945, confirms the earlier observations on the political use of labor by the Communists. Thus, resolutions on sharing the knowledge of atomic energy; attacking peacetime conscription; attacking the "rider" which would deny UNRRA funds to nations which exclude our newsmen from free observation of their use; and supporting the Curran position on returning high-point troops from Europe are all political matters, and in each case the stand taken harmonizes completely with the Party Line. Several of these items taken singly are supported by legitimate groups---thus, Church groups have opposed conscription---but the significant point is the stress on such political issues by a labor organization, and the coincidence of the issues stressed with those currently agitated by the Communist press.

In the analysis to follow, membership figures were adapted from F. Peterson's Handbook of Labor Unions (Wash: 1944) and adjusted to estimated postwar strength; voting strength is official and obtained from a confidential source in the Labor Department (this can be used to correct membership figures); and political leanings were obtained from various confidential sources and submitted for checking to three well-informed labor leaders and two government officials who work full-time on labor matters.

A. Unions Definitely Right-wing. In this category are placed unions whose officers are known opponents of Communism, and safely entrenched in office. In such unions, there are Communist locals. Steel has quite a few; the important New York and Los Angeles newspaper guilds are left; and the C.P. strength of locals 1,3, and 65 of the Retail and Wholesale Workers is such as to bring doubt whether they will remain safely right-wing much longer.

American Newspaper Guild, 63 Park Row, N.Y.C. 7; membership 20,000; 4 votes. Publication: Guild Reporter; Pres: Milton Murray; V.P. Sam B. Eubanks; Sec-Treas: William W. Rodgers; general V.P.'s: George Harris; W.A. Copeland; Kenneth B. Crouse; George E. Hutchinson; Walter D. Engels.

Textile Workers Union of America, 15 Union Square, N.Y.C. 3; 400,000; 12 votes. Publication: Textile Labor; Pres: Emil Rieve; V.P. George Baldanzi; Sec-Treas: William Pollock.

United Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Employees, 100 West 42nd St., N.Y.C. 18; membership 100,000; 8 votes. Publ: The R.W.D.S. Employee; Pres: Samuel Wolchok; Sec-Treas: John V. O'Conney; Ex. V.P.: Martin C. Kyne; Leonard Levy; John J. Schulter; V.P.'s: I.M. Simon; Harry Tuvim; Samuel Lowenthal; George Donahue; Martin Koppel; Jerome Kaplan.

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United Rubber Workers of America, C.I.O., Buckeye Bldg., Akron, Ohio; membership: 140,000; 10 votes. Publication: United Rubber Worker; Pres: S.H. Dalrymple (resigned); Gen. V.P. L.S. Buckmaster; Sec-Treas: Charles Lanning; Board: W.I. Vaught, Manson James; Edward L. Barndes; Joseph MacKenzie; J.T. Rupert; H.E. Lyod; George Cummins; Thomas F. Burns.

United Transport Service Employees of America, 3451 South Michigan, Chicago, Ill. Membership: 20,000; 4 votes; Pres: Willard Townsend; Sec-Treas: John L. Yancey; V.P.'s: Eugene Frazier; James O. Cannady; Clarence Ivey; John A. Bowers; Cornelius Thompson; Henry B. White; J.P. Covington; Earl W. Davis.

United Steelworkers of America, 1500 Commonwealth Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa; membership, 750,000; 26 votes. Publ: Steel Labor; Pres: Philip Murray; Sec-Treas: David J. McDonald; Assistants to Pres: Clinton S. Golden; Van A. Bittner; executive board: 37 members.

TOTAL RIGHT WING: Membership- 1,430,000; Votes- 74

B. Unions Uncertain but Probably Right-wing. Under this heading are several small unions, some of them rather new. As such, they have not crystalized politically. Many never had much chance to take political stands, since they grew up during a period when Communists did not present many issues which might be controversial.

