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Communism in the
United States
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COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES



**A SURVEY
BY THE
N.C.W.C. DEPARTMENT
OF SOCIAL ACTION**

(With Study Outline)




November 15, 1937

Complimentary

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PART I

Communism in the United States

THIS report on Communism in the United States, requested by the 1936 meeting of the Bishops, results from studies made in their dioceses by order of the Bishops and from a general study made by the N.C.W.C. Social Action Department. The following dioceses responded to a questionnaire: Boston, Detroit, Dubuque, Los Angeles, New Orleans, New York, Portland (Oreg.), Santa Fe, St. Louis, San Francisco, Albany, Amarillo, Baker City, Belleville, Belmont Abbey, Bismarck, Boise, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Charleston, Corpus Christi, Dallas, Davenport, Duluth, Fargo, Fort Wayne, Galveston, Great Falls, Indianapolis, Monterey-Fresno, La Crosse, Lafayette, Leavenworth, Little Rock, Louisville, Nashville, Natchez, Ogdensburg, Pittsburgh, Portland (Me.), Raleigh, Richmond, St. Augustine, St. Cloud, Salt Lake City, San Diego, Seattle, Spokane, Springfield (Ill.), Toledo, Wheeling, Wichita, Wilmington.

The Communist Party is the American section of the Moscow Communist International Party. It is the strongest, ablest and most active organization seeking common ownership in the United States and seeking it through a revolution led by a cohesive party. There are other small groups of ex-party Trotskyists and followers of Lovestone, and even a small number in the Socialist Party who hold the Communist idea; a few Anarchists; a remnant of the old I.W.W.'s, seeking a communist revolution through labor unions, but active in only one reporting diocese of an east central state; and the doctrinaire and moribund Socialist Labor Party, holding a mixed I.W.W. and Communist position. Besides these are the dwindling Socialists divided mainly between reformism accompanied by a strong public ownership bias and full common ownership to be, however, voted into power; the more reformist League for Industrial Democracy; the Methodist Federation for Social Service and, a federation, the United Christian Council for Democracy, both of them non-revolutionary but collectivist; the less collectivist Church League for Industrial Democracy (Episcopalian); and perhaps more than a hundred thousand unattached people who vaguely hold that a very large amount of public ownership or even complete common ownership is a somewhat remote necessity, among whom some even consider revolution the sole possible method of attaining it. These

are not to be disregarded. Yet the Communist Party almost pre-empted the field of revolutionary Communism now.

FIRST PERIOD OF THE PARTY

The Party, having a paper following of some 50,000 East European immigrants when it was organized in 1919 by left-wing Socialists, soon dwindled and until the Depression stayed around 7,500 members. During that time it was strongly revolutionary, rigid in its ideology and methods and against all other organizations and movements. Yet even then it created several mass-organizations as tools of the party, e.g., the Young Communist League, International Labor Defense, the International Workers' Order and the Workers' International Relief. While the effect was slight, it was preparing a wider acceptance of its tenets, particularly among intellectuals. This situation obtained until the Depression began.

SECOND PERIOD

During the worst of the Depression and before 1935, idea and practice remained the same except that the Party emphasized agitational organization among the new unemployed and ex-soldiers and created temporary bodies to lead them. It continued to put revolution in the forefront, stay much by itself, and oppose all reforms proposed by others, e.g., the NRA. But it gained. It gained from 7,500 in 1930 to 9,000 in '31 to 14,000 in '32 to 18,000 in '33 to 26,000 in '34.

PRESENT PERIOD

Late in '34 and definitely in '35, under orders from Moscow it changed its face. The rise of Hitler in a country where a strong Party flourished, the delay of the "revolution," fear of suppression, and Russian foreign policy dictated the change. Now it wanted friends for the Party and friends for Russia. Little is said publicly of revolution. Reform is to the fore. The Party and the members seek to form or join all kinds of organization for agitation and reform and to do so wherever possible as Communists. The Party poses as American.

It has passed from 26,000 in '34 to 30,000 in '35 to 41,000 in '36 (minus an unknown leakage) and to a little over 40,000 in June '37.

BASIS OF MEMBERSHIP ESTIMATES

The figures are the Party's figures. They mean members only and not non-party Communists or near-Communists, Socialists, or "sympathizers," or remotely or proximately potential Communists. Acceptance of the figures seems safe. Inner Party articles and speeches confirm public statements. Comparable figures given for local members by both Bishops' reports and Party agree. The small Communist vote in '36—some 80,000—did not mean, therefore, many hidden Communists, but the vote of another ticket by supposed or real "sympathizers."

After claiming 40,000 members in June '37 in inner Party reports, Party spokesmen in August publicly claimed 55,000 and since then 50,000. The discrepancy seems due to a double-count of part of the members of the Young Communist League, which was being changed into a semi-United Front organization, since some Young Communist League members were already Party members. The Party is now campaigning to get 10,000 increase.

Whether 50,000 or the far more probable 40,000 is the number, neither the Depression nor the new Reformist and cooperating tactics has so far gained many actual members. The Party is temporarily static—but not as to activities. Indeed Party spokesmen ascribe the static total membership of the last year or so to such intense activity by the members that they overlooked recruitment. Apart from the effects of Russia's "purges," this seems to be true. If so, as in the past a growth in the future can be expected. There is evidence, however, both in inner Party reports and the Bishops' surveys that often unemployed Party members leave when they get a job. This might mean, if employment becomes general, a return of the Party to the earlier membership. However both the delay of prosperity and the propaganda militate against that.

LEAKAGE

Great leakage from the Party is affirmed by certain of the Bishops' reports and by Party officials. In about a two-year period (before '36) three had to be recruited in New York for every two in growth. Party clamors indicate a similar condition now. This fact means, however, that many have been influenced in the last eighteen years and particularly since 1930. Often it has

been Party discipline and the work it exacts and not a change of heart which has caused leakage. At any one time at least a fifth, it seems, are in arrears.

The intensely active members are thus probably around 25 or 30,000 or less. These are not only passing believers but fiery and sacrificing believers.

NOT A WORKER'S PARTY

The Party is not a working people's party but mostly one of intellectuals and white collar people. Manual labor is only one third, of whom by far the most are in small industries. Only 3 in 8 were union members in '36. Farmers are 1 in 27 members. One third are women. One half in '36 were unemployed—largely, therefore, unemployed professional and white collar people.

More than half in New York in '36 were foreign born. One industrial diocese in the Middle West reports three fourths foreign-born and one half non-citizens. However, the Party now claims that most of its members are native.

CONCENTRATION OF THE PARTY

Nearly one half of the members—some 19 or 20,000—are in one city, New York, and one state, California. Another 10,000 are scattered throughout upstate New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. One Middle Western industrial city of two million has in the Bishops' survey 1,200 members. Nearly all are in the East, the upper Middle West and on the Pacific Coast. Few are in the lower Middle West, or the Rockies, or the farming states, or the South, or the Southwestern border states, except in California and among a few Mexicans. The Party's statements and the Bishops' reports join in this. Many dioceses report practically no Communists. One Rocky Mountain State reports 100 members. A city of 600,000 in the lower Middle West reports in the Bishops' survey only from 60 to 100 members. Yet even in the South, as evidence of possible change, an all-Southern Conference of the Party was held in September, '37, which brought 133 delegates from every Southern state.

WORK DONE

The few active members do an amazing amount of work. Rigid training and stern discipline, a compact few acting under orders, a form of organization that lets the Party reach any type of member quickly, a policy of attacking evils boldly, the creation of closely dependent organizations and the cooperation with every organization possible, a continued advocacy of popular reforms at a time when so many are confused and reform and reconstruction so needed, a membership, sacrificing, fiery, unscrupulous and obedient, and a messianic theory, make of the Party a most dangerous weapon.

The story of Party activities will be developed under these headings: Party Organization; Dependent Organizations; United Front Organizations; Particular Groups; Religion; Unions, Politics and the Peace Movement; Publications, etc.; Cultural Activities; Methods of Propaganda; the Present Drive; Devoted Members; "Sympathizers;" and a consideration of Communist Reformism.

PARTY ORGANIZATION: NATIONAL

At the center, a general committee under a Chairman and Secretary, and an inside policy committee, dictate the Party's whole life in accord with orders from the Moscow central committee and offices. Moscow control is known by the fact that the Party policy has followed the Moscow changes in tactics (e.g., the new Reformist tactics) and by the expulsion once of even a majority of the Party Committee.

In turn, the American central committee controls equally rigidly local policy and officials. It expels or transfers officials at will.

