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# Masters of Deceit

The Story of Communism in America  
and How to Fight It

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## Chapter 6

# Who Are The Communists?

THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, works day and night to further the communist plot in America. Virtually invisible to the non-communist eye, unhampered by time, distance, and legality, this bolshevik transmission is in progress. The Communist Party, USA, is bolshevizing its membership and creating communist puppets throughout the country. The American Party, in the Kremlin's eyes, has for its objective the ultimate seizure of power in America and, to accomplish this purpose, it seeks to "educate" in the ways of communism all who will listen.

To appreciate the deadly seriousness of this process, the American citizen must see how the Communist Party, USA, by its every act, often without fanfare or newspaper headlines, is creating a corps of dedicated Party members, supported in many ways by United States citizens who have been infected or misled in one way or another.

Millions of Americans have wondered how the communists gain support. Frequently they seem to wield influence entirely out of proportion to their actual numbers.

Party influence is exerted through the communist device of thought control (controlling, in various degrees, the thinking of many Americans). The communists quickly accuse anybody who

disagrees with them of being guilty of thought control; it is a favorite communist expression. Yet this same technique, applied in varying degrees to different groups of our population, is the key to communist strength in America today.

The Party's objective is to drive a wedge, however slight, into as many minds as possible. That is why, in every conceivable way, communists try to poison our thinking about the issues of the day: social reforms, peace, politics, veterans', women's, and youth problems. The more people they can influence, the stronger they will be.

Top Party officials have a definite assignment: to capture positions of power. They are the Party's front-line commanders. Communism is at war with America. The United States is a vast battlefield. A school, a labor union, a civic group, a government official, a private citizen—all are important in the never-ending struggle for power.

The whole nation, to the communists, is a gigantic checkerboard. The communist high command is constantly moving, jumping, switching, and retreating to get communist members in positions of influence. They are outnumbered; they know that. That is why they must depend on skill, maneuvering, and deception.

The communist official in our country realizes that his supporters often form a motley collection, varying greatly in loyalty: some are fanatically loyal; others are half-timers or "single-nighters." Many are "tremblers," needing constant encouragement, whereas some are just victims unwittingly caught in the Party net.

But time after time the communists are able to weld these seemingly ill-assorted supporters into a unified instrument of power. They have succeeded in creating and dominating different areas of thought control. Each area contains supporters who, under Party guidance, can quickly and effectively be mobilized. The result of this manipulation, as applied to diverse personalities, groups, and issues, is a tribute to the commu-

nists' deceitful skill. By this technique, using its own membership as a base, the Party is today influencing literally thousands of Americans.

There are five principal areas, or circles, of thought control that should be thoroughly understood. These are the keys to communist mobilization to achieve control of the United States.

1. "*Open*" Party Members. The area of highest thought control, which is the core of communist strength, is the Party membership. These individuals, after indoctrination, become full-fledged revolutionaries, pledged to stick with the Party at all times.

Normally they make no effort to conceal their membership. They may be high-ranking officials, such as a state chairman, a section organizer, a club chairman, an educational director, or mere rank-and-file members. They are enrolled, pay dues, and accept Party discipline.

The Party member must be completely obedient; that is the hallmark of Party life. The constitution of the Communist Party, USA, sets forth specifically this definition of a full-fledged member:

A Party member shall accept the Party program as determined by the Constitution and conventions of the Party, belong to a Party club and pay dues.

Very clearly, he is a tool of the Party.

Party policy is built around Party membership. The trained member is one on whom the Party depends to commit espionage, derail a speeding train, and organize riots. If asked, gun in hand, to assault the Capitol of the United States, he will be expected to obey. These members are today working to promote a Soviet America: some in undercover assignments, some in communist-front organizations, others as Party officials. They are the offensive shock troops—confidently expecting that the precise moment will arrive when conditions will make feasible the revolutionary overthrow of our government.

If the Party desires to undertake a certain task, Party members,

seen or unseen, will be the leaders. Suppose that a communist front is to be started; that is, an organization which is to be maneuvered by the Party. A communist sympathizer may be named president, but a Party member will probably be executive secretary, placed there to control policies. Or suppose a giant rally for "peace" is to be held. The platform will glitter with noncommunists. But a communist member on hand will control the agenda.

The strength of this inner circle, the real backbone of communist striking power, lies not in numbers but in organized deception. Following Lenin's teachings, the Party is a small, compact, and highly mobile group that can strike quickly with great fury, often achieving objectives unwarranted by its numbers. Today's membership is hard, well trained, and disciplined. The weak, fainthearted, and skeptical have been purged. Those who remain faithful to the Party are dedicated to the communist revolution. They are willing to sacrifice everything for it. Here is an actual case:

A Party member was given a special assignment. The first step was to drop everything and go into hiding. That was all he was told. He obeyed. He took another name, moved away. Time passed. The children began to ask, "Where is Daddy?" The mother's answer: "He is dead. You don't have a daddy!"

This is the fanaticism of the trained member.

