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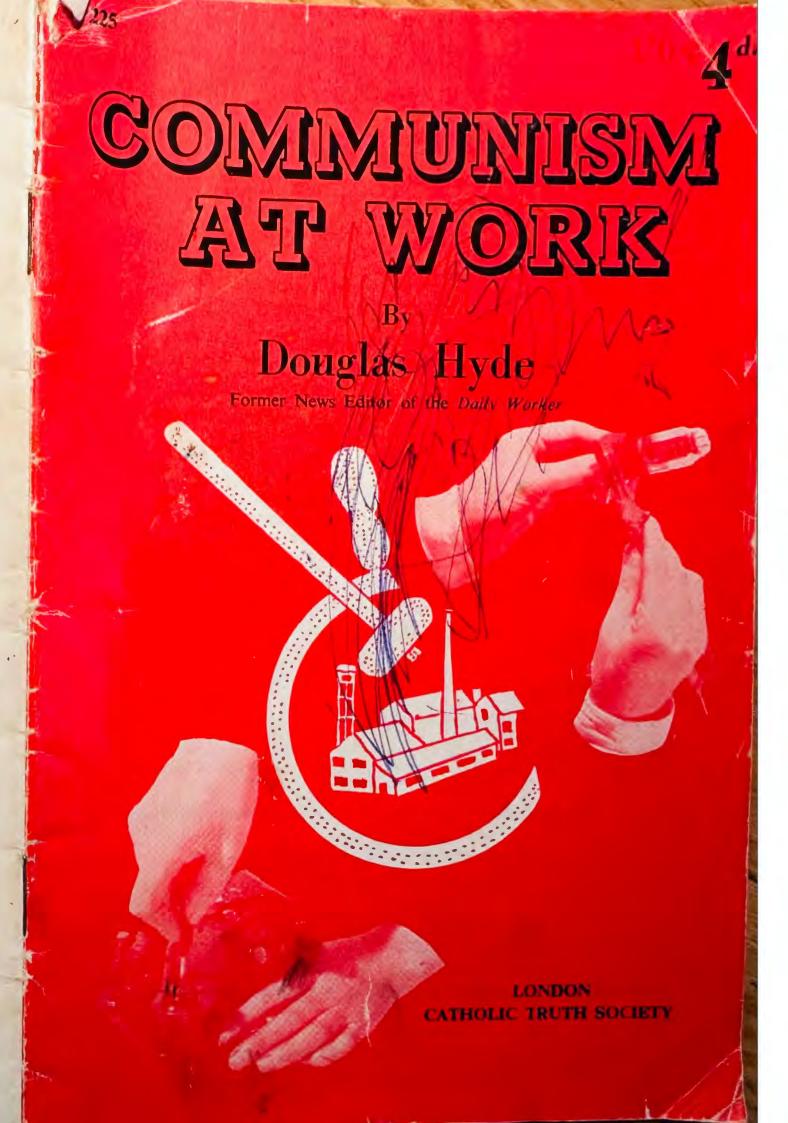
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COMMUNISM AT WORK

By DOUGLAS HYDE

> Former News Editor of the Daily Worker

LONDON CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY 80th Thousand

COMMUNISM AT WORK

The night's proceedings are nearly over. More than half of the few members who came to the union branch meeting have already gone. Only a handful are now left. 'Any other business?' asks the chairman with an elaborate casualness. He gives a look of encouragement in the direction of the young fellow who is already half on his feet.

'I'd like to suggest that this branch should call on the district committee to send a delegate to next month's World Peace Conference.'

The chairman asks if he would care to frame it as a resolution. The remaining members have suddenly wakened into eager interest. It is as though a brisk-working machine had suddenly taken the place of an antiquated piece of mechanism.

The motion is put to the meeting, a seconder is on his feet at once, the chairman asks: 'Anyone against?' and, hardly waiting for a reply, the vote is taken and the resolution carried.

A fortnight later the resolution is on the district committee's crowded agenda: 'That this branch, representing 2,000 workers engaged on vital arms production, calls upon the district committee to elect a delegate to the forthcoming Peace Conference.'

And when, late in the proceedings, the resolution is reached, the same brisk-moving machine slips into action again. The only difference is that this time it is the secretary and not the chairman who makes it his job to smooth the way for the motion's sponsors. That, and the fact that this time 50,000 workers are committed to support for the Conference.