At the center also are offices to care for different groups and different subjects: Propaganda, labor, women, foreign language groups, youth, Negroes, farmers, press, literature, war, imperialism and research.

The national organization is compact and dictatorial. It is also flexible and can reach each group in terms of its own interests, e.g., labor groups, Negroes, etc. It supplies the whole with a policy as to what to believe and what to do. It furnishes them with information to use.

National headquarters are in a building a short block below Union Square in New York, facing two streets with two addresses at 50 E. 13th and 35 E. 12th, just west of Broadway.

Among the chief party officials and spokesmen are William Z. Foster, Chairman; Earl Browder, Secretary; Alex Bittleman, member of Central Committee and probably editor of **The Communist**; Bob Minor, cartoonist and member of the Central Committee; Clarence Hathaway, editor of **The Daily Worker**; James W. Ford, Negro, former Vice-Presidential candidate and member of the Central Committee; Bill Dunne, feature writer on labor topics; Mike Gold, literary man, an editor of the **New Masses** and columnist; Charles Krumbein, expert on developing leaders; Alexander Trachtenberg; William Weinstone of the Michigan Party; Max Bedacht, head of the I.W.O. and member of the Central Committee; William K. Gebert, active with the I.W.O.; Pat Toohey, Pennsylvania organizer; William Schneiderman of the California Party; Louise Thompson, working among Negro women; Morris Childs of the Chicago Party and the Central Committee and an expert on agitation; Robert Dunn, statistician; Israel Amter, New York, organizer; Granville Hicks, literary critic; Joseph Freeman of **The Masses**; M. J. Olgin, editor of the **Jewish Daily** and pamphleteer in English; and Angelo Herndon, Negro leader.

LOCAL ORGANIZATION

State and local organization follow the national plan. An organizer, a director of agitation, and a literature agent appear the minimum number of officials. Other offices to direct education and to guide work among Negroes, working people, women, foreign language groups, etc., are added as possibilities arise. A committee is in charge.

Organized once by regions, it now tries to follow the voting lines, i.e., states, cities, assembly districts, wards, etc., although this organization is incomplete.

Below these are the important neighborhood units and work-place units, which comprise only a handful each. A new and perhaps temporary unit is by the industries they work in, including WPA work. Another important unit, called fraction, is by the group they belong to, e.g., labor or foreign language or student group, or the organization they have joined. Another division,

called concentration, is by type of extraordinary work ordered them to do.

Thus they have: Organization for voting and political agitation; organization by place of work and place of living to be reached easily with Party orders for either general or special work; organization by groups or by other organizations for the same purposes; secrecy; flexibility. At short notice the membership as a whole or any special group is reached with party orders for any general work or special work.

The smaller units meet in the homes of the members. Committees meet often in homes or in the local workers' book-shop or perhaps at a cigar store, saloon, restaurant or second-hand store. In the larger places halls, perhaps of some dependent organization, are used. In schools they meet at homes of students or even of professors.

The members act under orders—from selling newspapers to calling meetings, joining this or that organization, agitating in this or that group. Discipline is stern. Failure, individual or general, is met with criticism of an extreme sort. Expulsion even of officials is not infrequent.

PRESENT TYPE OF MEETING

Party meetings now, it is reported, consist chiefly of plans of work and discussion of tactics with the emphasis on showing the connection between working for reforms and revolution. This is done so as to get revolutionists to work for reforms and with reformers, once despised, to show them how, and to keep their revolutionary ardor strong and their theory consistent by relating reform to revolution. Members report on work they are doing and receive orders for new work. Everything is directed towards the new policy of both making friends and hastening the revolution through attacking evils and working for reform movements. The purpose is to stimulate discontent in every form so as to create a revolutionary situation.

RECRUITING

Recruiting formerly was done by arguing that reform is hopeless and only revolution worthwhile. Now it is done by arguing that reform has hope but will be fought and therefore

revolution is finally necessary in self-defense. Once new members came through meetings, personal contacts, Party literature, the Party's own mass organizations and agitational fights for or against particular things. These methods are still followed. On some Party literature, blanks are found to expedite requests for further information or application for membership. The emphasis, however, is now on proving the Party a friend of every oppressed group and reform movement or measure—the groups and measures being selected to fit inner Party policies on revolution or Russia. Revolution, however, is slurred over until the person joins.

SCHOOLS

Party schools are a means both of recruiting and of training after recruitment. According to the Bishops' surveys, such schools are widespread wherever Communism is even moderately strong. One large city diocese where there are many Communists reports 26. There are general "workers' schools" for all. Schools for Party members train them in theory and tactics. Schools for officials train them further and train them in leadership. There are schools for children both in winter and in summer camps. Continuous education both formal and by practice of tactics is central in the Party's work. Study club outlines and visual charts are provided.

THE ENVIRONMENT

The many evils furnish work for them to do. Some non-Communists, working for or against this or that, so need co-workers that they are welcoming, though watchfully, the new type of cooperating Communists. The old Liberalistic day is passing, many gladly think, and some, while accepting neither common ownership nor revolution, believe in a vaguely collectivized society or a large measure of public ownership and do not yet sharply distinguish between legislation for some public ownership and the Communist aim. Being often called Communists and hearing their ideas called Communist makes some of them vaguely sympathetic towards the Communist thesis. A long period of irreligious education and a growing conviction that religion, including the Catholic Church, is openly or secretly the tool of reaction help them. Many fear Fascism in America. Opposition to European Fascism is strong. The Fascist countries are now the aggressor countries.

And in the American vagueness about final systems and methods, mixed with a conviction that far-reaching change must come, the Party has a happy hunting-ground so long as it does not talk much about the final program. Communist insistence now that Communism is old-time Americanism subtly plays up to this sentiment. In this environment Communists since 1935 boldly go forth to make friends and defenders of the Party and of Russia among a large number of organizations and groups. One reporting diocese where there are relatively many Communists reports ten times the activity of ten years ago.

DEPENDENT ORGANIZATIONS

One group of organizations it works with have come down from the first periods, although even some of these are being changed. These are chiefly under Communist officials, but always under Communists' complete control.

Young Communist League. 15,000 members, two-fifths of whom are in New York. Formerly a youth duplicate of the Party. Branches in neighborhoods, shops, schools, etc. Changed in May 1937 to an organization welcoming all types of views. Forming general youth clubs in some places. It is still the chief guiding body for Communist work among youth, including students and workers. The Communist "youth-fraction" will soon be relied on most to control both it and youth-work generally. Wider organization of the Young Communist League to be watched for.

Young Pioneers. Boys and girls—8 to 15. Small. Conducts camps and training schools.

Friends of the Soviet Union. (Also American-Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union.) Propaganda about Russia. Small.

International Labor Defense. (I.L.D.) Legal and agitational defense of arrested Communists and selected other persons especially from minorities, e.g., Scottsboro boys. Creates also many special committees. Most who work with it locally are non-Communists. Even national offices are, it seems, now being entrusted to non-Communists, thus falling into the United Front group to a degree. Fluctuating membership.

International Workers Order. Very important. By far the strongest. 100,000 members or more. A fraternal insurance society chiefly among foreigners and some Negroes. Complete Communist control. Used for reformist tactics, to penetrate foreign groups and to control the insurance money and dues. Conducts Marxist schools from kindergarten age on. A youth section for training, athletics, drama, etc.

Labor Research Associates. An economic research bureau in New York to prepare books, pamphlets and periodicals.

These Dependent Organizations are direct agencies of the Party. The Bishops' surveys indicate that they do not exist everywhere but at the same time are quite widespread.

UNITED FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

United Front Organizations date from the present 1935 period under the policy of working with all other organizations and individuals possible. They are usually officered by a majority of non-Communists and a minority of Communists. Their membership is largely non-Communist. The programs consist of elementary agitation and direct answers to immediate issues. Leading Communists often appear on their platforms.

The following are clearly United Front Organizations in that there is formal cooperation with Communists:

American League Against War and Fascism. Chief United Front Organization. 8 to 9,000 active members, but reaching many persons. The officials are non-revolutionary or non-party believers in complete or almost complete common ownership to be obtained peacefully, along with a minority of known Communists. The chief non-Communist national officials, however, are busy people away from its New York headquarters who cannot guide it or are active in other organizations in New York. The November 1937 conference has as its program: For Loyalist Spain, China and "sanctions;" protection of unions and minorities; against war-preparations; against vigilantes and laws repressing labor. Nothing is said of common ownership or revolution. This year's convention has received support from many non-Communists, including the head of a conservative railroad labor union. Its work, the surveys indicate, is widespread. The membership is very largely non-Communist; one diocesan survey re-

ports more than 95 per cent non-Communist locally and Communists say 90 per cent are non-Communist nationally. In one place it is reported to be a paper organization calling meetings of protest when the Communist Party wishes to keep out.