To be obedient, however, is not enough. This select group of Party members must be made superobedient, meaning subservient beyond the hope of return. They must be constantly whipped into a state of frenzied enthusiasm and never allowed to relax. The moment a member "lets up" he is endangered; a noncommunist thought might slip in. He must be made to think exclusively in Party terms and nothing else. Some Party members are old-timers; others are new recruits. All of them grew up in capitalist society. Many still show the effects of their "enemy upbringing," especially the younger ones. That is why they

slacken once in a while. They think for themselves; they put self before Party. These instincts must be pounded out and communist thoughts instilled. Communists are not born; they are made. For example:

A Party leader in the Deep South was angry. He was talking to a member who had "slipped" a little. This individual was not giving his best effort to the Party, although he had been in the Party for twelve years and had fought in Spain with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

"Work harder for the Party," was the leader's theme. "You've got to give more time to the Party than you're doing now." "And starve," answered the other man. "I've got to keep my job. I can't make a living just doing Party work."

"Let your wife work," retorted the official. "That'll hold you for a while, or borrow money if need be."

"But she can't make enough. Besides, she wants to keep house."

"She's a drawback," flashed the leader, "a definite hindrance. What are you going to do, stand up for the Party or your wife?"

The question was direct. The individual answered, "What do you want me to do? Divorce my wife?"

"If your marriage is such that you can't work for the Party," came the reply, "I'd seriously consider divorce. Your wife is selfish, simply self-centered. She wants all your time. She doesn't understand the movement. She's interested in her own happiness and security."

The communist leader rammed home his point. "I'm working all the time, so much that I can hardly sleep nights. You can't allow personal problems to take your mind off the Party. You've got to fight that kind of pressure. Your allegiance to the Party comes first. I never let my wife interfere. She knows her place."

2. *Concealed Party Members.* Another area dominated by communist thought control consists of the concealed communist, the individual who, though accepting Party discipline, does not wish

his affiliation to be publicly known. These two areas, open and concealed members, in fact, are closely related, often interchanging and always cooperating with each other. The concealed communist, because he is not known as a communist, can often advance the Party's cause among people and in organizations where an open member would be scorned.

The number of concealed communists is high. They vary in degree of concealment. Some are concealed from the public and are not openly identified as communists. Others are concealed even from the membership, and a few are so deeply hidden that only top leaders know their identity. Usually the more prominent the individual, the more concealed he must be.

Concealed communists are found in all fields. They may be enrolled members, although secretly and usually under an alias or assumed name; or their names may never appear on official rolls. It does not matter. They are viewed by Party leaders as members. They are equally as dangerous as the open member, if not more so. They are difficult to identify and, being concealed, can operate freely in noncommunist groups.

A physician, a lawyer, an educator, a personnel manager in a business firm, a television script writer—each may be a concealed communist of great value to the Party. Suppose that a Party member is in hiding. He becomes ill. The doctor, a concealed communist, is called. He can be trusted. Or a study group is formed on a campus. The professor 'guides' the discussion and subtly engenders communist doctrine. A personnel manager hires communist sympathizers, working them into key positions. Party influence increases, almost without anybody's knowing it. Here is an example of how the system works:

Two men huddle in conversation. One is a top Party official; the other, a high-ranking labor union leader who is a concealed communist, although his union has since ousted him from his post.

The national convention of the union is about to open in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Party official is issuing instruc-

tions. Support this, support that. He talks in great detail, laying down the over-all Party policy. Then he becomes more specific, even going so far as to dictate the wording of resolutions, suggesting the order of convention business, and advising how certain personalities should be handled. Nothing is to be left to chance.

The union leader listens. He can go on the convention floor, since nobody knows that he is under Party discipline, and carry out the communist program. This concealed communist is essential to the Party's thought-control technique. There are thousands like him always seeking to penetrate the healthy body of American life and to corrupt it.

In another case, a top communist leader, long before he fled into the communist underground, was confronted with the problem of being identified, for he was well known and his picture had been widely publicized in the press. He could dye his hair, shave off his mustache, and lose weight, but he still could be readily identified by a mole on the right side of his jaw. He went to a physician in a Midwest city, a reported communist, who operated on the Party leader to remove the mole from his face.

Another concealed member of the Party was the editor-in-chief of a conservative book-publishing house. This editor, having an excellent educational background, was highly regarded by his company. On one occasion, after this publishing house had been criticized by a newspaper columnist for publishing procommunist books, the president discussed the problem at a meeting of the board of directors. He reported that he had asked the editor if, in fact, he was a member of the Communist Party. The editor entered an emphatic denial. The president then advised the board that since the editor was a gentleman, the allegations that he was a communist were false.

The president of the publishing house simply did not know the facts. The editor's usual procedure was to have the manuscript of a communist author submitted directly to him on a personal basis. He would review it, be sure it was in publishable form,

then have the author submit it to the publishing house through routine channels. Receiving the manuscript later through the company, he would recommend its publication. Through this technique, the editor was eminently successful in circulating communist literature.

When noncommunist authors complained and several terminated their relations with the publisher, the editor was later quietly eased out of his job.

There are occasions when a member of the Party will drop his open Party activities, move to another section of the country, and become a secret, concealed member. Such was the case of a talented young man who became active in the Communist Party in New York City before World War II when he was employed by a motion-picture company. After work he functioned as a Communist Party organizer, later as a membership director of a Party club, and, for a while, worked on the paid staff of the American Labor Party. In the meantime he obtained a job in television and in 1953 became program director of a television station in a large Southern city.

