STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/3/59

FROM SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CG 5824-S*, on November 23, 1959, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING, for photostating, pages #1 and #2 of the October 28, 1959, issue of "Moscow News". These pages contain information concerning the flight and photographs taken by "Lunik III".

One photostat copy of this item is enclosed herewith to the Bureau and to the New York Division. The Chicago copy is located in Chicago file 134-46-Sub-B - 1A (62).

2 - Bureau (Encl. 1)(REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637)(Encl. 1)(REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kws
(4)

ENCLOSURE

EX-124

REC- 92 100-428091-518

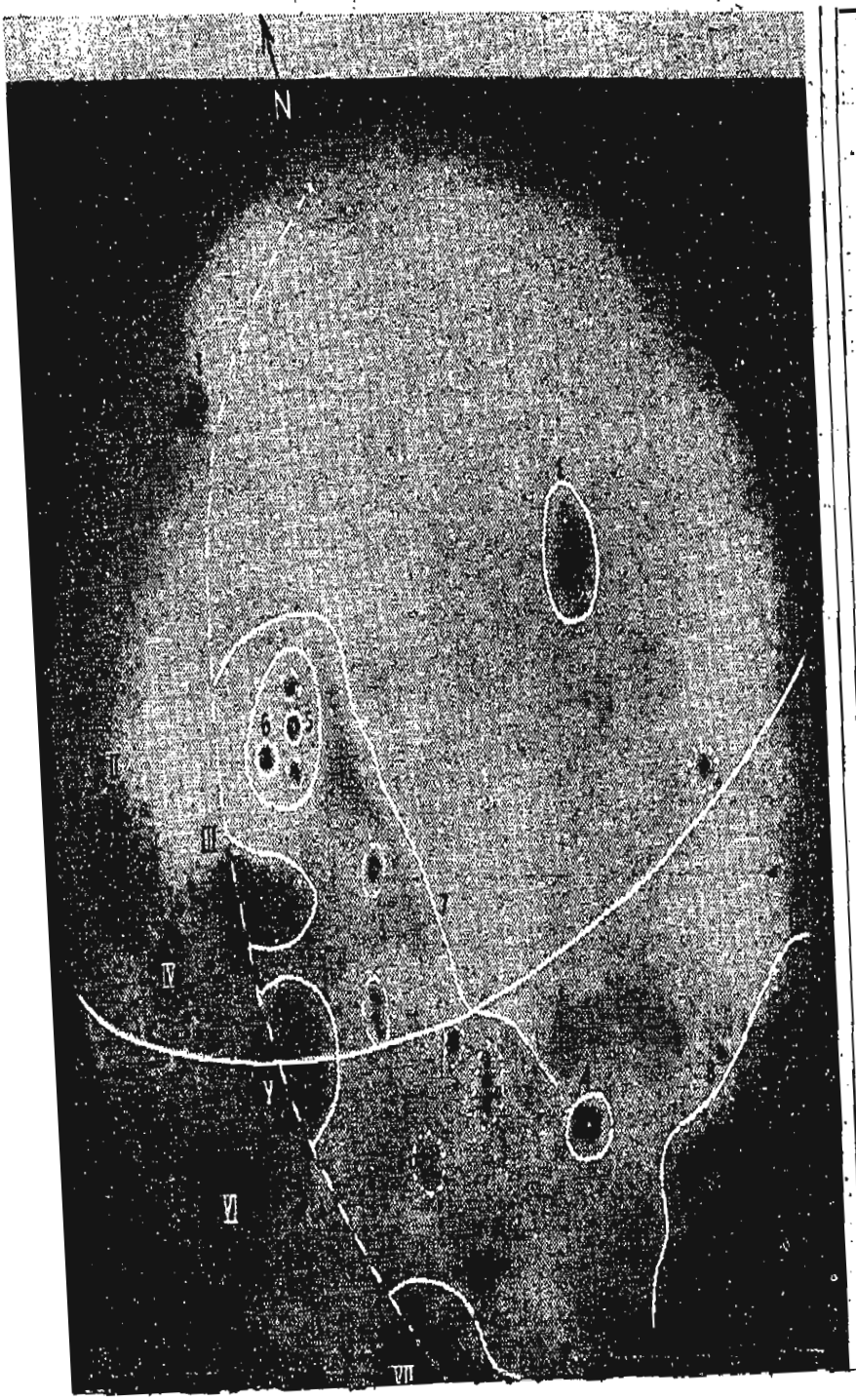
24 DEC 7 1959

REC.D

67 DEC 14 1959

No. 86 (400)
Wednesday,
October 28, 1959
Appearing
Wednesday and Saturday
Price 30 kopeks
Established in 1956