North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. An offshoot of the American League but with different officers. An example of the common method of founding new temporary organizations for temporary purposes and getting new names on letterheads. Organized by Communist and non-Communist "radicals" who keep in the background. Nationally non-Communist in control. Much local support from the Party and the Dependent Organizations. Its following is largely non-Communist. It is this organization which has headed much of the Spanish propaganda among non-Communists. Closely working with it are the Leagues for Technical Defense and Medical Defense of Democracy.

Workers' Alliance. A close federation of the unemployed, particularly those on relief. Mixed Socialist and Communist national officials, but the Communist is reported as more able. Propagandizes for government care of the unemployed and represents them in difficulties. Memberships (on paper) 125,000. A recruiting ground for the Party. Unstable membership; the members are the unemployed, pay little, and when they get work leave. Widely organized but chiefly in the East and especially New York City. Local control varies but is usually Communist, Socialist or occasionally Trotskyist.

American Student Union. A mixed federation of Communist, Socialist and "liberal" student clubs. 20,000 members. Socialists now beginning to oppose it. A diocese where there are relatively many Communists reports an estimate that not one per cent of students are Communists. Promotes the student strike, or holiday, for peace, and student interest in social questions from a collectivist standpoint. Widely organized, the surveys indicate. Beginning in high schools. Young Communist League and Youth Fraction of the Party are its guide for the Communist element. Often very small, but active especially at annual student peace strike. Threatened with a Communist-Socialist split.

American Youth Congress. Started under anti-Communist auspices. Communists changed the policy. Mixed in control,

Communists are in minority. Agitates on youth issues, particularly a non-Communist but impossible reform bill for youth, the National Youth Act, which would care for unemployed young people. Used some to recruit. Holds annual and some regional meetings. Socialists now leaving it because of "reformist" leadership of Communists.

National Negro Congress. Agitates for Negro rights at periodical meetings. Non-Communist program. Convention in Philadelphia, October, 1937. Many churches and fraternal organizations are represented. Minority but strong Communist influence. Communist backing arouses sympathy among Negroes for Communism. Father Devine in New York has encouraged his followers to join the Party itself. Stronger among "intellectuals."

Writers' Congress and Artists' Congress. National and local loosely formed organizations emphasizing questions of technique, representation of the unemployed among them and the class-struggle idea in writing and art. Non-Communist in control but able Communist representation.

Organizations of Foreign-Born. Besides the I.W.O. and the language-bureaus of the national office and national "fractions," there are a few Peoples' Front groups and a Committee of Fraternal Organizations. Latter is headed by I. W. O. Local and national fractions in the Party create organizations for different nationalities among non-Communists. One diocesan survey reports that a city having 1,200 Communists has 10,000 members of these organizations. They have neutral names, e.g., Rumanian Educational Association, Polish Chamber of Labor, or simply Club, or Freiheit Society or Hungarian Workers Education Association, etc.

Besides these are the following: **Among Farmers.** Some relationships with Farm Holiday groups. Seems rather that of moral support. Also through "Third Parties" and among some farm-labor unions in South and California.

Among Teachers. The local of the Teachers' Union in New York is reportedly dominated by Communists and through it they influence the national body. A New York teachers' magazine, "Social Frontier," takes essentially the Communist position editorially.

The Bishops' surveys report a considerable scattering of university and college professors who work with the United Front Organizations and the International Labor Defense. They also report some true Communists among them. A scattering of professors write in the distinctly Communist organs and even edit one.

Among social workers. National Coordinating Committee of Social Service Employe Groups. Publishes "Social Work Today."

Civil Liberties Union. Non-Party radicals are in control but there is strong Communist representation. Opposition to bills, laws and arrests that violate an extreme conception of civil rights.

The Bishops' reports name numerous other organizations, some of which apparently are only locally "united front" or are only local organizations. The situation is complex. For example, the Socialist Party has refused a United Front but locally both it and the Young Peoples' Socialist League have entered into alliances with the Communist Party or its agencies. In fact, it is common talk that the Communist Party and Socialist Party "bore from within" each other. Many organizations are being "bored from within."

Some organizations termed United Front organizations are rather those into which Communists have penetrated to a degree without any knowledge of it on the part of the officials or other members. One diocesan survey reports it as being said that fallen-away Catholic Communists are even being urged to join Catholic organizations.

RELIGION

The Party publicly conceals its atheism when it can and allows persons who belong to a church to enter the Party, planning to make them atheists thereafter.

Its public policy is of two kinds. One, directed at all religion but particularly at the Catholic Church, tries to prove religion and the Churches are either reactionary or do nothing, and tries to split Church leaders from their followers. Evils and mistakes are magnified. The good is suppressed, misinterpreted or falsified. Every example of Bishops opposing any popular movement

is used to try to split the laity from the Bishops. The Spanish issue is being used much now. Editorials along this line are frequent recently in the *Daily Worker* and the *New Masses*, and instance a consistent effort to attack the Church and win Catholics. Three prominent personalities are fallen-away Catholics, but had fallen away before joining the Party—William Z. Foster, the chairman of the Party, and Bill Dunne and Louis F. Budenz, feature writers.

Another policy, directed more towards Protestant ministers, tries to get them to work with United Front organizations, particularly the American League against War and Fascism and the Spanish organizations; and to break their confidence in the present system without allowing them to erect any but a vaguely collectivist scheme in its stead and certainly not accept the Papal program on a new order. It has had some success in both respects. Communism and Fascism are held up as the sole possibilities and since Fascism is bad, Communism is argued by exclusion as good; for example, the Party's Secretary argued before a group at the Union Theological Seminary that Communism, while demanding atheism of revolutionaries themselves, forbids the State to oppress religion, while Nazi Germany oppresses religion.

One Bishop's survey reports a national Communist leader who lives in the diocese as placing most hope for the advance of the Party in breaking down Protestant confidence among ministers, intellectuals and students in the present system and in encouraging for a time vague collectivism. Spain, Germany and Italy are being used in the propaganda a great deal.

Fewer Rabbis are working with the United Front organizations partly because the Party wants to put on the guise of twentieth century Americanism and also because the Rabbis fear anti-Semitism and many oppose Russia's policy towards Jews and Zionism.

LABOR

Before 1935 the Party organized (unsuccessfully) its own unions through the Trade Union Unity League, although then, too, there was much fluctuating effort to bore from within the A.F.L. Under the new policy it told its party members to join the A.F.L. and created Labor Unity Councils to tide over the period. It retained its labor "fractions" in the Party. In

1936 it claimed 15,000 Communists in the A.F.L. The A.F.L. fought Communism but did not consistently fight Communists in the unions. Always backing industrial unionism and fighting the A.F.L. officials, the Party switched allegiance to the C.I.O. upon its formation, while still favoring C.I.O.-A.F.L. merger.

The C.I.O. in turn accepted Communist aid. It was itself non-Communist in full national leadership; many of its officials are Catholics; when not Catholics, the original organizers were normal labor leaders with the addition that they wanted some social legislation, while three prominent ones believed in a measure of, but not complete, public ownership and were formerly moderate Socialists.

The C.I.O., however, both knowingly and unknowingly, hired some Communists as organizers. Besides it at times found Communists in possession by having already organized local unions.

C.I.O. officials show as yet no inclination towards removing organizers who are under its direct control solely because of Communism. It is doing so where it can when they are trouble-makers and mere agitators.

Neither, however, is the A.F.L. removing local Communist officials, although it does not seem to have knowingly hired Communist organizers.

To what extent the Party has local officials in either the C.I.O. or A.F.L. is not known. Communists themselves claim some. Anti-labor writings likewise name a great many, but falsely. The Bishops' reports indicate widespread Communist activity in behalf of the C.I.O. and considerable local leadership. The Party itself qualifies this only by saying that some leaders are Communists of the Lovestone and Trotsky groups whom it fights. These latter are temporarily more dangerous because they are irresponsible trouble-makers. The Communists of the Party are urged to take lesser, hard-working positions and subtly leave the chief leadership to others and, while using the union and strikes as recruiting grounds and demonstrations of Party friendship, to be "good union members" now. The combination of a vanguard of revolution and peaceful unionist is being found difficult. C.I.O. officials claim that with exceptions they are far better unionists, so far, than revolutionists. That is something that can change.