Soon after his arrival in the Southern city, the TV program director started to meet secretly with the Party's "white-collar" professional group. Word came through that he should sever even these connections, according to a Party functionary, who said, "We want them [him and his wife] to be secure for the Party." He was too valuable a member to be compromised. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, however, uncovered the white-collar professional cell, and when the TV director declined to answer Committee questions, he was promptly fired by his employer.

3. *Fellow Travelers.* The third area in which communist thought control works is that of the fellow traveler and sympathizer. These two terms are distinct but related. The fellow traveler, while not a member, actively supports (travels with) the Party's program for a period of time. The sympathizer is more

passive, sympathizing with the Party or individual members on specific issues, and may or may not give active aid. These individuals are not Party members, but, in some degree, have come under Party control.

This control is sufficient to make them work willingly for the Party. Many consistently follow the Party line, even maintaining personal contacts with Communist Party officials. Others, the so-called "intellectuals," may never have attended a communist meeting and may know nothing about Party organization. Yet, because of the spell of communist thought control, they knowingly do the Party's work. Perhaps they have been influenced by Marxist writings or the professed aims of the Party on certain issues. In any case, deluded by communist propaganda, they desire to render active assistance.

Fellow travelers and sympathizers, unlike open or concealed communists, cannot be disciplined. A Party leader may request a favor. If the fellow traveler or sympathizer agrees, fine; if he doesn't, the Party cannot do much except hope to exert more influence next time.

Moreover, these people are often undependable, donating money, for example, to one Party function but not another. Sometimes they may be "hot," doing just about anything asked. Then suddenly they grow "cold," lose interest, and become inactive.

The value of fellow travelers and sympathizers lies in their alleged noncommunist affiliation. That is why, in most instances, communist leaders do not attempt to recruit them into the Party. They are more valuable outside: as financial contributors, vocal mouthpieces, or contacts between Party officials and non-communists. They constitute, in fact, fronts for, and defenders of, the Communist Party.

The role these individuals can play for the communists is clearly illustrated in front organizations, where they serve as sponsors or officials. Behind the scenes is a communist manipulator. Consider, for example, one such organization. In

October, 1951, the *Daily Worker* announced the formation of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee with one hundred fifty founders (from thirty-nine states), including fifty who were educators, clergymen, and professionals.

One of the Committee's first official moves was to petition the New York State Commissioner of Education to "forbid the New York City Board of Education from enforcing its newly-enacted ban on suspected communist teachers. . . ." Gradually, as the old Civil Rights Congress, a well-known front, became discredited, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee took over its work. In 1956 the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, after identifying the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, stated, "When the Communist Party itself is under fire these fronts offer a bulwark of protection."

The names of the group's one hundred fifty founders have been exploited by the Party to fight its battles.

To make a known Party member president of a front would immediately label it as "communist." But if a sympathizer can be installed, especially a man of prominence, such as an educator, minister, or scientist, the group can operate as an "independent" organization. This trick has worked time after time and is still working today. By allowing themselves to be used as tools, fellow travelers and sympathizers have immeasurably advanced the communist cause.

In Chapter 17 we shall discuss communist fronts in greater detail.

Of particular interest to the communists is the influence of fellow travelers and sympathizers in the "thought-molding" field: teachers, script writers, newspapermen, news analysts. If these individuals can be subjected to the slightest bit of communist thought control, the Party will have won a major victory.

One individual in New York City, for example, once occupied an important role as a news commentator and author. His views were consistently procommunist. He represented himself as an authority on international affairs. He claimed to have talked

personally to many of the world's leaders. Just as the communists would want, everywhere he went he built himself up as an individual who could give the American people guidance in their thinking.

This sympathizer was simply irreplaceable in the communist scheme. No open communist could discuss current events before lecture audiences, behind the microphone, or through the written word with his degree of "objectivity" and "independence." He was able to fool many noncommunists and exert considerable influence. His lecture tours were often arranged by communist-front groups. A concealed communist contributed money to his expenses. Wherever this "world observer" went, he preached communist-line and pro-Soviet propaganda. When his influence began to slip, he then changed his ways and sought his livelihood elsewhere.

Men and women of this caliber can do much to bring others into the communist thought-control net. No wonder the Party works to support them.

4. *Opportunists.* Another group that falls, on occasion, under communist thought control consists of opportunists, individuals who, if they can benefit personally, will knowingly support the Party in return for support or favors from it. Opportunists are cynical and self-seeking, not caring that by cooperating with the communists, even though temporarily, they are injuring the nation.

In a large Midwestern city a noncommunist labor leader had aspirations to become president of a union council. A group of communists, opposed to the then president, decided that this labor leader could be controlled. They drafted him as a candidate and, of course, on the election slate placed also some Party members. The labor leader won the election, and so did the communists, because they gained a man over whom they had a hold and whom they could therefore expect to use.

The opportunist was then pushed into various front organ-

izations: he was put on the board of a communist-sponsored school; designated as a delegate to a convention of a front group; enlisted to join a campaign to oppose the "anticommunist clause" in a state-wide labor convention. He was besieged constantly to "do this" and "help us." His value to the Party was shown, for example, when, even though he refused on a certain occasion to cooperate with a Party front, his position was defended by the Party. The opportunist, in the Party's eyes, was more important to it as a labor leader than as a supporter of the front.

