KEY SPOTS IN ELECTION
RECESSION—HOW BAD?
U. S. COTTON'S FUTURE
PUBLIC-WORKS STEP-UP
WHAT U.S. COMMUNISTS FACE:
THREATS OF POSTWAR 'RED HUNT'

Readiness of FBI, Public Opinion for Prosecution of Disloyal Persons

Care of Civil Service to bar party members from Government jobs

A mild check is beginning to be applied to the activities of Communists in the United States. What is starting in a limited sort of way gives some signs of turning into a full-scale hunt, if present trends in public opinion continue.

The signs of a harder attitude toward Communists are becoming numerous. The Government has shown, for one thing, that it is in no mood to relax on the requirement that foreign agents in this country, whether or not they represent foreign allies, be registered. Groups of Russians, here to entertain and address big meetings, such as the recent American Slav Congress in New York, were ordered home by their Government rather than comply. At the same time, activities of Communists in labor unions are getting critical attention from top union leaders. The Government is screening more carefully prospective employees who might be classified as Communists or fellow travelers. Some prominent individuals who have been members or leaders in organizations in which Communists have been active are getting set to jump.

J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, gave a boost to this trend when he asserted in an address before the American Legion that Communists are a "growing menace" to this country. Mr. Hoover argued that, although active Communists might number only 50,000, every party member there were at least 10 others who actively followed the party line. The head of the FBI spoke as one with long experience in dealing with left-wing movements. Recently, he had the big job of investigating Communists and other persons in the Government suspected of disloyalty. Early in his career he had a similar experience. After the end of World War I, the U.S. Senate launched what became known as the "Red hunt" with a resolution asking the Attorney General, A. Mitchell Palmer, why he had done nothing to deal with radicals. Mr. Hoover was active as a special assistant to the Attorney General in the raids and deportations that followed.

Last time, in 1919 and 1920, the drive was against anarchists, Communists and revolutionaries. The International Workers of the World was an active organization. Bomb explosions had captured attention on anarchists, who advocated violence. The new American Communist Party had just broken off from the milder Socialists, with a battle-cry for revolution. In Europe, revolution was actually going on in several countries. There was worry, too, about war with the new Bolshevik Government in Russia.

The raids that followed were directed principally against aliens. On Nov. 7, 1919, federal agents seized 300 persons in 14 cities in a roundup of the Union of Russian Workers. On Jan. 2, 1920, agents, striking suddenly in 40 cities, rounded up about 3,000 persons associated with the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party. Hundreds of them were shipped out of the country as undesirable aliens.

This time the public temper has not yet reached such a pitch. There are signs of growing pressure in Congress, however, for some kind of action. Congressmen are calling individually for stiffer Government action against Communists. New power for the old Committee on Un-American Activities may be in the wind. Among the general public, there is a growing irritation now, as before, with Russian tactics, both abroad and in the United States. At the same time, the political swing is conservative. A new locus of public opinion seems to be developing.

But difficulties may stand in the way of any real effort to bring the Communists of today under control. With several exceptions, such as Gerhard Eisler, who describes himself as a "German anti-Fascist" and who has been identified by
a former associate as director of Communist activity in the United States, probably the majority of the Communists are Americans. This makes them harder to get at.

**Laws affecting Communists.** The Communists in the United States are not ideally suited for a war against the Communism of today. These weapons are the laws that are enforced by Attorney General Tom Clark and his assistants, Mr. Hoover, and Theron L. Caudle, Assistant Attorney General in charge of criminal matters. The main laws that they can work with are these:

- **Aliens in the United States must register with the Department of Justice, and give their fingerprints.** An alien, who belongs to an organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government by force, can be deported.

- **Agents of foreign nations, political parties, or organizations who engage in political activities in this country must register with the Department.** This includes American citizens and American organizations representing foreign interests, as well as aliens.

- **Organizations subject to foreign control that aim at overthrowing the Government, or controlling it by force must register.**

- **The Government cannot hire anyone who is a member of a political party or organization that advocates overthrow of the constitutional form of government in the United States.**

- **Anyone who teaches the overthrow of the Government by force, or joins a group dedicated to that teaching, can be fined $10,000 or sentenced to 10 years in jail.**

- **The legal problem of attacking Communism thus comes down to two issues: first, proving that a man is a Communist; and, second, proving that the Communist Party advocates the overthrow of the Government.**

Most of the laws that make possible this attack on Communism were passed shortly before the U.S. entered the war. Ever since, the Communists have done their best to make prosecution difficult.

**Communist tactics have been changed, where necessary, to meet the situation.** Secrecy has always characterized the Communist operation in this country, and that continues. Only the official leaders of the party are out in the open as avowed Communists. Most of the others who are party members do not admit it. This makes it harder to tag a Communist, especially when legal proof is required.

**The party line now carefully avoids any words that might mean the overthrow of the Government.** Historically, it is not hard to connect the present Communist Party with the party that was launched in Chicago in 1919 aiming to "conquer and destroy" the Government. But the courts are inclined to look at what a man has been doing lately. And lately the Communists, instead of taking revolutionary positions of influence in labor unions and in innocuous-sounding "front" organizations, are arguing for a third party at home and against "anti-Sovietearing" abroad.

**"Front" organizations are used to do the party's work.** Instead of standing on their own feet as a political party, the Communists do their work by maneuvering into positions of influence in labor unions and in innocuous-sounding "front" organizations. Certain persons who might be scandalized at the idea of overthrowing the Government by force thus are involved with Communist operations.

**The Communist International, which once openly linked American Communism with Moscow, has been officially disbanded.** Thus, on the surface at least, the party today has no direct connection with a foreign power.

The result of the Communists' reaction to the laws passed before the war has been to drive Government officials in two different directions.

**Firing Communists from Government jobs has become accepted practice.** In hiring, the Civil Service Commission goes further. It requires only reasonable doubt of an applicant's loyalty to refuse him a job. In determining this, it uses several yardsticks. Among these are registering to vote for the Communist Party, circulating nominating petitions for Communist candidates, taking an active part in "front" organizations, and following the various switches in the party line.

**Taking Communists to court on charges of advocating the overthrow of the Government is another matter.** So far the law-enforcement officers have avoided doing it. One Attorney General, Francis Biddle, decided formally during the war that the Communists did advocate the overthrow of the Government. But the Supreme Court twice dodges the chance to rule on this point. Lawyers think it would be hard to prove legally. It does not seem likely, then, that a drive against Communists will be made under the existing laws.

If a "Red hunt" occurs, however, as a result of new laws or of a change in the tactics of the Communist Party, the Government will be well fortified with evidence against persons it thinks would qualify for prosecution. In 1930, Attorney General Palmer said he had files on some 70,000 individual suspects. Today, the Government's files on individuals would run into the hundreds of thousands. Exhaustive digging during the war by the FBI, the Army, the Navy and several other agencies has produced a voluminous record.

**Mr. EISLER**

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**FBI Chief Hoover & His Territory**

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