Among local unions listed as under Communist control in the Bishops' reports are the waiters' union in a city which is otherwise relatively free of Communist influence and even a central labor council in another.

The C.I.O. has now grown from eight affiliated unions to 32. One of these, formerly an A.F.L. union, the Furriers, is dominated by Communists. One new union, it appears, but it is not certain, has Communists as its chief national officers in control. Reports, however, are conflicting. The Automobile Workers' Union is removing Communist organizers.

Through the system of shop units, labor fractions, language fractions and union and industrial fractions, the Party can solidify its forces back of any plan. A few cohesive persons with a plan and with zeal can for a time get their way. So far, however, Communists have in the main limited their work to trying to help the present campaign to organize and prove that the Party is the friend of labor.

If Communists can keep their desire for revolution separate for a while from their reformist tactics, they can be expected to grow in influence in C.I.O. unions and also, but less so, in A.F.L. unions.

POLITICS

Formerly against any party but its own the Party now favors a "Farmer-Labor" party with retention also of its Party. The Washington, Minnesota, and Wisconsin third parties or federations, created for control of existing parties, allow Communist membership but only by way of representation from non-Communist organizations. Some Communists are represented. In Washington ex-I.W.W.'s are represented. The New York State American Labor Party is more watchful and allows no members of other parties to hold office in it or be candidates. However, Communists are undoubtedly represented. The Communist Party now backs those candidates in any party who it thinks will favor labor the most and might favor a Third Party, in the hope of convincing working people that it and Russia are on their side and of helping a third party movement.

Five organized groups look forward to a new party: 1. The Wisconsin Progressive group which can probably draw in the

Minnesota, Washington, Iowa, etc., groups; 2. The ex-Socialists of the Social Democratic Federation who favor the New York Labor Party and are active in other states, particularly Pennsylvania. 3. The Communist Party. 4. In some places Labor's Non-Partisan League. 5. The "Common Sense" group.

In spite, for example, of the American Labor Party's veto on Communist officials and candidates, Communist influence can be expected to grow in the Third Party movement, if it sticks for a while to reformist tactics. A noteworthy sample of the tactics it advocates is that the Party proposes in inner Party literature a draft of purely reformist planks for such parties, such as a very small measure of public ownership, collective bargaining, living wage, social insurance, anti-monopolies, housing, democratic rights, Negro rights, a peace policy, etc.

PEACE

The Party conducts its propaganda on international affairs both directly and through the American League Against War and Fascism and the American Student Union. It is for international cooperation and sanctions and even for fighting Germany and Italy and now Japan, if needed, in defense of Russia. Russian foreign politics dictates its peace program. Many other of the peace groups are isolationist now and against trading with any belligerent. While the Party seems to have some members on local peace councils, it is not represented in the two chief national peace federations among adults, the National Peace Conference and the National Council for the Prevention of War. Through the American Student Union it is in the United Student Peace Committee which conducts the students' peace "strike." Anti-Fascism is the chief plank and the Party is not pacifist now.

PERIODICALS

To guide all this activity and propagandize the different groups, the Party publishes and inspires the publication of an unbelievably enormous number of books and pamphlets, original and translated, leaflets, study courses, magazines, newspapers (daily and weekly both in English and in foreign languages) and mimeographed bulletins and shop and neighborhood papers. Circulation is far beyond Party membership.

One reporting city near New York receives 3,000 **Daily Workers** and yet has few members. This paper on news-stands a considerable distance from New York sells for the New York price; local distribution is handled by Party officials and members.

One diocesan survey reports on sale in greater New York: 52 magazines and newspapers in 45 foreign languages and 178 in English.

The **Daily and Sunday Worker**, the **New Masses**, the **Communist** (monthly magazine on the Party's life), **Fight** (the organ of the American League Against War and Fascism) are the most widely seen. There are numerous magazines—for youth (**Champion of Youth**); for students (**The Student Advocate** of the American Student Union); for social workers (**Social Work Today** of the "United Front" National Coordinating Committee of Social Service Employe Groups); for women (**Woman Today**); for Negroes (**The Negro Worker**); for rural workers (**Rural Worker**); for farmers (**Farm Holiday News** of the Farmers National Holiday Association); on China (**The Voice of China and China Today**); on Russia (**Soviet Russia Today**, **U.S.S.R. in Construction**, **Sovietland**); on literature and the arts (**International Literature**; **Art Front**; **Theatre Workshop**; **Film Survey**; **Photo-History**; **American Arts**; **Left Review**, most of which are organs of special groups); on Marxian theory (**Science and Society** and the **Marxian Review**); on health and sex education (**Health and Hygiene**). Among other important publications are **The Communist International**; **International Press Correspondence** (**Inprecorr**); **Economic Notes**; **The Southern Worker**; **Western Worker**; **The Moscow Daily News**; **Moscow News** (weekly). The Party conducts 9 foreign language dailies and some 20 weekly and bi-weekly papers.

Besides these there is a host of small often mimeographed periodicals of local neighborhood, school, shop, sports and WPA units, and numerous foreign language periodicals.

One diocesan survey reports that the first part of every meeting is given over to the sale of publications.

The aim is to have general papers and magazines and special magazines for special groups and on special subjects so as to knit indeed the whole group together but leave hardly a group or

interest untouched by Communist training in terms of their own special interest and ability. Some are for Party members, e.g., **Party Organizer**. Many are for the United Front groups. Others seem begun by volunteer groups, e.g., those interested in the theatre, and start apart from the Party as such or any formal organization in response to an individual or group zeal to apply the Lenin-Marxian theory to a particular phase of life. This is encouraged. The zeal and flexibility in fact are amazing.

It should be added that in accord with the new policy, the Communist theory of revolution appears little in popular party literature. Instead, present evils and reformist remedies take the leading place. There is, however, much literature on the full theory.

PUBLISHERS AND BOOK STORES

Publishers—Bookniga Corporation (for Russian imports); International Publishers (for books and pamphlets); and the Workers' Library Publishers (for pamphlets), all in New York. The Workers' Library catalogue, which includes publications of other houses, lists 50 closely printed pages of books, pamphlets and periodicals under these headings: seven pages on the United States; one on historical struggles; four on Imperialism and colonies; two on Fascism; one on the United Front; one against Trotskyism; nine on Russia; four on the Party; eight on Marxism-Leninism; two on political economy; one on religion; three on biography; one of current journalism; six on art and literature; one on science and psychology; two of children's books (twenty items); and a page of pamphlets in Italian and Spanish. Twenty-four periodicals are listed.

Party pamphlets advertise these book stores: Three in New York, Chicago and San Francisco each; two in Los Angeles; and one each in Boston, Cambridge, Providence, and New Haven, in Paterson, Newark, Philadelphia, Camden, Reading, Baltimore, Washington and Richmond, in Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Akron, Youngstown, Cincinnati and Toledo, in Detroit, Grand Rapids, Milwaukee, Madison, Racine, Des Moines, in Minneapolis, Duluth and Superior, in New Orleans and St. Louis, in Denver, Butte and Salt Lake and seventeen altogether in the Pacific Coast States. There are, however, still others. These are all centers of distribution for Communist books, pamphlets and periodicals.

Many serve as local committee headquarters and for support of party officials.

One diocesan report states that there was a distribution in 1935 of close to two million and a half books and pamphlets; that 150 new pamphlets were published in 1936, and 70 so far in '37, with others in press.

Radio

Election campaigns in the new reformist tactics are used to introduce the Party to radio listeners. In the recent New York mayoralty campaign some 50 radio talks were given, usually, however, at small stations.

Forums

Many of the Bishops' reports state that Communist speakers at Forums are increasing greatly. They show signs of greater increase this year.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Writers and Artists. The Party has lost some of the following it had once among prominent writers and artists. There are, however, probably more now who follow its inner thesis of common ownership and revolution than before, some of whom do not work with the Party and are Trotskyists, or rebel at party discipline, or do not like the emphasis on reform. A number of new writers have enlisted with the Party. There are novelists, poets, playwrights, literary critics, painters, cartoonists and sculptors. A very large amount of what is called "proletarian" literature is issued not only by the two Communist publishers but by other publishing houses, even to the extent of attaining anthologies. **The New Masses** has conducted contests for prize "Proletarian Novels." Prizes for young writers are frequently given in Party units and the Young Communist League.