For some time the deal paid off. The opportunist received the prestige and the communists had a champion. Then things began to change. The opportunist had his own ideas and ceased to follow the Party lead. Relations became strained. When the communists wanted the city-wide council to endorse a well-known comrade as a candidate for the board of education, they brought up the motion at a meeting when the opportunist was absent. The communist candidate was endorsed. That was too much for the opportunist, who promptly issued a public statement denying that he was backing the communist candidate. A special meeting of the council was called to reconsider its action.

The communists now moved into high gear. Word went out that the opportunist would have to be "put in his place" for publicly denouncing the communist candidate. At a special meeting the opportunist took the floor and successfully led the fight to reverse the council's endorsement of a communist. The communists were bitter in their condemnation of their onetime protégé; he was a "traitor" and a "hypocrite." Deciding he had had enough, the opportunist resigned the presidency.

In such a case who is the ultimate winner? The communists, for they have advanced their program. When he, the opportunist, faltered, he was dropped.

Communists watch eagerly for such opportunists; they are usually easy to influence and exploit. The self-seeker, fighting to win an election or wanting to earn some easy money, may

listen to communist double talk and cooperate. Not that the Party is under any illusions; the opportunist is not going to be converted. He will denounce communist support just as quickly as he accepted it. Relations are strictly "dog eat dog," each trying to exploit the other. But the opportunist can be used.

5. *Dupes.* The final area is that of the dupe, or innocent victim, the individual who unknowingly is under communist thought control and does the work of the Party. A tragedy of the past generation in the United States is that so many persons, including high-ranking statesmen, public officials, educators, ministers of the gospel, professional men, have been duped into helping communism. Communist leaders have proclaimed that communism must be partly built with noncommunist hands, and this, to a large extent, is true.

Communist propaganda is tailored to attract noncommunists. Communism offers a bogus "spiritual appeal," a "Kingdom of God on earth." Its tactics and strategy are covered with attractive, appealing words, such as "freedom," "justice," and "equality." The communists claim they are working for a "better world," that they have the answer to discrimination, exploitation, and economic want. To fight for communism, they say, is to become part of the most sacred crusade in the history of man.

Many well-meaning citizens, attracted by these words and not seeing behind the communist intentions, have been swept into the communist thought-control net. Most are sincerely interested in improving society, and there are many ways in which our society can and should be improved. They are willing to devote their time, talents, and energies to a "sacred cause." That is how communist thought control works. If it can influence you on any matter, regardless of how minor, making you think favorably toward communism, it has gained. It has something to sell everyone.

"Fool the noncommunists!" That is the slogan. And, better



still, make noncommunists fool each other! Encourage the support of as many dupes as possible. These individuals see only the exterior, or false face, of communism. They are never shown the inside, the real communism, the terror, injustice, and slavery. Time after time, in almost unbelievable fashion, victims, somehow or other under communist thought control, do communism's work: signing communist election petitions, contributing time or money to communist fronts, issuing statements in support of communist-sponsored campaigns.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, quite recently was a candidate for the New York City Council under the emblem of the People's Rights Party. Communists canvassed to obtain at least 3000 signatures on petitions required by law to place her name on the ballot. They went over the goal with the help of noncommunists. In the November 5, 1957, election, however, Flynn received fewer than 1000 votes.

The People's Rights Party is a sham political party created to give the Communist Party the legal right to run communist candidates. In 1946, 1952, 1954, and again in 1957 communist candidates have run for municipal, state, or national office in New York City under the banner of the People's Rights Party. Each time signatures had to be obtained to secure the right of the PRP to place its candidates on the ballot.

Another instance of Party manipulation to gain the support of noncommunists was the campaign in the summer of 1957 to solicit signatures for petitions opposing the further testing of nuclear weapons by the United States government. Most of these signatures, of course, were those of noncommunists. On this issue the Party was slavishly following the line of international communism. Communist strategy is to provide the leadership, encouraging noncommunists to do the work.

Not that these individuals are communists. The great majority of them are loyal, but deceived, citizens. Sending five dollars to a front organization with a patriotic-sounding name; signing

a communist-inspired petition urging "world disarmament" (isn't that a worthy cause?); attending a giant Party-manipulated rally in support of the "Bill of Rights": the noncommunist does not realize these campaigns are being operated out of downtown communist headquarters. He is fooled because he believes in the aims they profess and does not recognize the hidden motive.

But, from the communist point of view, a dollar is a dollar. A victim makes a contribution. His money is just as good as money from an open member. A noncommunist allows his name to be used on a letterhead. Suppose he *was* fooled? The name is still there. Thus the communists assemble support from all quarters, whether given intentionally or not, and apply it toward their objectives.

Party officials, like fishermen, are constantly watching their "nets" to see what the fishing will bring. Each day, unfortunately, communist thought-control nets, sweeping through American life, catch new supporters, maybe two or three new members, several sympathizers, an opportunist, many victims. A "big-name" sympathizer is worth a great deal and so is another fellow traveler. Each can be put to work. The strength of the Communist Party depends, at any given time, on the number of fish in the net.

How can we, as Americans, protect ourselves from becoming "innocent victims" of the communists?

First, we should not fall for "fronts." In Chapter 17 you will find a detailed description of how communist fronts operate, together with a twelve-point list of ways to spot them so that we will not be fooled into giving them our support. (The Attorney General of the United States has issued a list of subversive organizations, and the House Committee on Un-American Activities has also issued a *Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications*.)