MOSCOW NEWS



IN THIS ISSUE:

Unprecedented Scientific Feat
PAGE 2

Soviet-French Top-Level Meeting
PAGE 5

Armenia's Seven Songs
PAGES 6 AND 7

SUPREME SOVIET IN SESSION

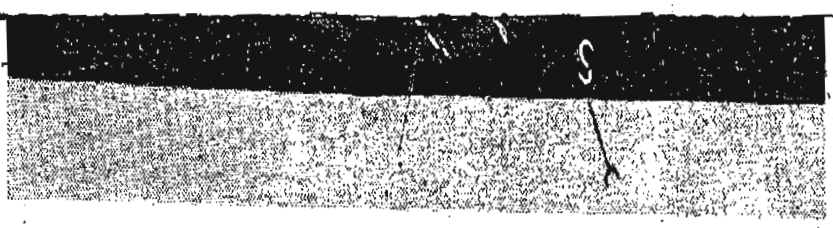
YESTERDAY, October 27, the current session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. opened at the Kremlin. At separate sessions of both Chambers the Deputies adopted the agenda.

The Supreme Soviet is to discuss the draft of the national economic programme, the draft of the 1960 state budget of the U.S.S.R., and the draft decree on the all-Union budgetary rights and on the similar rights for every one of the 15 Union Republics.

bers have also tabled a draft decree on the regulations on the recall of Deputies.

On the motion of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. the question of the international situation and of the Soviet Union's foreign policy has been put on the agenda.

Decrees issued by the Presidium



Lunik III's Historic Photographs

The position of objects on the side of the Moon invisible from the Earth, obtained after the preliminary development of the photographs received from aboard the automatic interplanetary station: 1. Large crater sea with a diameter of 300 kilometres—the Sea of Moscow; 2. Bay of Astronauts in the Sea of Moscow; 3. Continuation of Mare Australe on the reverse side of the Moon; 4. Crater with central peak—Tsiolkovsky; 5. Crater with central peak—Lomonosov; 6. Crater Joliot-Curie; 7. Sovietsky Mountain Range; 8. Sea of Dreams. The unbroken line running across the picture is the lunar equator. The line of dashes shows the border between the parts of the Moon visible and invisible from the Earth. The details established with certainty after the preliminary development of the photographs are surrounded by an unbroken line. The lines of dashes around various spots show that their shape needs to be ascertained. Dots around objects show that their classification is being determined. As regards the remainder, the treatment of the photographic material is being continued. Roman figures indicate details on the visible part of the Moon: I—Mare Humboldtianum; II—Mare Crisium; III—Mare Marginis, with a continuation on the invisible part of the Moon; IV—Mare Undarum; V—Mare Smythii, with a continuation on the invisible side of the Moon; VI—Mare Fecunditatis; VII—Mare Australe, with a continuation on the invisible side of the Moon.

IN conformity with the planned programme of scientific research the apparatus aboard the automatic interplanetary station designed for taking photographs of that part of the Moon invisible from the Earth and for subsequently transmitting these pictures to the Earth was switched on at 06.30 hrs. Moscow Time on October 7.

In order to photograph the Moon, the automatic interplanetary station was equipped with a system of orientation and photo-television apparatus with special devices for automatically developing the films.

The time for taking the photographs was chosen so that the station would be on its orbit between the Moon and the Sun, the latter lighting about 70 per cent of the invisible side of the Moon. The station was at a distance of 60-70 thousand kilometres from the Moon's surface.

Switched on by means of a special command the orientation system turned the station so that the lens of the camera would be pointed to the reverse side of the Moon and gave a signal for switching on the camera.

The process of photographing the Moon went on for about 40 minutes. A considerable number of pictures of the Moon, in two sizes, was obtained.

Treatment of the films (development and fixation) was carried out automatically aboard the interplanetary station.

(Continued on page 2)

...lics. The legislative proposals ... commissions of both Chambers ... in between the sessions will come before the Supreme Soviet for endorsement.