The local branch of the Communist Party is doing its job.

Day in, day out, the British Communist Party succeeds in

making its influence felt on almost every aspect of our

Nonetheless there are important trade unions which are Communist dominated, still more have a significant percentage of Communists among their national leaders, and Communist shop stewards dominate the life of many of our most important factories. Moscow-inspired campaigns, the purpose of which is to assist Russian foreign policies and to aid the cause of Communism, draw into action, despite all the bans and counter-propaganda, large numbers of sincere people who are not by any stretch of imagination Communists at all.

How is it done? What are the techniques they use? What, as it were, is the mechanics of the thing?

ORGANIZATION

The first thing to note is that Communists everywhere have discovered that a small, highly organized minority which knows where it is going and how it is going to get there, and is bound by no moral or ethical restraints, can, under certain all-too-prevalent conditions, get what it wants in a modern society.

It can succeed, that is, if it is confronted only with people who are divided about what they want, where they are going, and what they stand for, and who do not understand the Communist methods of work.

Unless non-Communist organizations are to be defeated again and again and again, it is necessary that those methods should be understood. For to a large extent the success of the Communists' technique depends on the failure of the other man to understand what they are doing.

The Communist leaders, Lenin, Stalin and their non-Russian imitators, have with good reason laid great emphasis upon the form of organization which their party uses. It is worth

studying it in some detail, for it sheds light on many other aspects of Communism too.

It helps to explain why it is that when a man becomes a Communist all his activities are henceforth controlled according to a world-wide pattern and directed in such a way as to give them a maximum impact, yet he still nonetheless feels himself to be free.

Let us see how it works in practice.

Bill Jones is an engineer working in an aircraft factory. He is persuaded to join 'The Party' and is made a member of the factory group—what used to be called a Communist cell.

The group meets regularly to discuss how to apply the Party 'line' to his particular aircraft factory. Its aim is 'to win the factory for Communism'. By this is meant to make it a place where the majority of the workers accept Communist leadership, are thereby committed to the Party's policies either directly or indirectly and can be persuaded to take strike action in defence of the Communist leaders should the management try to dismiss them.

During the lunch hour or after work finishes at night, they meet to discuss how this situation can be brought about. An obvious first step which will give the Party great power in the factory is to control the shop stewards' committee, which is responsible for taking up with the management the workers' day-to-day grievances. Campaigns, planned by the group, are quietly started to destroy the workers' confidence in the existing non-Communist shop stewards whilst others are run to 'popularize' the Communists who are primed up to take their places.

They are helped by the fact that the number of people willing to take on such work is usually very limited.

With their nominees already selected and every possible supporter briefed in advance to vote for them when elections

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take place, the process whereby a Communist becomes a shop steward is often as smooth as if it were automatic.

So, if the factory group decides that Bill Jones should be a shop steward it will probably not be long before he is one. And if, after that, it decides that he should become the chairman or secretary, that will, as likely as not, quickly come about as well. Yet the entire thing has been carefully planned by a few people in the Communist group, and could at any moment have been frustrated had more of the workers been on the alert and made trade union democracy a reality.

The factory in this case being an engineering one, the group sends a representative to meetings of the Party's District Metal Bureau, a body which co-ordinates the work of all the Communist groups in engineering factories throughout its area.

That, in its turn, is linked with the National Metal Bureau, which maintains direct contact with the metal industries section of the World Federation of Trades Unions with which it is linked. And the W.F.T.U. is controlled by the Cominform, which is dominated by the Soviet representatives who are briefed by the Secretariat of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Thus a direct line runs down from the Kremlin to the little factory group to which Bill Jones now belongs. And the policies which the group pursues in the factory neatly dovetail into Moscow's international policies.

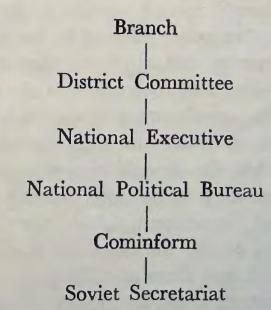
Look at the organizational links in reverse and you will see what I mean. The broad, international policies, primarily designed to aid Russian interests, are made by the Secretariat of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They are passed to the Cominform, who discuss how they are to be applied to the various countries of the West directly and indirectly represented there.