Second, we should know the answers to the *Five False Claims of Communism*. In the next chapter we shall learn what those

claims are and how United States communists use them to disarm and confuse loyal Americans. We should learn to spot those claims, and know the answers.

Finally, we should not permit the use of our names unless we know the true identity of the soliciting group. We should use our right of petition to further the American way of life, and not allow the communists to steal it from us.

## Chapter 7

# What Do U. S. Communists Claim?

I HAVE SAID that one of the chief strengths of the Communist Party has been its ability to appeal, by trickery, to many Americans who are sincere, idealistic, and well-meaning.

A first step in arming ourselves against communism is to know how those appeals are made and how to see through them. So now let us consider five of the most deceptive claims made by the Communist Party, USA, in its effort to lure "innocent victims." Let's see what communists pretend to be and what they really are:

1. *Communists are not liberals.* The concept that communism is a new world of liberalism is false, a trap used to catch noncommunists. The word 'liberal' has a fine, upright meaning and is symbolic of a great historic tradition. That is why the communists appropriate the term for their own use.

Communism is the very opposite of liberalism. Liberalism means increased rights for the citizen; a curb on the powers of the central government; freedom of speech, religion, and the press. Communism means fewer and fewer rights for the private citizen, curtailment of freedom of speech and press and worship of God. The state becomes all-powerful, the absolute reverse of American tradition.

Occasionally a stubborn member will persist in criticism. That takes courage. He is made of metal the communist thought-control machine has not yet melted. He carries the fight to higher Party bodies. But he can't win and out he goes.

In one instance a member was accused of falling down on the job. The section organizer recommended that he be removed from both his Party office and the county executive committee. "He's irresponsible," stormed one old-time comrade, "and in the Soviet Union irresponsibles are not voted out of office—they are shot!"

That's democratic centralism, the organizational principle that has welded the Communist Party, USA, into a terrible instrument poised and eager to destroy this country if given the opportunity.

## Chapter II

### This Is The Party!

WHAT ABOUT LIFE in the Party, how members live, who they are, how they earn their money, what they do with their time, and how they get their orders? The following are accounts of day-to-day activities of Party life.

Eleanor is washing the dishes. Her husband, Henry, has just gone to work. The two children are scurrying around the house, ready to leave for school.

Suddenly there is a knock on the door. It is Ruth, who lives across the street. Ruth is chairman of the East Side Communist Club. Her husband, Robert, is state secretary of the Communist Party and a full-time paid functionary.

"Starting the day out just right," smiles Ruth. "The kitchen is all cleaned up. You can come and help us."

Ruth outlines her plans. The state office needs some typing done this morning. Eleanor was a stenographer before she married and often helps on a part-time basis at headquarters. She is a trusted member. But that is not all. In the afternoon Eleanor is to make "some calls"; that is, visit some comrades. She must pass out word that the next meeting of the county executive committee will be held on Friday evening. This message cannot be given over the telephone. Then tonight will be

the regular meeting of the East Side Club. Eleanor probably won't get home in time to fix supper. If she doesn't, Henry and the kids can make some cold meat sandwiches. Besides, Henry is scheduled to meet with the state education secretary tonight and he won't have time to eat supper anyway.

Life in the Party! For good members nothing is left for life outside the Party. The housewife is doing typing, running errands, Mimeographing, arranging meetings, collecting dues; her husband, even while working at the grocery store, in the shoe factory, or at the service station, is thinking of his Party assignment that night, distributing literature, soliciting money, serving as a courier. The Party is the most important force in their lives.

If anybody joins the Communist Party expecting to lead an easy life, perhaps read Marx and Engels, buy some literature, and not exert much effort, he is completely misguided. Party work is hard, tough work, and the Party is a ruthless taskmaster. The member is always on the run, doing this and doing that. He has no spare time, energy, or money for himself. His whole life becomes dominated. The Party is his school, source of friends, and recreation, his substitute for God. Communism wants the *total* man, hence it is *totalitarian*. That is part of its indoctrination policy: by concentrating everything on the Party, all other interests are squeezed out.

Day and night the Party structure is buzzing with action: fund drives, registration of members, collection of dues, sale of literature. Leaflets must be passed out on Olive Street, a picket line formed at city hall, a meeting attended. Workers, not playboys, are wanted; or as one Party spokesman expressed it, we must rid ourselves of the member who "makes noises like an eager beaver but accomplishes little." A major characteristic of the Communist Party is perpetual motion.

The man who keeps this subversive beehive of activity going is the paid Party functionary. He is the key to the whole apparatus. Working on national, state, and local levels, he pumps

in energy, gives orders, coaxes, cajoles, threatens, smiles, scowls, pleads, anything to keep the Party bustling.

Most communist functionaries are old-timers with ten, fifteen, or twenty years of service. Some have been trained abroad, possibly in the Lenin School in Moscow. They are transferred at frequent intervals, depending on the needs of the Party. One may serve as an organizer in California, as a section secretary in Rhode Island, or as a fund-raiser in Florida. Their full-time job is to advance the communist cause. The Party employs women functionaries, especially on the lower levels. During World War II, when many male comrades were drafted, a number of Party offices were run by women.