Federation of Glass, Ceramic, and Silica-Sand Workers of America, 118 North Third St., Columbus 15, Ohio; membership: 40,000; votes, 5; Pres: Joseph Froesch; V.P.'s: Leland Beard; Ralph J. Reiser; Sec.-Treas: Lewis McCracken; Board: Willard Pelican; Burl Phares; Edward V. McVann; Neil Brewer; Herman Leiner.

National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, 313 Machinists Bldg., Washington, D.C.; membership 8,000; 3 votes. President: Samuel J. Hogan; Sec-Treas: William O. Holmes; V. P.'s: Roy Robinson; Warren C. Evans; John Shepler; Distr. Rep. R. Meriweather; E. L. Rodgers; D.J. Hueston; C.H. Goodell; W.J. Garret.

Paper Workers Organizing Committee, 715 Jackson Place, Wash. 6, D.C. Membership: 20,000; 4 votes. Chairman: Allan S. Haywood; Director: Walter Smethurst; Sec-Treas: Harry Sayre; Assnt Direc: Frank Grasso.

TOTAL PROBABLY RIGHT WING: Membership- 68,000; Votes- 12

C. Disputed Unions. Unions in this group as a rule are heavily infiltrated, with political affiliations in the balance. For unions under this heading, a political note will be added citing the reason for the listing.

International Union of Playthings, Jewelry, and Novelty Workers, 225 Lafayette St., N.Y.C; membership, 20,000; 4 votes. Pres: Anthony H. Esposito; V.P. Sam Sandberg; Sec-Treas: Alex Bail; Ex. Board: 14 members. It is known that this union is heavily infiltrated in New York. Being small, this may be important.

International Woodworkers of America, 314 S. W. Ninth Ave., Portland 5, Oreg. membership: 60,000; 6 votes. Publ: Int. Woodworker; Pres: Claude Ballard; V.P.'s William Botkin; Virgil Burtz; Sec-Treas: E.E. Benedict; Ex. Bd: 12 members. This union was formerly left-wing; now right-wing at top, but very seriously infiltrated. Hence it could not be called a stable right-wing union.

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Optical and Instrument Workers Organizing Committee, 207 Title Guaranty Building, St. Louis, Mo., membership 7,000; 3 votes. Chairman: Thomas E. Andert; Sec: Earl Disselhorst; Fin. Sec: Morris Grief; Org. Com: John Thuenen; John East. Little is known about this small union. There are scattered reports of Communist infiltration, hence the listing as doubtful.

United Stone and Allied Products of America, 825 Eckart St., Ft. Wayne, Ind. membership: 7,500; 3 votes. Pres: H.C. Ledyard; V.P.: W. John Mitchell; Sec-Treas: John C. Lawson; Ex. Bd: Henry R. Coxon; John Meldrum; William Imlach; George Carle. This is listed as doubtful because of early history, but with heavy Vermont membership and excellent diocesan reporting from the alert Frs. Tennien and Gelineau, the writer would be inclined to consider it right-wing today.

Utility Workers Union of America, 1133 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y.; membership: 40,000; 5 votes. Publ: C.I.O. News; Pres: Joseph A. Fisher; V.P. Harold J. Straub; William Munger; Sec-Treas: William J. Pachler; Ex. Bd: James Daugherty; Garland Sanders; Reginald Brown; Edward T. Shedlock; Patrick McGrath. The consensus of opinion is that this is right-wing, but that there is heavy infiltration, and hence may be considered unstable.

TOTAL DISPUTED: Membership- 134,500; Votes-21. Note that this group might well be listed as probably right-wing, except for history and instability.