When the Cominform 'line' is settled it is passed on to the Communist network of international organizations with specialized responsibilities, of whom the W.F.T.U. is one. It is then applied to engineering in particular by the metal industries section. From there it goes to the national bureau in London, through to the district one and so to the various factory groups whose members, Bill Jones included, proceed to put it into operation.

To ensure that the policies pursued at each of these levels gear in with those of the rest of the Party membership, there is, at each stage, a direct link with the appropriate part of the Party's political machine.

And Bill, by becoming a Party member, is now part of that machine.

For his group is a unit of the local branch. His main political activities, apart from those in the factory, will be in the branch. And the political organization follows the same pyramidal pattern as the industrial one:



As a Communist Party member he now starts regularly attending his trade union branch. There, he finds that a faction, or in party jargon, a 'fraction', is in existence—a Communist

COMMUNISM AT WORK

cell within the branch. He is automatically brought into it so that he can help with the manipulation of the branch's business, and so becomes a part of yet another pyramid. This time it is:

T.U. Branch Fraction

T.U. District Committee Fraction

T.U. Executive Fraction

H.Q. Industrial Department

Political Bureau

Cominform

Soviet Secretariat

A branch 'fraction's' routine work is to get resolutions in support of Communist policy adopted by the union organization, to get Communists and fellow-travellers voted into positions of responsibility, and to undermine the rank and file's confidence in those non-Communist leaders in the organization who will have no truck with Communism.

Incidentally, when the union's annual conference is held there is a 'conference fraction' too, directed by the Headquarters Industrial Department, which meets on the eve of the conference and decides the exact role of each Communist who has got himself sent there as a delegate.

Bill is now organized in (a) the factory group, (b) the trade union branch fraction, (c) the local party branch, from each of which runs a direct line through the British Political Bureau to the Cominform and the Secretariat in Moscow.

ORGANIZATION

Bill is typical of the industrial membership. Other members with different work and background have their own organizations, but all conform to the same pattern.

All the various pyramidal organizations really become in action parts of a single great pyramid, whose base is the cells and whose apex is the Secretariat of the Soviet Communist Party.

It is a complex pattern, yet it usually works smoothly and simply.

The main strategy and tactics are decided at the top and are applied at each level of the pyramid. All discussion, except at the apex, therefore, centres on the application of a ready-made line. The discussion is real. The belief that the members are making and shaping policy is illusory. But it is an illusion which each member harbours. And that is one of the many reasons why the Marxist leaders place so much emphasis on 'democratic centralism', as they call it.

The Communist Party is out to capture every organization which can be made to serve its purpose, and to undermine, neutralize or destroy every one which can't. So it burrows within as many as possible, the range of such activities being limited only by the number of members it has at its disposal and the extent to which it has been able to train them for the work.

The same sort of organization and the same infiltration methods are used for every type of body, trade unions, local Labour Parties, professional, cultural and even religious organizations.

And it everywhere depends for its success on the general public's ignorance of how it works, and its apathy even when it knows it to be in operation.

The very complexity of the organization of course helps. It is difficult for the average man, with his very direct approach

to everything, to believe that the man whom he knows personally and who gets up at the union branch and moves the resolution with such earnestness is a part of an intricate international network, or that he is actively pursuing policies which have in their broad outline been thought out thousands of miles away, and the purpose of which is quite different from what it appears to be.

FELLOW-TRAVELLERS

Around itself the Party creates a great mass of fellow-travelling organizations, 'the solar system', as it has been called.

But, precisely because there are so many of them, the average man, when he is told that yet another body is 'Communist-dominated' or 'Communist-inspired' or 'Communist-created', tends to think that it must be a case of obsession, that people are beginning to see 'a Red under every bed', and refuses to believe it.

Communists believe that their hope of seeing the victory of their cause in Britain is bound up with the survival of the U.S.S.R. If Russian Communism goes down then their hope of a Communist Britain goes back by generations.

Russia is their ally to-day and would be still more valuable as such, should revolution ever come to this country. And Russia's leaders are also the leaders of world Communism.

So, in the forefront of the fellow-travelling bodies are ones whose purpose it is to aid Russia and her satellites. The word 'Friendship' is often included in their titles, for few people will quarrel with the idea of more of that, and it carries with it the attractive aroma of fair play and liberal goodwill. So there are organizations for promoting 'friendship' with most of the Iron (and Bamboo) Curtain countries.