The idea of an imminent social change and a rise of the working people appeals to many writers and artists and gives direction to their talents. It takes among them different forms ranging from the relatively correct to the Communist thesis that revolution and common ownership is the method to follow in social change and the redemption of the proletariat. Plays written by this group appear frequently in the professional theatre and in some Federal Theatre projects.

The following list of writers includes other than Communists and is rather indicative than conclusive:

Eastman (critic), Farrell (novelist and critic), Dos Passos (novelist), Gold (critic and writer of sketches), Hicks (critic), Schneider (poet), Fielding Burke (novelist), Halper (novelist), Rukeyser (poet), Harrison (novelist), Odets (playwright), Caldwell (novelist), Cowley (critic), Frank (novelist), Hughes (poet), MacLeish (poet), McKay (poet), Sheehan (novelist), Mumford (critic and writer on architecture), Conroy (poet and novelist), Ralph Bates (novelist), Theodore Dreiser (novelist).

Theatre. Propaganda through the theatre has advanced greatly. The National Theatre League heads up this work and acts through New Theatre Leagues locally. Attached to it are the (United Front) National Theatre Conference (advisory and service) and the Theatre Alliance, for production. It supplies plays, conducts contests, has a Service Bureau, conducts a Theatre School, publishes **Theatre Workshop**, has organized an anti-censorship body, conducts a National Theatre week, seeks to secure audiences for selected plays, provides dramatics for organizations and sends a troupe on the road.

Movies. Propaganda through movies has been conducted all along by the Party. The Bishops' reports indicate considerable use of films in many places. Russian pictures long were featured. Now those on Spain and China take first place. Usually Little Theatres in the larger cities show them. The chief distributing house for Russian films is Amkino. The Garrison Film Distributors, Inc., 729 7th Avenue, New York City, distributes Communist films. Use of films is growing.

One diocesan report went into this matter quite fully. In 1936 Russian films were shown in 152 theatres to an audience of 92,000. In 1937, twenty new pictures were released.

Besides the Garrison distributing agency there are: Frontier Films, producers; Nykino to produce news reels and features; the Workers' Film and Photo League, which produces and is also an organization to get amateurs to take pictures for meetings, etc., and to guide work among other groups; New Film Alliance to represent audiences and propaganda regarding films and the movie industry; and the closely allied and seemingly dependent

Associated Film Audiences, officered by non-Communists for the same purpose. The new 16 mm. film which permits easy private showing of uncensored films, produced cheaply, is used and promoted for both private and public showings.

Music. The New Singers in New York, affiliated with the Downtown Music School, and the American Music League (publishers) seem the chief agencies.

The Dance. The New Dance League, a federation of seven dance groups chiefly in New York, held in 1936 a National Dance Congress, has an employment service, conducts recitals, and conducts a school in the theory and technique of the dance as a means of propoganda for Communism.

Athletics. For a time an earlier emphasis on sports was allowed to subside. Now the Party is advocating trade union leagues and has active sports' "fractions" to encourage Communist leadership or influence through athletics.

METHODS OF PROPAGANDA

The chief methods of propoganda appear in the course of the presentation above. Noteworthy in addition are: Distribution of *The Daily Worker*, with even special local inserts, during strikes; help in picketing; sending free subscriptions of a paper to selected persons; dramatizing enemies of the Party or special issues by picketing embassies, consulates, etc.; May Day parades and celebrations; anti-War and Fascism parades (August 1st); pageants (e.g., the November 13th New York pageant in Madison Square Garden to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the Russian revolution); dances; defense of Tom Mooney; celebration of Sacco-Vanzetti and Haymarket anniversaries; tours to Russia, etc. Ingenuity of a remarkable sort is shown.

CURRENT CAMPAIGN FOR FUNDS AND MEMBERS

The Party is now trying to collect \$500,000, to extend the Party membership by 10,000 and to start new daily newspapers in Chicago and San Francisco. \$240,000 is to be raised in New York State and of this, \$227,500 in New York City and adjacent counties. The chief methods of collection are to get every member and every "sympathizer" to give a dime a day by inserting it

in flaps in a card and to buy "stamps." Tag days are held. The new papers are, in the plan, to be published January first. In the announcement, the Party claims a million sympathizers, half of whom it expects to contribute. Of the New York \$240,000, the Party will get \$65,000; the New York **Daily and Sunday Worker**, \$90,000; training schools in New York, \$45,000; for Negroes, \$10,000; election campaign, \$30,000. The Middle West is to raise \$80,000 for the Chicago daily and the Pacific Coast is to raise \$35,000 to change the semi-weekly **Western Worker** (San Francisco) into a daily.

The money campaign at this date is lagging and has been extended till late January. It is lagging farthest in the Middle West. However, by November 1st, 8,000 new members were claimed.

THE DEVOTED MEMBERS

The Party does not deny its revolutionary theory or its intense discipline or its atheism but many now understand none of these until they are members. It is often said that persons go through a period of observation and trial before admittance. This is at times true. However, others enter quickly and easily. In the present drive, emphasis is laid upon mass membership. Upon admission the effort is made to train them in the theory and tactics of the Party both by intellectual preparation and actual practice. Many cannot stand up under the work. Many rebel at the theory. Those who remain are consecrated. It is these who do the Party work.

Once they become this type of member they accept thoroughly the notion of a disciplined Party that commands its members in their minds and their actions to think and do whatever they are commanded. They accept the idea of an irrepressible conflict between owners and non-owning workers that can end only when private ownership ends, of an irrepressible conflict between private ownership and mass production, of an inevitable collapse of economic life and the messianic role of the Communist Party to prepare people for the collapse and the revolution, to take dictatorship and direct the growth towards a new classless world of brothers. Not until then, do they necessarily become atheists and even then often hide it.

Regarding them the Party seeks to keep on file all kinds of relevant information so they can be harnessed to do whatever work they can best do. Their contacts, present or possible, with different groups and organizations, and their talents and special interests are the points most of interest to the Party. Their attitude towards Trotskyism is under continuous surveillance. The French Communist Party is reported to have on file information of all sorts on their members in relation to their use in actual revolution. Here it appears rather that their use in propaganda is the chief point.

Application for membership, besides endorsement from two members who state how long they have known the applicant, must give information on: whether married, occupation, whether employed or not, place of employment, number employed there, union affiliations, fraternal or other affiliations and whether an officer, former political affiliations, whether formerly a Communist, sex, Negro or white, country of birth, whether citizen or not, and race or nationality.

NUMBER OF SYMPATHIZERS

How many sympathizers has the Party? The secretary of the Party has said that the top vote for a candidate in New York in the 1936 election was the "irreducible minimum" of the Party members and "sympathizers." If the same ratio of members to votes continues nationally, an "irreducible minimum" of around 160 to 170,000 members and "sympathizers" exists. This would mean from 120 to 130,000 "sympathizers." However the personal following of the leading vote-getter in New York must be considered. Moreover there is the degree of sympathy and its permanence to consider. In the present campaign of the Party for funds, as was said, the Party claimed a million "sympathizers" of whom half would contribute. This drive, however, is going slowly. In inner-Party reports, "tens of thousands" are held to be waiting for recruitment now.

To give accurate figures of those enrolled in the Dependent and United Front organizations is impossible because the numbers are estimates, membership fluctuates, and duplicate or treble membership is great. Many, especially in the United Front organizations, have no special sympathy for Communism

itself. They are in these organizations for other reasons and often are in them only temporarily. Yet the number of persons who have fallen under its influence or help it in its plans is very large even if the influence is exerted only to get them to fight for or against particular evils or assumed evils. For example, a number of New York unions are helping in the present drive for money for the **Daily Worker**. One diocese reports that a certain United Front organization is created, gets a following, the following leaves, a handful are made members of the Party and then another is begun. Another diocesan report estimates a total enrollment in the Dependent and United Front organizations in that state of 16 times the Party's figures for its own membership.

The anti-Fascism campaign is popular. So, too, is the feeling against Japan. So is the drive to organize labor. So is social legislation. So, too, is the idea of some great change in economic and social life in which the working people will have a happier day and a higher status. So, too, is the idea of an organized society as distinct from the older individualist competition. The Party in its reformist vein appeals to all these strains in the popular mind. The danger and the Party's problem and opportunity are identical. It is the possible change of these persons into definite believers that common ownership through revolution led by a disciplined Party is the inevitable future and sole hope.