D. Problem Unions. This is a special category reserved for three large basically right-wing unions, which because of special circumstances might vote or turn left in the near future.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, 15 Union Square, N.Y.C. 3; membership: 300,000; 11 votes. Publ: Advance; Pres: Sidney Hillman; Sec-Treas: Jacob S. Potofsky; V. P's: Dorothy J. Bellanca; Hyman Blumberg; Joseph Catalanotti; Abraham Chatman; Louis Hallander; Jack Kroll; Leo Krzycki**; Samuel Levin; A.D. Marimpietri; Abraham Miller; William Reznicek; Frank Rosenblum; Stephen Skala; Charles Weinstein; Murray Weinstein. Counsel: John Abt*. As noted before, this union is right-wing, but Hillman is currently playing left-wing politics and hence would vote left-wing in the C.I.O. executive board.

Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, 534 Cooper St., Camden, N.J., Est. postwar membership: 125,000; present votes, 14. Publ: Shipyard Worker; Pres: John Green; V.P. John J. Grogan; Sec-Treas: Philip Van Gelder**; Ross Blood (acting); Org. Dir: Thomas J. Gallagher; Ex. Bd: C.R. Brown; W. Richard Carter; Thomas V. Flynn; Charles W. Hansen**; Nat Levin; Benjamin Malatico; Walter McManamon*; Andrew Pettis; Richard Versch. Top officers right-wing; but Van Gelder swung two conventions to the left by a shrewed political machine. Future unpredictable at this moment.

United Automobile, Aircraft, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, 411 W. Milwaukee, Detroit 2, Mich. Est. Postwar memb: 1,000,000; 30 votes; Publ: Ammunition; Pres. Rolland J. Thomas**; Sec-Treas: George F. Addes**; V. Pres: Walter Reuther; Richard Frankensteen**; Ex. Bd: 18 members, heavily right-wing. Problem here is Thomas' recent swing to left in order to hold a position which he endangered by incompetency and neglect. Reuther holds much of the right-wing strength, hence Thomas felt forced to go left once he forfeited the respect of his former followers. Future of union unpredictable, but reconversion should hurt left locals more than right (aircraft is left).

* Communist **Fellow traveler, opportunist, or dupe

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TOTAL PROBLEM UNIONS: Membership- 1,425,000; Votes- 55. In an ideological issue on C.I.O. executive board, probable present split: right-14; left-41.

E. Uncertain but Probably Left-wing. This group largely represents unions which have had a past history of left-wing affiliation, but where elements of uncertainty have arisen.

Barbers and Beauty Culturalists Union of America, 316 Flatbush Ave., Brooklyn; membership: 5,000; 3 votes. Pres: John Tartamella; V.P. Joseph Gugliotta; Sec-Treas: P. Charles Di Neri; Ex. Bd: Malvina Freedman; Abraham Greenwald; Edward Holden; Charles Rizzuto; Peter A. Sessa; John J. Sherman. There is considerable left strength in the New York locals.

Oil Workers International Union, 108 West 8th St., Fort Worth, Texas; membership: 60,000; 6 votes. Pres: O.A. Knight; V. P's: E. Carl Mattern; A. R. Kinstrey; Sec-Treas: E.C. Conarty; Council: William Hanscom; W.A. Urban; J.A. Lee; L.L. Crane; J.T. Tidwell; D.R. Stewart; R.L. Clark. There is dispute concerning Knight, but his fellow-traveling (front group) history and the employing of Edwin S. Smith and Hervey O'Connor in key positions would incline one to believe that Knight would vote left on political issues.

United Gas, Coke, and Chemical Workers of America, 718 Jackson Place, Wash. 6, D.C., membership: 40,000; 5 votes. Publ: Victory; Pres: Martin Wagner**; V.P. William Ross**; Sec-Treas: Cecil Martin; Ex. Bd; 9 members. Problem here is the inheritance of many left-wingers from Lewis' District 50. Wagner and Ross have been members of front groups and hence would be suspect on political issues.