Heading the Labour Party's official list of 'proscribed' organizations (which has constantly to be revised because of the way in which the Communists create new ones and disband old ones with every turn of the Cominform line) are 'The British Soviet Society' and 'British Soviet Friendship Houses, Ltd'.

To name some more of these 'proscribed' bodies is to reveal something of the diversity of interest which the fellow-travelling organizations exploit: Labour Research Department, Marx House, Women's Parliament, Scottish U.S.S.R. Society, Student Labour Federation, International Youth Council in Britain, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, Women's International Democratic Federation, League for Democracy in Greece, British Peace Council, Welsh Peace Council, British Youth Festival, International Women's Day, People's Congress for Peace.

And those are but a few of the organizations which the Communists have either created, infiltrated, captured or inspired.

There are in addition organizations for lawyers, students, teachers, shop stewards, doctors, psychologists, Christians, Jews, Negroes, Spanish Republicans, Irishmen, West Indians, Africans, Indians, Malays, music-lovers, authors, journalists, scientists, parsons, housewives, tenants, business men, exservicemen, pacifists, parents, cyclists, ramblers, amateur theatricals, film-making, gramophone recitals, poetry-reading, for defending civil liberties, promoting trade in Communist countries, opposing American influences, combating Franco Spain, assisting the Daily Worker, arranging holidays abroad, providing holidays at home, for conducting historical research.

That elaborate system enables the Party to influence all sorts of people many of whom would otherwise have nothing to do with the Communist Party as such.

They are, perhaps, persuaded to go to some harmless-sounding meeting. There they meet people of various degrees of 'Leftishness'. But, naturally, the most keen and active of those they meet are the Communists, for they are the real driving force behind the organizations. They are attracted by their zeal, purposefulness and energy and are stimulated by their enthusiasm. It is a softening-up process which often ends in conversion to Communism.

The fellow-travelling organizations thus serve two important purposes: they popularize some particular aspect of Communist policy and introduce people to Communism and to Communists.

When Communists create such a body they set out from the start to erect a 'front' in the shape of an imposing list of sponsors—public figures who are not Communists and whose names will disarm the suspicious—behind which they work.

The only way to discover whether a body of this sort is in fact Communist-created is to get beyond the names in the public 'front' to those of the people with whom the idea began. Then it will be discovered that there is a hard core of known Communists or of people who are associated with other bodies of the same type.

Thus two organizations which were started recently, one for writers and the other for Christians of all denominations, were launched with imposing lists of backers who were beyond reproach. But further investigation showed that the first moves had come from people of known Communist sympathies or connections. In both cases a group of such people just 'happened' to be together one day, and one of them 'happened' to say, 'Why can't we organize so that we can do something?' And, of course, all agreed that that was just what was needed.

But by the time the public heard of the projects the names of the originators were buried in a host of others of a very different type, and it seemed almost absurd to complain at the presence of such a tiny minority of Communists among so many non-Communists, and to describe the organizations as 'Communist-created'.

And, of course, in such circumstances, those respectable folk who have let their names thus be used usually protest indignantly, and quite sincerely, at any suggestion that they have been made the tools of the Communists.

People with the very best of intentions may at times be drawn unwittingly into such bodies. All too often their pride prevents them from coming out again, lest by so doing they seem to admit that they have been taken in. Instead, continued association with Communists and fellow-travellers often leads to their being drawn more closely into the web until they are in the end brought into the Communist Party itself.

Capturing and subsequently dominating an already Left-inclined organization is often child's play for the Communists. The technique is always basically the same: to discredit the existing leaders, advocate policies which will get the support of some of the active rank and file, and create 'fractions' which can put forward the names of Communists for positions and secure their election.

To make an organization 'Communist-influenced' it is usually sufficient for the Party to get a minority of its members and fellow-travellers elected to leading positions and then to see to it that that minority is at all times well-organized, united, and able to exploit the differences which exist among the majority, playing one section of their opponents off against another. Sometimes those Communists who are used for such purposes are open Party members, sometimes they are crypto-Communists, who for tactical

reasons conceal their organized connections with the Party from those with whom they associate.

The life of the 'crypto' is the most dishonest of all, for he must make it a living lie. As he infiltrates and burrows into other bodies, taking his orders all the time from the Party, he must keep up a pose and, when challenged, deny that he is a Communist. He must never attack the Party or its leaders, or criticize the Soviet Union. His actions must in the long run aid the cause. Beyond this he is free to use whatever subterfuge he pleases.