Some have already become convinced of this but do not accept the Party either because of its discipline or its reformism. Among these are to be found some able writers. **The New Republic**, for example, holds this position. But convinced Communists outside the Party are very few. Where the greatest danger, therefore, lies is in the Communist aim to obtain leadership and influence enough so its compact membership can control every reform movement in the United States. That is the idea of the United Front.

REVOLUTION THROUGH REFORMISM

This Communist attitude towards the United Front and reforms needs analysis. While fighting for reforms is used to make

friends for the Party and Russia and to train the members both in Communist theory and how to lead the masses, two other elements need consideration.

One is that the Party looks forward to such opposition to the reforms as will convince the working people revolution is necessary. This is implied and dramatized in the anti-Fascist fight. The Party, sometimes even now in this period, deliberately, it seems, asks for the impossible so as to argue better that revolution is necessary.

A second important fact is that the Party deliberately asks only for those reforms which will not do enough good and tries to limit them and fashion them so they cannot grow, as Pius XI's Encyclical contemplates their growing, into a new and just social order. It does so both to keep the Party the sole agency to look to for final cure and to prevent private ownership from being incorporated in a just system. This policy it follows particularly in the unions and the political parties.

The policy as to unions is a touch-stone. Communists want unions that only fight even if they do so only periodically. It wants a battling collective-bargaining union. It does not want either the A.F.L. or C.I.O. type of cooperating union-leader and union. It does not want the unions to lift labor to a status of "partnership" with employers inside private ownership—the Encyclical program. Put in the words of *Quadragesimo Anno*, it does not want to see "class war . . . changing to an honest discussion of differences based upon the desire for social justice" which if "by no means the blessed social peace which we all long for can be and must be an approach towards the mutual cooperation of vocational groups," i.e., the democratic self-governing organization of the industries and professions for social justice. This policy of the Party both prevents the full establishment of justice and keeps owners and non-owners apart fighting. The Party follows a corresponding policy on legislation.

Even if the Party never gets many members in normal times or itself does much directly to foment revolution, this indirect and subtle prevention of peaceful growth into a new order will itself provoke unemployment, social crisis and threats of

revolution. Then great numbers can be expected to look to revolution and common ownership as the sole cure.

That more than anything else makes the Party so dangerous in a period of an expanding union and legislative movement. It is cumulatively dangerous year by year as time goes on if the Communist type of "reformist" policy succeeds. It makes Party members dangerous to unions even as members and more so as officials, dangerous to third party movements, dangerous to the defense of civil rights and democracy, dangerous to the whole drive for economic and social change. Deliberately the Party is now trying to penetrate every such organization and group. Since Catholics are mostly working people, the Church on this ground, also, is interested.

N. B.—For a study of Communism as a philosophy and economic system the reader is referred to the Encyclical of His Holiness, Pope Pius XI, on "Atheistic Communism."

PART II

Suggestions Towards a Program of Action

This bare recital seems to call for the development by the Church in the United States of a far-reaching program, particularly in every diocese where there is any considerable number of working people. The detrimental influence upon great numbers of people that the Communist Party exercises through organizations which are themselves simply reformist, gives the most important clue for our action. It is not that there should be any lessening of direct attacks on Communism or direct exposition of its evils. On the contrary. But the facts seem to show that the issue will be decided on whether or not an economic and legislative program can be put into effect which will be peaceful and which will progressively build the social order that the Encyclicals advocate.

If the facts of economic life did not prove that the battle is to be waged in this field, Communist seizure of reform and reformist organizations so as to twist something good into an agency of revolution would of itself indicate the battle-lines. The experience of other countries confirms this central danger, e.g., the coming of the revolution in Russia and in Spain; the situation in France and in Italy and Germany. The tragedy into which the economic world long since fell may easily result in tragedy still graver. The problem is how to strengthen and guide the whole reform program towards a sound new social order and keep it from Communist hands and Communist plans.

The guide is Pius XI's Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*. The chief aims can be stated briefly:

1. Develop strong labor unions and employers' associations not only for collective bargaining but for their joint guidance of all industry so as to obtain the standards of the Encyclical on income, prices, work, and ownership; and do the same for farming and the professions (that is, develop the vocational group system of the Encyclicals).

2. Pass laws for the regulation of unfair competition and monopoly; for the protection of labor and for some public ownership; but at every opportunity have the laws throw the power of self-government upon democratically organized industries and professions so they will grow and develop.

3. Cooperate in international economic life in the same manner and spirit.

The aim is a new cooperating society, at home and abroad, obtaining peace and plenty for all.

Yet the Church is neither an economic organization nor a civil government. The Church is a moral teacher and channel of grace. Thus by its own nature its work is to train Catholics, and as many others as will listen, in the moral laws of economic governmental life; inspire them to act; and give Catholics the spiritual helps they need. These then will create the new society.

That does not at all mean that Bishops, priests and Catholic organizations should not go beyond the generalities of the moral laws—certainly not as to the veto of wrong doctrine, practices and policies. Prudently but boldly they will be able to advocate particular positive steps. The primacy of the moral laws that are involved has to be made clear and the distinction drawn between principle and application, between religion and morals on the one hand, and social science on the other.

The problem therefore is how to put the Church in the United States in a position to exercise to the fullest its function of moral teacher and channel of grace for the construction of a social and governmental order which will be dedicated to justice and to the social justice of the common good and be animated by charity in God and Christ. The whole life of the Church is itself the climate of such reconstruction.

Here something further is recommended. The guiding quotations are from the encyclical (pp. 7-11) where Pius XI gives praise to the work of priests in social education, legislation and organization; also this quotation: "Undoubtedly the first and immediate apostles of the workingmen must themselves be workingmen, while the apostles of the industrial and commercial world should themselves be employers and merchants. It is your chief duty, Venerable Brethren, and that of your clergy, to seek diligently, to select prudently, and train fittingly these lay apostles, amongst workingmen and amongst employers." (p. 46.)

The following suggestions are simple and concrete: Appointment by the Bishops in every diocese of a committee of priests, who by careful preparation can do these things:

Be at hand to inform and advise with the Bishop on facts, movements, organizations and persons.

Assist other priests, local Catholic papers, schools and retreats as authorized by the Bishop.

Lead under his guidance a program of education in Catholic social teaching among the laity and in the community generally through study clubs, forums, personal contacts, etc.

The reason for a committee is that the complexity of events and the field to be covered require the counsel of several.

For preparation and further help the Schools of Social Action for the Clergy inaugurated in the summer of 1937 should be extended. Some priests, too, should be sent to the new School of Social Sciences at the Catholic University for prolonged study.

For further help and closer relationships, it is recommended that these committees be called Social Action Committees and be affiliated in some fashion with the N. C. W. C. Social Action Department, the details of such affiliation and a general program of principles and procedure to be worked out by the Episcopal Chairman of that Department subject to approval of the N. C. W. C. Administrative Committee.

These committees of priests will and should draw about them groups of laymen and laywomen consecrated to Catholic social teaching and action and especially equipped for the task. They are needed to help other laymen and women. It is recommended that these lay groups be formed into locals of the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems for coordinated and wiser action.

It is recommended as a logical corollary, that the priests' committee and the local lay group work closely with the Diocesan Councils of Catholic Men and Women, youth groups, etc., so as to penetrate the whole Catholic body. The chief aim in all the work with the laity is to train soldiers of Christ who in their work, their unions, employers' organizations, farmers' associations, professional bodies, as also in their life as citizens, will be "apostles," as Pius XI terms them.

Pius XI in his *Quadragesimo Anno* solemnly says: "No stone must be left unturned. . . . Towards this one aim must tend all our effort and endeavor supported by assiduous and fervent prayers to God. For with the assistance of Divine Grace, the destiny of the human family lies in our hands." (p. 47).

STUDY OUTLINE

(Page references are to the text as set forth in the preceding pages)

PART I

I. The Communist Party. Inception, Growth, Present Policy, Membership (3-7).

1. American Section, Moscow Communist International. Strongest organization seeking common ownership in U. S. through revolution.
2. *First Period* (1919—Depression). Organized by leftwing Socialists. Dwindled from 50,000 to 7,500. Revolutionary, rigid, isolationist; but several organizations created as tools.
Second Period (Depression—1935). Same, plus agitational organization among unemployed and ex-soldiers. Membership gain.
3. *Present Period*. Change in policy on orders from Moscow. Reform and cooperation with other organizations, not revolution, stressed in "United Front." Growth to 40,000 in June '37.
4. *Membership*. Figures mean members only. Present campaign for 10,000 increase. Intensely active membership. Growth anticipated. *Leakage*. Always at least a fifth. Due often to discipline. A great many influenced. Intensely active members, 25,000. *Not a Workers' Party*. Largely intellectual and white-collar. One-half unemployed in '36. Largely foreign-born. *Concentration*. Nearly half in New York City and California. Mostly in East, upper Middle West and Pacific Coast. Evidence of possible geographical expansion.
5. *Work Done*. Amazing activity. Training, discipline, obedience of members, form of organization, dependent organizations and cooperation with others and advocacy of popular reforms make Party dangerous.