United Packinghouse Workers of America, 205 W. Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill. membership: 90,000; 8 votes. Publ: The Packinghouse Worker; Pres: Lewis J. Clark; Sec-Treas: Edward F. Roche; V. P's: Philip M. Weightman; Frank Ellis*; Ex. Bd: Herbert March*; Jos. Ollman; A.T. Stephens; Ralph M. Baker; A.J. Shippey; Meyer E. Stern; Frank Sitek; A.J. Pittman; G.R. Hathaway; F.W. Dowling. Problem here is the power of March in Chicago, where much of the membership is centered. Voting on Ex. Bd. of C.I.O. is unknown. There is a present effort to clean up this union.

United Shoe Workers of America, 917 15th St., N.W., Wash. D.C. membership: 50,000; 6 votes. Publ: C.I.O. News; Pres: Frank McGrath; Sec. Treas: James J. Mitchell; V.P.'s: William E. Thornton; Isadore Rosenberg; Julius Crane (Krane?)*; Ex. Bd: 12 members. This union is listed as uncertain in deference to the views of two consultants, although the evidence is strong as to heavy Communist infiltration and fellow traveling by high officers. On political issues, it is almost certain that this union would go left.

TOTAL UNCERTAIN BUT PROBABLY LEFT WING: Membership: 245,000; Votes- 28

F. Left-Wing Unions. Unions in this category are largely either Communist or fellow traveler in the strictest sense. There is nothing controversial about the listing, except that one consultant dissented in regard to Muster of the Furniture Workers. Even here, however, there is a fellow traveling record which leaves no doubt as to the political weight of the union.

American Communications Association, 5 Beekman St., N.Y.C., membership: 20,000; 4 votes; Publ: ACA News; Pres: Jos. P. Selly; Sec,Treas: Josephine Timms; Ex. Bd: 19 members.

* Communist ** Fellow Traveler, etc.

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Food, Tobacco, Agricultural, and Allied Workers of America, 1505 Race St. Phila, 2, Penna; membership: 70,000; 6 votes. Publ: F.T.A.W. News; Pres: Donald Henderson*; Sec-Treas: Harold J. Lane*; V. P's: Lewis Bentzley; John Mack Dyson; Luisa Moreno; Otis Nation; Armando Ramirez*; Robbie Mae Riddick; Dixie Tiller; Armando Valdes; Owen H. Whitfield.

Marine Boatmen's Union of the Pacific, 614 National Building, Seattle 4, Wash. membership: 3,000; 2 votes; Pres: John M. Fox; Treas: John H. Evans; V.P.'s: John H. Evans; John Palmer; Lee DeLong; Lawrence Amell; Ralph Goldsmith; Max Wedekind.

International Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians, 5 Beekman St., N.Y.C. 7; membership: 8,000; 3 votes. Publ: C.I.O. News; Pres: Lewis Alan Berne*; Sec-Treas: James A. Gaynor*; V.P.'s: Marcel Scherer*; Stuart Green; Jules Korchien

International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, 604 Montgomery St., San Francisco, Calif.; membership: 40,000; 5 votes. Publ: ILWU Dispatcher; Pres: Harry Bridges; Sec-Treas: Louis Goldblatt; Vice-Pres: J. R. Robertson; Michael Johnson; Ex. Bd: 12 members.

International Union of Fishermen and allied Workers of America, Arcade Bldg., Seattle, Wash; membership: 10,000; 3 votes. Jos. F. Jurick, Pres.

International Union of Fur and Leather Workers of America, 251 Fourth Ave., N.Y.C; membership: 80,000; 7 votes; Publ: Fur and Leather Worker; Pres: Ben Gold; Sec-Treas: Pietro Lucchi; Ex. Bd. 18 members. Leather division: Pres: A.J. Tomlinson; Sec. Treas: Isador Pickman; Ex. Bd., 17 members.

International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, 222 West Adams St., Chicago 6, Ill., membership: 110,000; 9 votes. Publ: The Union; Pres: Reid Robinson*; Sec. Treas: James J. Leary; V.F. Ralph Rasmussen; Ex. Bd: William Mason; Dan Edwards; Angelo Verdu; Leonard Doughlas; Homer Wilson; John Mankowski; C.J. Powers; Robert Carlin; Eddie Cheyfitz.