NATIONAL ECONOMY IN 1960

At the joint meeting of both Chambers of the Supreme Soviet discussion began on the draft programme for the economic development of the U.S.S.R. in 1960. The report was delivered by Alexei Kosygin, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of the State Planning Committee of the U.S.S.R. The first part of his speech Kosygin devoted to the results of the advance made by the national economy in 1959. The target assignments for the first nine months of this year, he said, had been substantially exceeded.

The successful economic advance had found immediate reflection in the further improvement of living standards. In particular this year 80,400,000 sq. metres of living space would have been built either entirely at state expense or with the assistance of state credits granted to individuals. This year the national income would grow by another 10 per cent, while the real incomes of wage and salary earners would increase by approximately 5 per cent.

Alexei Kosygin laid particular emphasis on the fact that the successful fulfilment of this year's programme would create favourable conditions for an even more rapid advancement of the national economy in 1960.

In 1960 gross industrial output would be 8.1 per cent up on the current year's figure. Steel output would amount to practically 65 million tons. More than 105 million tons of iron ore would be extracted.

Rapid rates of increase had been planned for the chemical industry and there would be a further development of the fuel industry. Oil extraction would rise by almost 15 million tons in 1960 and would

(Continued on page 2)

At the Grand Kremlin Palace during the third session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., fifth convocation. Photo by V. AKIMOV

Lunik III's Photographs

(Continued from page 1)

The transmission of the pictures of the Moon to the Earth was effected by means of a special radio engineering system. This system also transmitted the scientific measurements, the determined elements of the orbit, and received the commands transmitted from the Earth to the interplanetary station, which directed its work. With the television apparatus it was possible to obtain a half-tone picture with high resolving power.

The first pictures of the invisible side of the Moon, those obtained as a result of preliminary treatment, were published in the Soviet press on October 27, with the necessary descriptions, and will subsequently appear in scientific journals.

The names of the craters, mountain ranges and other details of the relief of the invisible part of the Moon were given by a commission appointed for the purpose by the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.

The automatic interplanetary station also carried apparatus for conducting scientific investigation in interplanetary space. The results obtained have been recorded by stations on the Earth and are being studied.

The work of the automatic interplanetary station during its first revolution has yielded the following results:

The flight of a cosmic body along a previously calculated complex trajectory has been successfully accomplished;

The problem of giving the necessary orientation to an object in space has been solved;

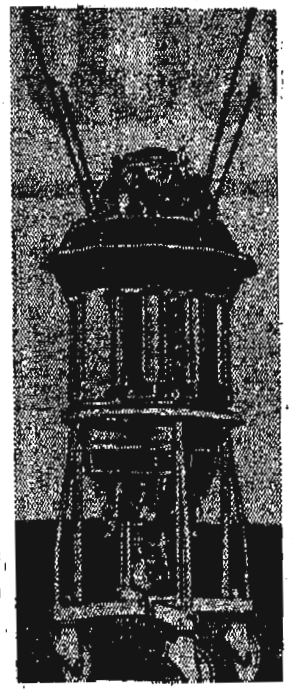
Radio-telemechanical communications have been established and pictures have been televised over cosmic distances;

Pictures of the reverse side of the Moon, hitherto inaccessible to investigation, and a number of other scientific results have been obtained.

* * *

At 20.00 hrs. on October 27 the interplanetary station was over a point on the Earth's surface 38° West and 6°30' North, and was at a distance of 484,000 kilometres from the Earth's centre.

A precise calculation of the orbit of the automatic interplanetary station shows that it will remain in existence for about six months from the moment of its launching and will make 11 or 12 revolutions round the Earth. After this time the interplanetary station will enter the dense layers of the Earth's atmosphere and will burn up.



The automatic interplanetary station mounted on an assembly stand (photograph).