II. Party Organization (7-11).

1. *National*. A general central committee and inside policy committee dictate Party in accord with Moscow orders. Officers to care for different groups and subjects. Compact, dictatorial, flexible. Names and addresses.
2. *Local*. Follows national plan. Organized by voting lines; neighborhood and work-place units; industrial units; fractions; concentrations. Secrecy, flexibility.
3. *Present type of meeting*. Work plans; tactics; report on present work; orders for new work. New policy: friend making, hastening revolution, working for reform movements.
4. *Recruiting*. Done through trying to prove Party friend of oppressed and of selected reform movements; meetings, personal contacts, Party literature, mass organizations, etc. (Revolution stressed after joining.)
5. *Schools*. Means of recruiting and training. Widespread. For "workers"; for members; for officials; for children. Continuous education central point.
6. *Environment*. Many evils promote growing. Also some non-Communist reformers welcome Communist cooperation; irreligious education; growing conviction religion is tool of reaction; Fascism; American conviction of necessary change.

III. Other Organizations.

1. *Dependent Organizations (11-12)*. Chiefly under Communist officials, but always under Communist control. Widespread.

a. Young Communist League; b. Young Pioneers; c. Friends of the Soviet Union; d. International Labor Defense; e. International Workers' Order.

2. United Front Organizations (12-15). Date from 1935 period. Largely non-Communist membership, with a minority of Communist officers. Elementary agitation; immediate issues.

a. American League Against War and Fascism; b. North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; c. Workers' Alliance; d. American Student Union; e. American Youth Congress; f. National Negro Congress; g. Writers Congress and Artists Congress; h. Organizations of Foreign-Born; i. Among Farmers; j. Among Teachers; k. Among Social Workers; l. Civil Liberties Union.

Other organizations locally "united front." Some U. F. organization, Communists have penetrated without knowledge of officials or other members.

IV. Religion (15-16).

1. Atheism publicly concealed where possible. Church members may now enter Party. Conversion to atheism envisaged afterwards.
2. Public Policy; (a) Tries to prove Churches reactionary. Mistakes magnified. Good suppressed; (b) Get Protestant ministers to work with U. F. groups; to break confidence in present system substituting vaguely collectivist scheme.

V. Labor (16-18).

New policy of joining. Attitude toward C. I. O. and A. F. of L. Attitude of unions towards Communism. Communist tactics in labor unions. Expected growth in influence in C. I. O. unions under present tactics.

VI. Politics and the Peace Movement (18-19).

1. Favors "Farmer-Labor Party" with retention of Communist Party. Some state third parties have Communist membership as representation from non-Communist organization. Communists back any candidate they think will favor labor and a Third Party. Purpose to win the working people. Four other organized groups favoring third party. Communist influence expected to grow in this movement under present tactics.
2. *Peace*. International propaganda through American League against War and Fascism and the American Student Union. Russian foreign politics dictates peace program. Anti-Fascism is chief plank; not now pacifist.

VII. Periodicals, Publishers and Book Stores (19-22).

1. *Periodicals*. To guide activity and propagandize different groups, Party publishes and inspires publication of enormous literature in English and foreign languages.
The *Daily* and *Sunday Worker*, *New Masses*, *Communist*, *Fight* most widely seen. Other magazines for different groups and on all conceivable subjects. All interests touched; but general magazines to knit group together. Present evils, not revolution, emphasized in popular literature.
2. *Publishers and Book Stores*. Bookniga Corporation; International Publishers; Workers' Library Publishers. Sixty-one book stores advertised. There are others. Tremendous yearly production and distribution of books and pamphlets.

VIII. Cultural Activities and Other Methods of Propaganda (22-24).

1. Radio; 2. Forums; 3. Writers and Artists; 4. Theatre; 5. Movies; 6.

Music; 7. Dance; 8. Athletics; 9. Other methods: Distribution of literature during strike; dramatizing persons and issues; parades; pageants; dances; tours to Russia, etc., etc.

IX. Current Campaign; Devoted Members; Sympathizers (24-27).

1. Current campaign to get \$500,000 to extend membership by 10,000 and start daily newspapers in Chicago and San Francisco. Money campaign lagging. Gain in membership.
2. *Members.* Present emphasis upon mass membership. After admission, those who accept theory, tactics and work, stay and are consecrated for Party work. Must accept ideas of disciplined Party; irrepressible conflict between capital and labor; collapse and revolution toward classlessness led by Communist Party; atheist. Files on all members.
3. *Sympathizers.* Very large number have been influenced through; United Front organizations; anti-Fascism drive; propaganda against Japan; drive to organize labor; social legislation; idea of rise of working people and an organized society. Greatest danger in Communism aim to control every reform movement.

X. Revolution Through Reformism (27-29).

1. Communist attitude toward United Front and reforms: Making of friends and training in Communist theory and leadership; expectation of opposition to reforms so workers will look to revolution; deliberately seeks only inadequate reforms for this reason.
2. Prevention of peaceful growth into new order of Catholic social teaching makes Party cumulatively dangerous to whole drive for just economic and social change.

PART II

XI. Suggestions Towards a Program of Action (30-32).

1. Problem: to strengthen and guide reform program toward sound new social order free from Communist hands.
2. The Guides: The Encyclicals. The Aim: A new cooperating society, obtaining peace and plenty for all.
3. Church's function: Moral teacher and channel of grace. Problem: To put Church into position to exercise to fullest its function for construction of social and governmental order of justice and charity.
4. Formation under auspices of local diocesan newspaper or other authorized agency of Social Action committees of priests to lead, under the Bishop, program of education in Catholic social teaching.
5. Formation of lay groups around these committees consecrated to and equipped in Catholic social teaching and action, to be affiliated with Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems.
6. Working of committees and lay groups with diocesan councils of N. C. C. W. and N. C. C. M., youth groups, etc., so as to penetrate whole Catholic body. The chief aim is to train laity to put into effect whole program of the Encyclicals.

Note: An extensive bibliography of writings on Communism other than those published by the N. C. W. C. is available at headquarters. Price, 5c.

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THE STAR OF DAVID

By David Goldstein

SYMBOLS are things that speak to us in language we can never fully comprehend. The thought of the vitalizing influence of them has come to me like an illumination, especially while contemplating the Star and the Cross. It is good to "hitch your wagon to a star," though it should be the Star of Bethlehem, for it leads to the Cross that elevates man to a moral height that the transcendentalistic star of Emersonianism never could attain.

The Star is the symbol of Judaism; the Cross, the symbol of Christianity. One represents the coming of the Messiah; the other, the price paid in atonement for the sins of the world by the Son of David.

The star also typifies the astronomical sign of the place in which Christ was born, the sign that led the kings to the birthplace of the King of Kings. It is therefore most fitting for Christians to use it during Christmas time to announce to the world that the "Bright Morning Star" has come, for Jesus Christ is the True Star who fills the world with His brightness.

The star typifies the House of David from which the Messiah was to come. Jews call it the *Magen David* (Shield of David). It is a six-pointed star. Some ancients held that it represents the signature of King David, as "the three letters—Daled, Waw, Daled—by extension compose a double triangle." The *New Merriam Dictionary* calls it Solomon's seal and defines it as "a mystic symbol consisting of two interlaced triangles forming a star with six points, often one triangle dark and one light, symbolic of the union of soul and body."

The six-pointed star is as certain to be found on synagogues as the cross is to be found on Catholic churches. Being of Hebraic stock, the symbolism of Judaism being part of my nature, though God has interwoven it in me with the Cross, I may be permitted to say that the use in our churches of any but the six-pointed star has offended me during my whole life as a Christian, especially during Christmas time.

The five-pointed "star," generally used in our churches, is declared by heraldry not to be a star: it is called a mullet. The star of heraldry is a six-pointed star. Long before I was blest with an appreciation and love of the Cross, the Star made up of two triangles was to me like Jacob's ladder—one triangle representing ascending prayer to God, the other triangle the blessing coming down from the throne of God.