Salaries vary, depending on the size and location of assignment, but they average fifty to seventy dollars weekly. As a general rule, officials are paid by the local organization, although the national office, in case of a deficit, may step in with cash. Some functionaries operate on an expense account, especially if they travel.

The communist official will probably live in a modest neighborhood. His wife will patronize the corner grocery store, his children attend the local school. If a shoe store or a butcher shop is operated by a Party member, the official will probably get a discount on his purchases.

Most Party officials drive cars, usually older models. They are generally out late at night attending meetings. A car is essential for transportation and carrying literature. Except for special affairs, communist activity is slight early in the morning. The organizer, coming in around midnight or one o'clock, will sleep late. But that doesn't mean all day. One Southern official was severely censured for sleeping too late; to solve the problem the Party bought him an electric alarm clock.

Functionaries eat away from home a great deal. They generally are well versed on "cozy" places where they can talk with a minimum of observation. Much Party business is conducted at luncheon appointments. Their wives are also engaged in Party

work, and often both are away from home night after night. "Home," to the communist organizer, is more a place to sleep than to enjoy restful relaxation.

If a Party convention is to be held, and many out-of-town delegates are coming in, the organizer may turn his apartment into a temporary hotel. He will pull out all the spare cots, beds, and blankets and "put up" a half-dozen visitors.

The paid official's job is to keep the Party going, to see that everybody has something to do, that meetings are scheduled, that money is collected, that the Party's program is carried out. He may start his day around ten-thirty or eleven o'clock with a "staff" conference at headquarters. There he will discuss the day's agenda with other officials, give or receive orders, and get squared away for the day's work.

The organizer must be a fairly intelligent man with an ability to get along with people. He is always asking for something: Can you deliver papers, how about attending this class, making a speech? He must know how to overcome fears, suspicions, and laziness, and encourage members to work. He may, for example, approach a member for a donation: "We need five hundred dollars. Sell your car and donate the money." Communists come up with all kinds of schemes. The organizer must go out and "sell" the idea.

He also spends a great deal of time smoothing out personal problems. In one case a communist "love triangle" erupted. A young Party member, even though married, decided that she loved another member's husband. The man's wife, however, was determined to fight. The problem reached such bitterness that the trio's Party work began to suffer. There was little hope of solving it by themselves. So the state chairman stepped in. He talked to them personally. They poured out their inner feelings. The young woman and her "lover" requested Party approval for a divorce. A few days later the wife, with fire in her eyes, told the state chairman she wanted three months' leave of absence from the Party to regain the love of her husband. A

regular free-for-all was brewing. The Party, however, exerted pressure and the situation was settled. No divorce was approved. The organizer must be ready at any hour to settle everything, from a hair-pulling contest to the distribution of an estate.

For most members the Party is their whole life. If any problems arise, changing jobs, adopting a child, lawsuits, etc., they solve them with the Party's advice. If a member has a case of ulcers, the organizer will recommend a "Party doctor"; if somebody is threatening suit, he will suggest a "Party lawyer"; if one has lost his job, he might know somebody in the Party, perhaps the owner of a store, a union-shop steward, or an industrial executive, who will help out.

The Party, in many respects, is a vast paternalistic system. Not that it is humanitarian, full of mercy, or interested in the members' welfare. Nothing like that. The Party's interests come first. If a member is sick, tied up with a lawsuit, or unemployed, his Party work will suffer. Each member should be in top working shape at all times. The Party functionary's job is to seek out and solve these problems. He is an administrator, expediter, and nursemaid.

Also, any activity that might injure the Party must be prevented. The discipline of the Party, exercised through the functionary, extends to the most intimate details of personal life. Here are a few actual cases:

A member in Ohio desired to adopt a child whose parents were members of the Catholic Church, and the member had taken steps to join the Church. The state chairman was furious and said no. Finally the member asserted his independence and left the Party.

Another member, in the Party's eyes, manifested "bourgeois" tendencies. He spent too much time working on his house! He was removed from his Party position.

One member in the state of Washington went to Alaska, without

permission, to secure a job. He was suspended on the ground that he would attract the FBI's attention in Alaska.

\* \* \* \*

A member in New York City, age thirty-five, was dropped from the rolls. Why? In the Party's eyes he was too much dominated by his mother.

Sometimes the functionary will order the member to take an affirmative step:

A strawberry farmer was visited in Everett, Washington, by a Party fund-raiser who demanded one hundred dollars, which the farmer did not have. The farmer was ordered to mortgage his house. He refused and was expelled for failure to abide by Communist Party discipline.

\* \* \* \*

In Philadelphia the district organizer called at the residence of a couple with a long record of devoted Party activity. The organizer announced that the wife was being dropped from the Party because she was anticomunist. When pressed for an explanation, the organizer stated he had concluded that the wife had written critical letters regarding the Party leaders, which she vigorously denied. The organizer then advanced a further reason. A news account had appeared in the papers recounting that her brother, an Air Force Reservist, had been killed in a plane crash and she had failed to advise the Party that he had been called to active duty. The wife then made the futile complaint that, since she was being dropped from the Party and not expelled, she had no way to appeal the decision or to defend herself. Then the organizer told the husband that he had to either leave his wife and children or be dropped from the Party. When he elected to remain with his wife, he was ousted from the Party, as was a former Party organizer who continued to associate with the wife.