So by means of an elaborate, ruthless and often dishonest system, Communism spreads its net far and wide.

But its success depends in the main upon non-Communists not knowing the Communists' methods and on ignorance of what they are really doing and aiming at.

Communist infiltration and the spread of Communist influences will be ended:

- (1) By non-Communists understanding the Communist theories and techniques and so being enabled to recognize and combat them. In this the Catholic organizations and papers have a big responsibility in providing the necessary information. Catholics could and should be in the forefront of those who stand between the Communists and their success. As a general rule one may assume when trying to recognize them that, directly or indirectly, the fellow-traveller and the crypto will always show sympathy for Communist causes. They will never publicly attack the U.S.S.R., the activities of Russian leaders or the Communist leaders of their own country.
- (2) By a determination to make existing democratic organizations work. This means that meetings should be attended with greater regularity. The scandal of only a handful of the total membership taking any part in the making of

decisions by trade unions, co-operative societies and similar bodies must be ended. It is a sign that an organization has become unhealthy when the Communists begin to take over.

- (3) Catholics and others must be prepared to accept responsibilities in the organizations to which they belong. All too often the Communists get the positions because no one else is willing to do the work. This is particularly true of the trade union movement, and student and professional bodies, yet these, under modern conditions, have become important sectors in the world fight in defence of the Faith.
- (4) Those who oppose the Communists must not simply do it in a negative way. The best methods of ending Communist influence is to gain acceptance for Christian policies. In a body where this is done the cryptos and the fellow-travellers stand exposed as such for all to see and recognize. They are least easily recognizable in organizations where so much of Marxism has already been generally accepted that the difference between the Communists and the rest is just one of degree.
- (5) Organizations such as the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists and the Young Christian Workers could play a part second to none in this fight. But they often lack that support which they are entitled to expect from their fellow Catholics. There is little justification for Catholics who are eligible for membership of such bodies, and who are really working towards the same ends, maintaining a position of splendid isolation.
- (6) Catholics, too, must concern themselves with questions of social justice, with the righting of wrongs and the creation of a just and good society. The Papal encyclicals on social questions provide blueprints which have still to be used, and

are the answer to Communism in the social and economic spheres.

(7) It is men whose underlying beliefs are false, non-existent or weakly held who are most likely to be influenced by Communism. In Catholicism we have a complete and satisfying philosophy—and much more besides—which can provide an impregnable defence against Communism.

COMMUNIST CAMPAIGNS

'An organization lives by its campaigns'—to quote a Communist maxim—and it is through constant campaigning on a wide variety of issues about which the public is, or should be, genuinely concerned, that the Party attracts much of its membership. Many of its recruits are people who have nothing but the best of intentions when they come. They are, in most cases, victims of a wicked hoax.

Before giving support to a campaign it is necessary to know what are the motives of the sponsors, what is their purpose and where it is really leading. All these reservations are essential when dealing with the campaigns run by the Communists. For they hold a philosophy which encourages them to use deceit and which leaves them free to pursue any course, no matter how dishonest it may be, so long as it serves the cause. It is not uncharitable, therefore, and indeed it is simply common sense, in the circumstances always to assume that the true purpose of a Communist campaign is something quite different from what Communists claim it to be.

The Marxist-Leninist philosophy is drummed into the Communist Party members at the study classes which they are obliged to attend and where the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin are used as textbooks.

Lenin, for example, urged his followers (and every Communist Party member is a faithful follower of Lenin) 'if need

be to resort to all sorts of devices, manœuvres, and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuge'. Incidentally, this advice was given in particular relation to the trade unions, and the quotation ends, 'in order to penetrate into the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work in them at all costs'.*

That quotation is not an isolated one. It is typical of many and accurately describes the way in which the Communist normally works. In the light of that advice, let us examine some of the Communists' campaigns which have led good people to join the Party.

The Communists' 'peace' campaigns are amongst their best known and most successful to-day. Here, they believe, they are on a good thing, for every normal person is acutely conscious of how appalling a third World War would be. And the more thoughtful realize that something more positive than the present armed, uneasy peace is required if war is to be avoided.

But the aim of Communism is a Communist world. The present U.S.S.R., said Stalin, 'is the living prototype of the future union of nations in a single world economic system'.†

And before Communism can triumph, said Lenin, 'a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable'.‡

It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude—and the timing of their present campaigns supports this—that the Communist view is that the 'frightful collisions' should come at a time of their own choosing, and not that of their opponents.