Marine Cooks and Stewards Association, 86 Commercial Street, San Francisco, 11, Calif; membership: 4,000; 3 votes. Sec-Treas: E.F. Burke*; Assn't Sec: Hugh Bryson*; Port Agent: Frank McCormick; Ed. Direct: Louis Pinson; Branch Officers: Joseph Harris; John Sneddon; Joseph O'Connor; Rudolph Eskovitz; Nathan Jacobson; Irv. Dvorin; William Markey.

National Maritime Union, 346 West 17th St., N.Y.C. 11. Membership: 80,000; 7 votes. Publ: The Pilot; Pres: Joseph Curran**; Nat. Sec: Ferdinand C. Smith*; Nat. Treas: M. Hedley Stone*; V. P's: Howard McKenzie*; Frederick N. Myers*; Jack Lawrenson*; Nat. Dir: Ralph D. Rogers; E.J. Cunningham.

State, County, and Municipal Workers, 2 Lafayette St., N.Y.C. membership: 45,000; 5 votes; Publ: News of S.C.M.W.; Pres: Abram Flaxer*; Ed. Helen Kay*

Transport Workers Union of America, 153 West 64th St, N.Y.C. 23; membership: 40,000; 5 votes. Publ: Transport Workers Bulletin; Pres: Michael J. Quill*; Sec-Treas: Douglas MacMahon*; Dir. Organ: John Santo*; Ed; Maurice H. Foreg* V. P's: James J. Fitzsimon*; William Grogan* (Gorgan?); Matthias Kearns*; John Lopez*; Ex. Bd. 12 members.

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United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, C.I.O., 11 East 51st St., New York 22; membership: 500,000; 18 votes. Publ: U.E. News; Pres: A.J. Fitzgerald **; Sec-Treas: Julius Emspak*; Direct. of Organ: James J. Matles*; Gen.V.P.'s: Harry Block; Paul Seymour; Leo Jandreau*; James McLeish; C.J. Jackson; Michael Fitzpatrick; Victor Decavitch; Wm. Sentner*; John Gojack; Ernest De Maio*.

United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers of America, 188 West Randolph St., Chicago 1, Ill; membership: 60,000; 6 votes. Publ: Farm Equipment News; Pres: Grant W. Oakes*; V. P. John Shaffer*; Sec-Treas: Gerald Fielder*; Dir. Organ: Joseph R. Weber*; Distr. Pres: Charles Lawson; John Watkins; Bruce Brown; Richard Marhanka; Charles W. Hobbie; Neal Maastman. At Large: Pope Huff. Raids by the UAW are sapping the strength of this group.

United Federal Workers of America, 930 F. St., N.E. Wash. 4, D.C., membership: 50,000; 6 votes; Publ: The Federal Record; Pres: Eleanor Nelson*; Sec-Treas: Arthur Stein; Ex. V.P. L. E. Tempest; Thomas Richardson; Gen. V.P.'s: Dorothy Bailey; Ernest G. Benjamin; A.L. Colloms; James E. Harris; Darius Kline; Ex. Bd. 16 members.

United Furniture Workers of America, 261 Fifth Ave., New York; membership: 40,000; 5 votes. Publ: Furniture Workers Press; Pres: Morris Muster**; Sec-Treas: Max Perlow*; Dir. Organ: Ernest Marsh*; Ex. Bd. 22 members, including: Gus O Brown*; George Bucher (Buchner?)*; Michael De Cicco*; Jack Hochstadt*; Alex Sirota*; Morris Pizer*; Abraham Zide*.

United Office and Professional Workers of America, 1860 Broadway, N.Y.C. 23; membership: 45,000; 5 votes. Publ: The United Office & Professional News; Pres: Lewis Merrill*; V.P. Leon Berney; Joe Levy*; Sec-Treas: John J. Stanley; Richard Lewis (acting)*; ex. Bd., 27 members.