\* \* \* \*

A promising young communist was attending a Communist Party training school in New York. He was called out of class and advised that the Party had decided that he was to marry a young lady who had just arrived from Hungary on a student visa. The

Party felt the girl was promising Party material. The communist went to City Hall accompanied by a fellow student, the bride-to-be, and her sister. The ceremony was performed, which enabled the girl to stay in the United States since she was now married to an American citizen. The marriage was in form only, and three years later the girl secured a divorce. In the meantime the young communist was sent to West Virginia as a functionary and started living with another girl. She also had a citizenship problem. This was met when the two were called to New York for a meeting. In passing through Elkton, Maryland, they secured a marriage license and returned after the New York meeting for the ceremony. The girl then went on to Chicago. When the communist finally met the lady of his choice, he went to a communist lawyer who arranged for an annulment of the second marriage on the ground that a prenuptial agreement to join the church had been violated.

The Party functionary can order members to resign from one job and accept another, to move from one town to another, to stop seeing their families and friends, to lie, cheat, or steal.

Then there is the problem of money. The functionary is always prodding. First, members must pay dues. They are collected monthly from each member and give the Party a substantial source of revenue. Payments of dues are based on regular schedules, depending on a member's income. Here is a sample schedule:

<i>Income Per Week</i>	<i>Dues Per Month</i>
Housewives.....	.50
Students.....	.50
Unemployed.....	.50
To \$80.....	\$1.00
To \$110.....	\$2.50
Over \$110.....	\$5.00

Dues also serve another purpose: to control the member. The Party official can keep track of him, see if his interest is waning (if he doesn't want to pay), and also, if possible, determine how much money he actually has (which the Party can

later extract). If he falls behind in payments, the financial secretary will be right after him.

Another related obligation is to donate money (besides paying dues). Every member *must* pay, and pay until it hurts. The Party conducts an annual fund drive, involving the whole membership. Goals are set for clubs, sections, regions, and on a national basis. A big celebration, perhaps a dance or a dinner, marks the "kick-off," and a definite conclusion date is established. During this period, say September 1 to October 15, a white heat of intensity is reached. The theme: "Money, money, money." No member, regardless of excuse, is spared. If the amount isn't reached, the campaign is extended.

How much should a member give? Usually a week's wages is the accepted minimum. If a comrade has extra sources of income, the amount will be higher.

The Party raises money, lots of it. In one fund drive alone, for example, national headquarters announced a collection of over 165,000 dollars. And the campaign was still not complete. The nickels and dimes (although communists say they like "folding money" best) soon add up. With the effectiveness of a vacuum cleaner, the Party pulls money from everywhere.

Laggards, renegades, and backsliders are pushed hard. "That's not enough. You're a piker," the Party organizer will scoff. Sections and clubs vie for "collection honors." The first state or district to reach its quota is enthusiastically hailed.

But that is not the end of "donations." Time after time there are assessments or special fund drives. They come like snowflakes in a winter storm. Party leaders have been arrested, they need help! (Defense Fund). The *Daily Worker* needs money—urgently! (Press Fund). The Party must have 100,000 dollars in thirty days! (Emergency Fund). An "emergency" is always stalking the Communist Party. The best way to solve it is money. The only thing better is more money. The cost to members: at least a day's pay for each special fund.

Fund drives do not exhaust the financial wizardry of the com-

munists. Money is obtained in still other ways, such as Halloween parties, dances, waffle parties, going-away affairs, testimonial dinners, anniversaries (such as of the October Revolution in Russia or the birthday of Lenin). In most instances tickets are sold and, in addition, a collection may be taken up. Everything you have belongs to the Party. That's the philosophy.

One top leader explained how to obtain contributions. Visit the prospective victim. Take along an out-of-town comrade (he's the high-pressure expert) and a local member. The latter should have plenty of money with him. The prospective victim might say, "Yes, I'd like to contribute, but I haven't any money now"—the easy way out. If so, the local comrade would interrupt and say, "Fine, I'll lend you the money. Would a hundred dollars be enough?" This squeeze always works, the leader said. Blank checks are also carried.

To show how far money-raising can go, one member dreamed up the idea that bodies of deceased comrades should be sold for medical experimentation. The Party would gain doubly: first it demanded the fee for the cadaver and then the money ordinarily spent for the burial. Another member suggested that gifts no longer be given at "stork" showers for expectant mothers. This money should be donated to the Party.

Then there are extra revenue sources. At the end of World War II, Party officials requested comrades returning from military service to donate part of their bonus money. In many instances they set the actual amount. If the member didn't comply, he might be disciplined.

Estates are also juicy morsels. If members, or maybe sympathizers, have any extra money, the Party urges that wills be executed naming the Party or certain functionaries as beneficiaries. Large sums are thus often gained.

Some years ago a former Episcopal bishop died in Ohio. Years before, during an illness, he had started reading Marx and other communist books. Then he turned author and wrote a book entitled *Communism and Christianity*, wherein he expressed doubt

that Christ had ever lived, and asserted that he had "found Christ via Karl Marx." The bishop was given a trial by his church and deposed. Following his death, his will provided that the residue of his estate, valued at between 300,000 and 400,000 dollars, was to go to a corporation whose trustees were to devote all or any part of it to the cause of communism as "propagated by Karl Marx."