The purpose of the current 'peace' campaigns become quite clear when to the above we add that Stalin declared that an earlier peace move—the signing of the Brest-Litovsk

^{*}Left-Wing Communism, by V. I. Lenin, Lawrence and Wishart, 1934

[†] Foundations of Leninism, 1934 edn., p. 84. ‡ Lenin's Selected Works, Vol. VIII, p. 35, Lawrence and Wishart.

pact—'may be taken as a model of this strategy, for it enabled the Party to gain time, to take advantage of the conflicts in the camp of the imperialists, to demoralize the forces of the enemy . . . and to accumulate forces in preparation for the offensive'.*

The 'peace' they want is one which disarms the West whilst leaving Russia and her satellites to prepare for war. It has nothing to do with peace, and everything to do with Russia's aims for expansion.

The desire for social reform on the part of many sincere people—by no means confined to those who themselves suffer any personal injustice—has brought other recruits to the Communist Party. For the Party runs one much-publicized campaign for reform after another, and there is a tendency for men who are indignant at social injustice to sooner or later feel that no one else does anything serious about it.

But the real purpose of those campaigns was laid down with brutal frankness by Stalin thus:

'To a revolutionary, the main thing is revolutionary work and not reforms, to him reforms are by-products of the revolution.... The revolutionary will accept a reform in order to use it as a means wherewith to link legal work with illegal work, in order to use it as a screen behind which his illegal activities for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie may be intensified.'†

In short, the Communist Party's campaigns for social, industrial and economic reforms are, to those who initiate them, nothing more than 'screens' behind which the revolutionary purposes of Communism are pursued.

This is not to say that those who conduct such campaigns are not sincere. They want to change a world in which there

*Problems of Leninism, 1940 edn., p. 65. †Leninism, 1934 edn., Vol. I, p. 85. is a great deal which does indeed need to be changed. They often sincerely hate the evils of our present society which they think should be replaced, by means of civil war, by a Communist society. And they are so determined to get it that they will use any means to gain their end.

But the creed which they have accepted is not the solution for a world gone wrong. A better, cleaner, more just and humane society will not be won by men who use every sort of dirty, immoral method when they are laying its foundations. You will not get a more moral society from men whose philosophy denies the existence of unchanging moral standards.

The Communist world which is their aim will not be a more humane one, for they have shown themselves prepared to use every sort of inhuman method to get it. Experience in the Communist countries shows that they continue to use such methods after the revolution—as one might expect, bringing suffering to millions. They cannot be expected, once they have achieved power, to cling, through thick and thin, to an ideal and put it into practice when they claim that nothing is of lasting worth, that there are no eternal truths.

It is one of the tragedies of our day that so many potentially good men have been induced to accept such an inadequate and evil creed.

Against the atheism, immorality, trickery and cynicism of the Communist the Catholic Church offers a way that is based on a high conception of man, and a more profound and realistic understanding of his nature. It is simply not true to say that 'only the Communist cares'.

The Catholic Church, also, says that it is necessary to change the world, that we need a better society than the materialistic system under which we live to-day. No Communist has ever attacked the abuses of the capitalist system

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with such insight and such effect as do the Papal social encyclicals. But the Church's criticisms are constructive ones.

The Church, too, says that the workers must be given justice and that the purpose of the trade unions is to struggle to get it. Logically, therefore, Catholics emphasize that workers should be in their appropriate unions and, what is more, play a responsible part in them. The answer to the elaborate organization of the few Communists is the active participation of the many non-Communists. But Catholics say that the trade unions have a creative job to do, as well as just putting up a negative fight against Communism.

The Church visualizes a new society in which the bitter class-war (upon which the Communists place their hopes, but which is always fought on the stomachs of the workers' women and children) is replaced by free co-operation of every section of the community.

The Church, too, fights for peace, and hers is not a phoney campaign. She recognizes that peace is something more than a pawn in a cynical game for world power. She goes deeper into man's nature, and finds the causes of war there, tackling the problem at its source.

Getting right to the heart of the matter she declares that Communism will never bring greater happiness or peace to men, for it denies belief in God from whom all peace and happiness flow.

The achievement of the good society, she says, the just social order, the world at peace, which have been the high ideals the Communists have exploited in order to get their following, all depend upon the recognition of God's laws. And those are just what the Communists want to overthrow.

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