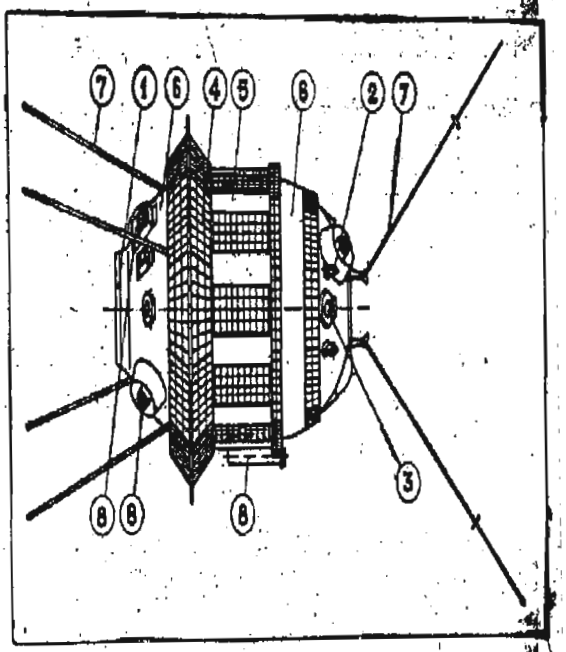
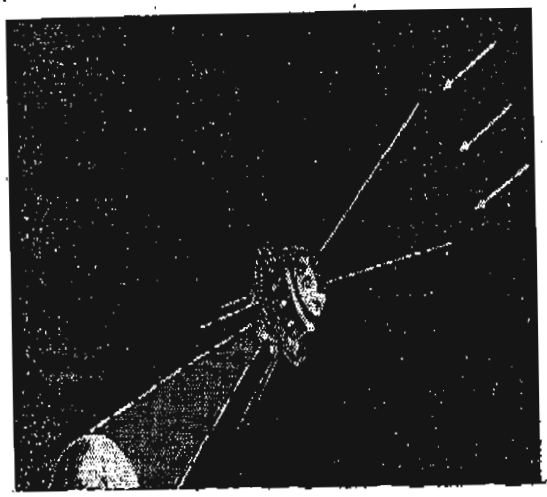


Diagram of the automatic interplanetary station: 1. Window for cameras. 2. Motor of the orientation system. 3. Solar unit. 4. Sections of solar battery. 5. Shutters of the heat regulation system. 6. Thermal screens. 7. Antennae. 8. Instruments for scientific investigation.

Unprecedented Scientific Feat

Below we carry an abridged version of the editorial in yesterday's PRAVDA, which was devoted to another outstanding feat of the conquerors of cosmic space, who have photographed the invisible side of the Moon.



THANKS to the heroic efforts of the Soviet scientists, designers, engineers, technicians and workers who built the automatic interplanetary station, for the first time in history photographs have been obtained of the reverse side of the Moon, invisible from our planet.

An automatic interplanetary station has flown round the Moon and the Earth! The reverse side of the Moon has been photographed from aboard this cosmic laboratory at a distance of 65,000 km.! Pictures

conquerors of the cosmos, congratulating them on their outstanding success.

The multistage rocket created by the Soviet people put the interplanetary station into a planned orbit and sent it flying round the Moon. Guided from the Earth, the station passed near the Moon, casting a glance at her reverse side, never yet seen by human eye.

A specially designed orientation system adjusted the position of the station so that the Moon's disc was

the commission set up by the Soviet Academy of Sciences. These have set a seal on the feats of Soviet science and its invaluable contribution to world scientific thought.

The large crater sea has been called the Sea of Moscow, after the capital of our motherland, the first socialist state in the world, which has paved the way to the conquest of the cosmos. The Sea of Moscow has a Bay of Astronauts. Who can doubt that the Moon will be the first cosmic body to be visited by space travellers? The craters of Tsiolkovsky, Lomonosov, and Joliot-Curie perpetuate the memory of the great scientists. Their works have been of tremendous importance for the development of science, including those branches which have led today to the be-

Position of the automatic interplanetary station in space in the process of photographing the reverse side of the Moon. (Arrows show the direction of solar rays.)

SUPREME SOVIET IN SESSION

(Continued from page 1)

be 144 million tons. Electricity generation would reach 291,000 million kwh., i.e. 11.2 per cent more than this year.

The gross grain harvest in 1960 should again increase substantially. Meat production would also rise.

"We are planning," Kosygin said, "to obtain almost 72 million tons of milk, i.e. 336 kg. per head of the population, as against 330 kg. obtained last year in the United States."

In the course of next year the national income would grow approximately 9 per cent. The programme for 1960 envisaged the completion of the transition to a seven-hour working day for wage and salary earners in all branches of the national economy.

"Next year," Kosygin said, "approximately ten million people will move to new flats. It is also expected that about one million homes will be built by collective farmers and professional workers in the countryside.

"In 1960, 119,000 engineers are expected to graduate from various institutes in the Soviet Union, which is 3.5 times more than the figure for the U.S.A. this year.

"The development of the Soviet economy," Kosygin said, "creates fresh opportunities for the expansion of mutually advantageous trading and other economic relations with foreign countries. In the first two years of the Seven-Year Plan alone the total volume of Soviet foreign trade should increase by 25 per cent."