TOTAL LEFT WING: Membership: 1,205,000; Votes- 99

RECAPITULATION

N.B. It must be understood that membership lists simply mean members of unions whose officers show certain political leanings. It does not imply that any appreciable percentage of members understand or approve of these actions. Furthermore, it applies only to political issues and similar situations where confusion and covering up of Communist policies are possible. At the same time, it must be noted that these issues are often of the highest importance.

<u>Group</u>	<u>Right-wing membership---Votes</u>	<u>Left-wing membership-Votes</u>
Class A: Right-wing	1, 430,000	74
Class B. Prob. R.W.	68,000	12
Class C. Disputed	107,000	14
Class D. Problem Unions	125,000	14
Class E. Prob. L.W.		27,000
Class F. Left-wing		7
		1,300,000
		245,000
		41
		28
		1,205,000
		99
TOTAL	1, 730,000	114
		2,777,000
		175

From this it can be seen how strategic was the switch of Hillman and Thomas, since if their votes are placed in the other column the result is 155 right; and 134 left. These men hold the balance of power in the C.I.O.

Chapter IV, pp. 47-50: "Communism in Government." In this section, an admittedly conservative line was followed, because of inadequate sources of information. Further information impels the writer to believe that the situation was understated. Thus, both Mr. Truman and Mr. Byrnes have shown themselves weak in resisting Communist pressure, both at home and abroad. Dean Acheson has recently favored their policies in the State Department. His appointments are disconcerting to the right-wing group. Furthermore, the strategic position of the Budget Bureau was understated. Communist influence there led to the curtailment of domestic subversive investigations by the Army, Navy, and Civil Service. All was concentrated in the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Then an attempt was made tooust Mr. Hoover and replace him with leftist Mr. Schwartzwalder, of the Budget Bureau. A final danger signal is the attempt to place Col. Frank McCormick at head of the proposed group to obtain information from foreign countries. McCormick has been amenable to left pressure in the past. All this adds to a picture of increasing Communist influence in the present administration, aided by opportunist politicians seeking IAC support in 1946 and 1948.

Chapter I, World Communism. A reliable source informs us that Soviet general staff officers in Hungary discuss the following plans: A Communist coup d'etat in France this Spring, followed by civil war in Spain, with the Soviet army in Hungary marching through French zones to intervene in Spain and plant the Soviet flag on the Atlantic. It is not known whether the plan has been approved in Moscow. In favor of its plausibility are recent moves to strengthen Soviet armies in Hungary far beyond the needs of occupation, so that they now number 1,200,000 soldiers, including 25 armored divisions, and crack troops, such as Don Cossacks, and Siberian sharpshooters, all with latest equipment, much of it lend-lease. Belligerent Soviet speeches recently indicate anything but a peaceful mentality. Yet, intervention in any country but Spain might be considered dangerous, at least at this moment.

Chapter IV. Communism in Labor. Some changes in detail might be made in Appendix IV. The International Woodworkers, listed on page 142 as disputed, have gone into the Communist wing. The National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, listed there as probably right-wing, has joined a six-union federation of marine workers and hence would probably be left-wing in the future. In addition, a seventh union, previously unaffiliated but Communist-dominated (Marine Firemen, Oilers, Wipers, and Watertenders Association), will undoubtedly come into the C.I.C. as a result of this move, since it will join the new federation. Finally, the listing of the Shipyard Workers as a problem union might still stand, but the recent convention was stampeded by a right-wing machine. Leftist reaction in the locals was sufficiently strong to leave the issue still somewhat clouded.

Communist position on strikes is still unclear. In general, they have striven to intensify and aggravate every disturbed situation, but it would not be true to say that most important strikes are Communist-led or instigated. The best comparison would be with the soldier demonstrations, where Communists fanned the flames of a previously smouldering fire.

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