The symbolic Star of Judaism is as rightly the religious property of the Church which the Son of David established, as is the Old Testament in which Balaam foretold the coming of the Star of Jacob at the time when the sceptre, the regal power and sovereignty of Judaism, shall be broken. It is the property of the Church, though not to the exclusion of Jews. By recognition of the fact that the sceptre of their nation has been broken, that the Star has already appeared in all its brightness and glory, the lost sheep of the House of Israel may once more be chosen children of God, members, shareholders, in the Spiritual Kingdom that the Son of David, born under the Star of David,



brought into existence to take the place of their destroyed and never-to-be-rebuilt temple.

The universal use of the six-pointed star by Catholics would be a symbolic appeal to Jews. It would say that we are one with them in honoring the House of David. When used with the cross it would be a reminder that the star is an historic star, that it cannot be rightly used to express the hope of the birth of the Messiah in the House of David, as He has already been born therein. Besides, there is no House of David in existence today in which a Messiah could be born.

My hope is that the Star intertwined with the Cross will some day be used in our churches as a symbolic appeal to Jews. It would be an appeal to Jews to come into the Church of their Messiah and share in the inheritance of the Faith which their highly honored fathers foretold would be given unto them if they understood, accepted and lived up to the things foretold. They—the Star and Cross—are a reminder that the arms of the Son of David whom the sins of the Sanhedrin and its misled followers had nailed to the tree, are outstretched for His kith and kin.

An added reason has lately been given for using the double triangle with its six points for our Jewish-Christian star. It is the use of the mullet, with its five points, as the "star" of the enemy of the Messiah whom the Star and Cross symbolize. Article 143 of the New Constitution of Soviet Russia declares

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Communism Versus the Church

By HILAIRE BELLOC
Condensed from *The Voice*

IN its early stages, the strength of communism could be represented as being five per cent, compared to ninety-five for Catholicism at that time. After the Russian Revolution, communism advanced to fifteen per cent, while the Church lost ten. Today, communism can be represented with a strength of say thirty-five per cent, compared to our fifty per cent, with a balance in between. . . .

The only real opponent communism faces is the Catholic Church. This is not because communism is dealing with a sect; the Church is not that. Nor is the Church one among many religions. Rather it is the one and only true religion. It is the only spiritual force on earth which guarantees a reasonable amount of temporal happiness. Within her fold man finds himself; without, chaos and anarchy. The struggle in Europe today is caused because Europe is not ready to accept either Catholicism or communism. The business of society there if it wishes to save itself is to prop up the Church, to restore it, to be on the side of Catholic tradition.

Such is the struggle. Such are the opponents. What will be the final result? The battle is joined, the issue is in doubt. No one can prophesy the future. Drawing on analogies of the past, and taking all present elements into consideration, the contest will end in a draw. Some will go communist and stay so. Others will attach themselves to tradition and remain Catholic. The division will not be geographic but denominational. Such was the outcome of the Church's struggle with Mohammedanism and later with Protestantism. Catholicism was not killed, nor was it victorious. Analogies from the past indicate a draw.

Christ Was Born To Set Us Free

Condensed from *San Francisco Monitor*

CHRISt was born into a world of slaves. He was born not of a bondwoman, but of the free. Mary was free, from her conception, of all sin. "Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin."

All that Roman world was released from bondage into the liberty of the glory of the children of God, because Christ was born and taught the perfect law of liberty.

TODAY, slave masters rise again to power, expressing in themselves the sins by which modern men have been enslaved, "promising them liberty, whereas they themselves are the slaves of corruption. For by whom a man is overcome, of the same also he is the slave."

Old altars are rebuilt to *false gods*; the monstrous *State* is exalted again, like Moloch arrogantly usurping power over the souls of men; the worship of *Mammon* is reenthroned in the machine-god; vain men are lifted up into *pride* and a vision of desolation and horror frightens men to exchange even their souls for material security.

No material security was theirs who in the stable of Bethlehem witnessed the birth of Liberty Incarnate. For Truth was born to men and there is no freedom in a lie.

"Now the Lord is a Spirit. And where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."

CHRISt was born to die, that by His death He might break the bars that closed the free heaven from the prison of this world.

He was born, too, to teach men what man is, and to start men rebuilding according to that teaching, a City of God, wherein men might be free.

Christ came to answer the deepest of human questions: "What is man that Thou art mindful of him?"

If men were only mortal robots, then the fit city for them might well be that city without God that is the prison house of all the Russians.

If men were only savage, irresponsible beasts, then that city might be most fitly theirs that is the insane asylum which is the present German Reich.

Christ came to reestablish the inner authority in men, which is the doctrine of the freedom of the human will.

He came to give men supernatural aid to use their wills aright so that they might freely exercise all the faculties of their nature, their reasons in intellectual liberty, their judgements in free conscience.

He came to assure them of a security not of the body only, but of the order and liberty which human nature requires for its fulfillment.

They who, following Christ, won freedom for their souls from the bondage of sin, shook off the material chains of Roman slavery that had been the consequences of sin.

Christ taught there can be no prosperity without liberty, because He urged men to seek first the Kingdom of God, promising all things else, even Peace to all men of good will.

THE peril of our time is that we in America may be deceived into slavery, both of soul and body, in exchange for a poor security of the flesh.

What has occurred in Russia, Mexico, Germany, Japan, Ethiopia, Italy, and to a large extent already in England and America, may completely overwhelm us here. For the end of the false liberalism by which we have been dominated is in the same subjection as communism effects.

We should turn to Christ the Babe of Bethlehem and enshrine Him in our hearts as the only King or Leader worth our trust, as the true Guardian of our liberty.

"If therefore the Son shall make you free, you shall be free indeed."

The Spirit of the World

By REV. ROBERT I. GANNON, S.J.
Condensed from *Radio Address*

WHAT was it shattered Christianity in the sixteenth century and would have wiped out all traces of Christ's Church if that Church hadn't been divine? The spirit of the

world. It wasn't primarily Luther or Calvin or Henry VIII or Cranmer. It wasn't any of the forces on the Protestant side. It was certain popes and certain cardinals and certain bishops of the Renaissance who buffeted the face of Christ and tore His seamless garment to shreds. Any one of them could have doubled for Caiphas.

As in the Church, so in international and domestic affairs. What chopped up Poland and ground it under the heels of three foreign tyrants? The spirit of the world that thinks only of revenue and nothing of Christ—nothing of the natural rights of man.

What guided the Treaty of Versailles at the end of the World War? What strangled poor Austria and Hungary, plundered their land and sold millions of their people to neighboring states? The spirit of the world. Who presided at Versailles anyway? There was talk of having the Vicar of Christ, so that justice might be done and peace restored. But of course that was foolish. Caiphas was the obvious choice. He was elected unanimously—and when he took his place at the head of the council table, he found himself surrounded by his cronies. It must really have seemed like old times to Caiphas, for there before them, manacled like a thief, was the spirit of Christ. Once more they had come together not to try Him, but to condemn Him.

But why go abroad for examples of worldliness? We have them all around us here at home. Caiphas is the busiest man in the United States of America. Who can count the corporations of Caiphas—the corporations, I mean, that are built solely on the spirit of the world? No thought of right or wrong, only of individuals. Who can count the law firms of which Caiphas is the senior partner, unmentioned, perhaps, but very influential? And in politics—who is the strong silent man in every community who never has to be elected? Caiphas. Who rules the underworld—High Priest of the Racketeers? The same high priest who sent Christ to the Cross.

Creative Conservatism

By DAN W. GILBERT
Condensed from *National Republic*

LET some radical orator use the word *conservatism* and his audience will shrink back in their seats as though a whip were being lashed in their faces. The word is usually enunciated with a sort of snarl, symbolizing the idea that it is supposed to stand for the law of tooth and claw, the law of the jungle, of "dismal reaction" and "dark barbarism." Conservatism is supposed to imply the defense of all that is evil in the world, the protection and propagation of barbarism and savagery in human society.

Radical propagandists continually din into the ears of youth the fallacious idea that *conservatism* is a synonym for reaction. Conservatism is supposed to mean the preservation of the *status quo*. The *conservative* is made to appear to be opposed to progress. More, he is represented as being in favor of conserving—that is, perpetuating—any injustices and inequalities which may afflict the most advanced nations of the world. Radical propagandists make it appear that the "conservative" is inevitably a hard-hearted reactionary who is determined to defend under-privilege and poverty as the lot of the submerged element of the population. The "conservative" is represented as caring nothing about humanity and human rights; his sole concern is supposed to be with the preservation of "economic royalism, of privilege and unjust inequality."

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