In 1960 the Soviet Union, he went on, would give technical assistance to 22 countries for the construction of 383 industrial enterprises and other projects—288 projects to be built with Soviet assistance in socialist countries and 95 to be built in economically underdeveloped countries.

"The initial results of the Seven-Year Plan," the speaker said, "give us the right to be sure that the Seven-Year Plan will be fulfilled and substantially exceeded."

The report on the draft state budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1960 was delivered by Vasily Garbuzov, the Deputy Minister of Finance. Budget revenue is assessed at more than 772,000 million roubles and the expenditure, almost 745,000 million.

The socialist economy will yield more than nine tenths of all revenue. Taxation of the population is being regularly reduced. This year such taxation from the population will be 7.8 per cent of the budget while next year it shall be 7.4 per cent. In the next few years, all taxes paid by the people will be abolished in the U.S.S.R.

The bulk of the budget funds next year will be used for the development of the national economy and the social and cultural needs of the people. The expenditure for these purposes will be over three-fourths of the budget.

The state budget for 1960, the speaker said, reflects the peaceful policy of the Soviet Government and is designed to give financial backing to the development of culture and the improvement of the people's welfare.

In the afternoon both Chambers began debating the reports at separate meetings.

have been transmitted to the Earth from cosmic infinity! Each of these achievements is an unprecedented scientific feat! The very fact that all this has been accomplished by the Soviet people is quite natural. It testifies to the unprecedented development of mathematics, mechanics, physics, electronics and chemistry in our country; to the achievements of Soviet metallurgists, astronomers and representatives of other branches of science, our engineers, technicians and workers who have translated theoretical calculations into the material form of machinery and equipment, the crowning achievement of man's genius at the present time. It is an expression of the great industrial power of our country, which has succeeded in making the equipment, instruments and materials necessary to put the magnificent plans into practice. It signifies the indisputable superiority of the Soviet socialist system and graphically shows the whole world what can be achieved by the creative, constructive efforts of a people free from the shackles of capitalist oppression.

"Why have the Soviet people been first in the world to successfully solve such a difficult, so truly great a problem as sending a rocket to the Moon," N. S. Khrushchov wrote, "in fact a problem with many unknown quantities! This victory was possible because those same Soviet people succeeded, with their own hands, with their heroic labours, in solving a tremendous social problem within a very short historical period—they have built socialist society and are confidently building Communism."

The epoch-making achievements of our scientists, specialists and workers represents a tremendous victory for the entire Soviet people, who are building Communism under the leadership of Lenin's Party. It is a remarkable contribution to the advancement of world science as a whole. Progressive people throughout the world enthusiastically applaud the Soviet

within the field of vision of the camera's lens. For 40 minutes, using various lengths of exposure to avoid the possibility of error, the Soviet cosmic photographer took shots of that side of the Moon hitherto unknown to us. Automatic photographic apparatus developed and dried the film on which the invaluable shots had been taken. Subsequently, on a command signal from the Earth, a special system transmitted the pictures of the Moon's surface. Across tremendous expanses running into hundreds of thousands of kilometres the pictures reached the Earth and were received here.

Preliminary study of the first photographs of the other side of the Moon enables Soviet scientists to draw important conclusions concerning peculiarities of her surface. A further study of the details will widen man's knowledge of how the planets have developed. Even now, however, selenography has been enriched with new names endorsed by

ginning of man's conquest of spa around the Sun. The Soviets! Mountain Range will always remi humanity of the feats accomplish by the Soviet people, who a building Communist society. T Sea of Dreams honours the fir Soviet space rocket, which becan the first artificial planet. Doesn this name signify that the Sovi people are turning age-old drear into reality, that we have enter an era of unprecedented progre in science and engineering, ec nomics and culture, an era of fai tales coming true.

Scientists estimate that the aut matic interplanetary station will flying for six months, subsequent burning up in the dense layers the atmosphere. As for the unpr cedented scientific feat of the Sovi people, who have sent space vel cles on daring flights to and rou the Moon, it will shine forever li an unfading beacon in the histo of exploration into the infinite e panses of the universe.

Sergey Vasiliev autographs a book of his poems at one of the capital's bookshops on Poetry Day, (last Sunday). On Poetry Day, established five years ago, poets meet their readers, talk to customers in the bookshops, give readings of their works and speak of their plans for the future.