Another communist sympathizer in Oregon a few years ago received more than 100,000 dollars upon the death of a son. A communist friend persuaded the sympathizer to bequeath a part of his estate to two West Coast communists.

A Party member died in Massachusetts in 1953, leaving a 14,000-dollar bank account and real estate to the Party, naming three Party officials as executors of his will.

Over the years the Party has been blessed by angels and foundations whose money was made through the American free enterprise system and is then used in an attempt to destroy the system that made wealth and affluence possible.

In years past, each member was given a membership card or book (which was numbered) on which he could paste his "dues stamps," showing that he was current on this obligation. But today, for security reasons, this practice is no longer followed. Membership records, if kept, are carefully concealed, and only a trusted few know their whereabouts. Sometimes elaborate code, color, and tab combinations are used on such records to indicate the name, occupation, sex, length of Party service, etc., of the members.

To join the Communist Party does not automatically mean life tenure. Memberships must be renewed every year or, in communist language, members are "re-registered." This represents another means of control. If a member is delinquent in dues or donations, he'll have to pay a penalty, perhaps contribute ten dollars, or be disciplined. These annual registration drives are important events in Party life. Each member is personally contacted. Clubs and sections compete for speed and per-

centage of successful registration. The drives usually start in October and often extend well past the December 31 deadline.

A member moves. His district organization will send details concerning him to his new area: name, Party history, whether dues are paid, along with any other remarks. A member may be given half of a dollar bill and the other half forwarded to the new district. When the member arrives, the halves are matched. Identity is thus established.

So it goes, a constant round of rushing, driving, pushing, paying, never time to stop. The member is regimented from life to death. His chief obligation: to follow instructions eagerly, energetically, obediently. He is a mere wisp of living matter, born, as a *Daily Worker* birth announcement proclaimed, "for swelling our ranks."

This complete absorption in the Party creates an exhilaration that warps judgment. One comrade became so wrought up over the supposed superiority of communist culture that he cited statistics that the Soviet soldier in World War II was an inch taller and had a chest one and a half inches larger than his Czarist counterpart!

Such fervor sounds laughable, but it is symptomatic of paranoiac behavior. To an individual like this, any communist achievement surpasses anything American. This bigoted communist fanaticism drives members to mortgage their homes, spend years in underground shelters, and betray their native land.

Even in death a member may become a pawn to enhance the Party. The passing of a prominent comrade invariably is the occasion for a "state funeral." The departed member is now a valuable showpiece and his passing is exploited to the fullest extent. On such occasions the deceased lies in state on the day of the funeral, with "mourners" passing the bier. A large, blown-up photograph of the deceased, draped in black, hangs at the rear of the stage. An honor guard of from two to four comrades stands at attention wearing red armbands.



There is seldom a religious quality to the music, eulogies, or the "mourners'" conduct. At the "state funeral" of Mother Ella Reeve Bloor in 1951 the "mourners" talked, laughed, and smoked.

The eulogies are numerous and recount the contributions made by the deceased to the Communist Party, to the advancement of socialism, and state how the Party can learn from the life of the departed. At Mother Bloor's funeral in New York City, for example, Pettis Perry, a member of the National Committee, said:

This is not farewell to you, Mother Bloor. We pledge to follow in your footsteps . . . We will build your Party and our Party and some day we will have a nation and a society built on the brotherhood of man . . .

At the funeral of Peter V. Cacchione, an elected member of the New York City Council, nineteen speakers delivered eulogies. Gilbert Green, then chairman of the Party in Illinois, speaking for the National Committee, observed that the deceased fell in the struggle as "a soldier in the cause of human freedom," and vowed that the remaining comrades would take "the banner from his hands."

After such services a cortege of automobiles laden with mourners journeys from the funeral hall to the cemetery. As Mother Bloor was lowered into her grave at Harleigh Cemetery in Camden, New Jersey, Walter Lowenfels, then the Philadelphia correspondent of the *Daily Worker*, read Walt Whitman's poem, "The Mystic Trumpeter."

At the Cacchione interment Henry Winston, a member of the National Committee, delivered these parting words, "We are confident, as you were, dear Pete, in ultimate victory . . . We will carry out your heritage."

Through it all runs the hope, not of life everlasting, but of communism everlasting—if the members can be stirred up to work harder.

## Chapter 12

### Making Communist Man

IN THE LAST CHAPTER we examined life in the Party—the constant hustle, collecting of dues, registration of members, holding of conferences, issuing of instructions.

These activities, however, have a meaning more sinister than just keeping the Party going, a meaning that we overlook at our peril. It is this: the Party is a vast workshop where the member is polished and shined, his impurities melted out, his loyalty to communism strengthened. He is made into *communist man*.

The revolution requires, as Lenin taught, that the fanatical believer be a man who, if so instructed, will give his life to the cause. He's the paid functionary we met in the last chapter, the agitator and propaganda agent we'll see in future pages. Without him communism would be just another "ism."

This type of man doesn't just grow; he must be created. To understand fully how this happens, we must now briefly examine the Party's educational, press, literature, and cultural programs, its chief weapons of indoctrination.

Suppose one joined the Party. How would these techniques of regimentation affect the new member? We can best consider this question under several headings.