With the receipt of an additional $10,000 (as reported in the attached airtel), this brings the total funds received by the Communist Party, USA, to $263,500.

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

Date: 12/9/59

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. McGuire	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. [illegible]	b6
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	b7C
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(415)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

On 12/9/59, NY 694-S* advised SA [redacted] that on said date ELIZABETH MASCOLO delivered to him in NYC $10,000.00 in $20 and $50 bills. This money was received by TIM BUCK from the Soviet Embassy in Canada for transmittal to the CP,USA.

The serial numbers on the above-mentioned bills will be checked against the list of known currency furnished to Soviet establishments in NYC and Washington, D. C., and the Bureau will be advised of any positive results of said check.

3 - Bureau (100-428091)(RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(INFO)(RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV)(415)
1 - NY 100-134637-Sub A (SOLO - FUNDS)(415)
1 - NY 100-128861 (CPUSA - FUNDS - RESERVE FUNDS)(415)
1 - NY 100-134637 (415)

ACB:msb (415)
(9)

EX-124

REC-92 100-428091-519

4 DEC 10 1959

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M

Special Agent in Charge

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-21-2011

~~TOP SECRET~~

r. Belmont
r. Baumgardner
r. Decker
Liaison Section

4
(JT)

December 10, 1959

VIA LIAISON To Wm Ryan NSC 12/1/59

Honorable Gordon Gray
Special Assistant to the President
Executive Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. Gray:

With regard to my letter of December 3, 1959, concerning Czechoslovakian activities in the United States, I thought that the President and you would be interested in the enclosed memorandum. This information was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA, and pertains to statements made by Gustav Soucek, a high-ranking official of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

In view of the extremely sensitive nature of certain of the sources of our information, it is requested that the contents of this communication be afforded the most careful security and its use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

Sincerely yours,

100-428091-520

Enclosure

REC-92
EX-124

14 DEC 11 1959

100-428091

NOTE ON YELLOW:

This letter and its enclosure are classified "~~Top Secret~~" since the information was obtained from a highly placed source and unauthorized disclosure of this information would tend to disclose the identity of this source with resultant grave damage to the national defense.

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont 12/9/59 captioned "Solo, IS-C," AJD:med.

AJD:med:mpp (6)

Tolson
Belmont
DeLoach
McGuire
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Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

DEC 14 1959

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

~~TOP SECRET~~

REC'D READING ROOM
FBI
DEC 10 1 33 PM '59

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: December 9, 1959

FROM : MR. F. J. BAUMGARDNER

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson
Belmont
DeLoach
McGuire
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Gandy

In connection with the most recent Solo operation, our highly placed informant, CG 5824-S, had the opportunity to converse at length with Gustav Soucek, head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The conversation took place in Prague, Czechoslovakia on 11-7-59 and the details were furnished to the Bureau by Chicago letter 12-1-59.

Soucek advised the informant that the Communist Parties of Czechoslovakia and the USA should strive for closer contacts but the contacts must be carefully considered and secure. Information of a general nature could be exchanged through Czechoslovakian news agencies. However, other contacts could best be handled through clandestine meets in Prague and occasional contacts in U.S.

Soucek said as a result of defection 7-25-59 of Lieutenant Colonel Frantisek Tisler, former Czechoslovakian military attache in the U.S., the former contacts in the U.S. with the Communist Party (CP), USA, have been "spoiled" and all previous contacts have been broken. Tisler's defection has resulted in Czechoslovakia making hard and sweeping changes which will include changing entire personnel in Czechoslovakian Embassy in U.S. The new Czechoslovakian ambassador, Miloslav Ruzek, has been instructed to change the methods of contacts with members of CPUSA and to use illegal channels only when absolutely necessary.

Informant entered into a tentative agreement with Soucek to have CPUSA send representative to Czechoslovakia following CPUSA convention 12/10-13/59 to arrange for improved contacts between the CPUSA and the Czechoslovakians. This CPUSA representative will also take up some problems with the Chinese representative on "World Marxist Review" and will travel to the Soviet Union for contacts with the Russians. CG 5824-S suggests that his brother, our other top informant, NY 694-S, be utilized for this assignment. Soucek is very much interested in the exchange of trade-union and cultural delegations between Czechoslovakia and the U.S. and noted that the Czechoslovakia General Council of Trade-Unions has many contacts in the U.S. and hopes to enlarge its contacts and extend its influence in this country. Soucek noted that 3,000 Americans, mostly of Czechoslovakian or Slovak descent, visited Prague

Enclosures sent 12-10-59 with except. of one to VP.

100-428091

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Decker

AJD:med
(4)

EX-124 100-428091-5 21

REC-37

10 DEC 14 1959

67 DEC 15 1959

during the past year. He said certain of these individuals changed their opinion of Czechoslovakia and of socialism and the CP of Czechoslovakia is able to utilize these individuals for propaganda purposes. He noted that Czechoslovakia Embassy officials in the U.S. have made contacts with Czechoslovakians presently residing in this country and have had contact with Anton Krchmarek, chairman of the Ohio District, CPUSA. Soucek desires to have non-CP members in the U.S. promote Czechoslovakian - American cultural exchange and added that Czechoslovakian groups traveling abroad are used to make broad mass contacts and not just contacts with CP members.

Regarding Czechoslovakian internal affairs, Soucek said there has been an increase of 11 per cent in production during the first 10 months of 1959. However, agricultural production has not been increasing fast enough and he blamed the situation on the fact that the farms are small. Czechoslovakia will attempt to push cooperative and collective farm movements to step up farm production. He said a big problem facing Czechoslovakia is convincing its people that increased productivity must be used for greater capital investments and not merely to increase the standard of living.

Concerning the Czechoslovakian revolution, Soucek stated, "You do not know how close American imperialism came to dominating Czechoslovakia in 1948. However, we beat them because we had good relations with all strata of our population."

Soucek pledged support of CP of Czechoslovakia in international campaign against the persecution of communists in the U.S. but opined that this campaign would be more effective if started in capitalist countries.

OBSERVATIONS:

Despite the defection of Lieutenant Colonel Frantisek Tisler and the reorganization of the Czechoslovakian Embassy in the U.S., the tenor of Soucek's statements would indicate that Czechoslovakian activities in the U.S., specifically contacts with the CPUSA, will continue. However, the contacts will be most carefully prepared and undertaken on a most clandestine basis. There is a very good possibility that our informant, NY 694-S, will be selected by the CPUSA to travel to Prague for contacts with the Czechoslovakians and Chinese following the CPUSA convention and quite likely to Moscow. This would enable us to obtain additional details concerning the plans and activities of the CPs of these countries.

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
RE: SOLO
100-428091

The information developed by our informant concerning Czechoslovakian activities with the exception of the possible travel of the CPUSA representative to Prague following the CPUSA convention should be brought to the attention of high-ranking U.S. officials attributed to our over-all coverage of the CPUSA to afford additional security to our informant.

ACTION:

There are attached for your approval appropriate communications incorporating pertinent data furnished by this informant. If you agree, these communications with a "Top Secret" classification will be furnished to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon,* the Vice President; Honorable Gordon Gray, Special Assistant to the President; Honorable Christian A. Herter, The Secretary of State; Mr. Allen W. Dulles, Director, Central Intelligence Agency; and to the Attorney General.

memo to Dir re copy to V C 1-21-60

*Detached and furnished Director by memo from Mr. Tolson 12-10-59

- 3 -

1 - Mr. Decker

SAC, Chicago (134-46 SUB B) December 11, 1959

Director, FBI (100-428091)

SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reurlet 12-3-59.

It is desired that you forward to the Bureau one copy each of the eight pamphlets and publications outlined in urlet.

EX 109
REC-32 100-428091-522

23 DEC 14 1959

AJD:cef
(4)

DEC 10

Tolson
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McGuire
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Rosen
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Trotter
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Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

3 DEC 17 1959

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/3/59

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

REC-32

CG 5824-S*, on November 23, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following pages. This report pertains to an unofficial trade union delegation from Chicago which was in Moscow, Russia, in October, 1959.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637)(SOLO)(REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kws
(4)

EX 109

REC-32 100-428091-523

18 DEC 1959

ENCLOSURE

INT. SEC.

55 DEC 17 1959

b6
b7C

INFORMATION CONCERNING AN UNOFFICIAL TRADE UNION DELEGATION FROM CHICAGO WHICH WAS IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA, IN OCTOBER, 1959

After the return of MORRIS CHILDS to Moscow, Russia, from Peking, China, on or about October 17, 1959, NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS, Head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), and his assistant, ALEKSEI GRECHUKHIN, stated that they would like to provide some entertainment during the evening hours for CHILDS and his wife; however, in view of the fact that in a day or two some Americans, claiming to be trade union representatives, were due in Moscow, perhaps it would be inadvisable for CHILDS to accidentally run into this group. The reason for this being that if CHILDS was seen in Moscow, someone from the United States might suspect that he was on some mission rather than on a visit. Thus, a chance meeting might endanger CHILDS' security.

When this group arrived in Moscow on or about October 19, 1959, CHILDS asked GRECHUKHIN the identities of those composing the group. GRECHUKHIN replied, [redacted] and his wife, [redacted] and his wife, and RAYMOND MILLAN, his wife, and child. GRECHUKHIN stated that apparently since there were Negroes in this group, the American Embassy in Moscow made an inquiry about the group within hours after the arrival of the group in Moscow. GRECHUKHIN stated that since the American Embassy showed curiosity concerning this group, it might also be curious about CHILDS, if he were seen with the group. CHILDS stated that he was as anxious as the CPSU to avoid meeting with these people in Moscow.

On the evening of October 21, 1959, MORRIS CHILDS and his wife had been given tickets to see "Swan Lake" at the Bolshoi Theatre. A young woman translator, whose first name is OLGA, accompanied CHILDS and his wife. A young Russian, who spoke English and German and who was accompanying an unknown leader of the Communist Party of West Germany, also rode in the same car with CHILDS and his wife and OLGA to the theatre.

Upon entering the wardrobe of the theatre, CHILDS noticed [redacted] although they did not see either MORRIS or SYLVIA CHILDS. CHILDS and his wife immediately left the theatre.

Subsequently, CHILDS complained to GRECHUKHIN that the security arrangements for him were not too well organized.

100-428091-523

ENCLOSURE

GRECHUKHIN explained that this group was the guest of some Russian trade unions and not the guest of the CPSU. However, in the future, the CPSU would check on the itinerary of this group. Later, CHILDS was informed that the group would visit only in Moscow and Leningrad, except for [redacted] since [redacted] wished to visit some relatives in Kharkov. CHILDS told GRECHUKHIN that [redacted] is a member in good standing in the Communist Party - USA, and that he is to be trusted and should be given good treatment. GRECHUKHIN replied that they would be treated fairly.

b6
b7C

GRECHUKHIN also asked CHILDS about RALPH TURNER. CHILDS stated that TURNER is not an official delegate of the Communist Party - USA. He explained that ELMER JOHNSON organized the trip for this group without obtaining the permission of the Communist Party of Illinois, which feels that this trip will make it difficult to select a broader group for a similar trip in the future. CHILDS stated that TURNER was supposed to be carrying a letter from the Chairman of the Illinois District of the Communist Party - USA, stating that he is a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA. GRECHUKHIN stated that TURNER had said that he was ill and was having trouble with his eyes. Further, he would not object if he were given some financial aid in order to get back to the United States. CHILDS replied that a decision in this matter would have to be made by the CPSU.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/2/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re Chicago airtel dated November 19, 1959; and re Bulet dated November 27, 1959.

Referenced Bulet refers to paragraph #1, page #8, of referenced Chicago airtel and, in particular, to the statement in regard to two united fronts and that "such an international united front never existed in history before, but it does now." Further, the last sentence in this paragraph makes reference to Latin America.

On December 1, 1959, SA JOHN E. KEATING discussed this paragraph with CG 5824-S*, and the comments of the informant appear on the following page:

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kws
(3)

EXP. PROC.

100-428091-524

REC-32

EX 109

DEC 4 1959

REC'D

ENCLOSURE

55 DEC 18 1959

b6
b7C

Chinese

When [redacted] stated: "When you speak of the united front, actually you should mean two united fronts: (1) an internal united front; and (2) an international united front", he was using the lexicon of the Communist Party and was speaking in a general, theoretical, and not a concrete, sense.

It is the theory of the international Communist conspiracy that there is an objective united front or unity or similarity of purpose between the Socialist countries, the people in the colonial or semi-colonial countries, who are trying to achieve independence, and the oppressed peoples in the Capitalist countries, such as the working classes or in regard to the United States, the working classes and the Negroes. All of these have one common aim, and that is to fight the imperialists. This is a characteristic of the present world situation and the relation of forces in the world.

To be more specific, Latin America is looked upon by the international Communist movement as a group of colonial countries dominated by the United States. The Cuban revolution is regarded as being aimed at American imperialism. Since the working class in the United States is oppressed, those responsible for the Cuban revolution are objectively the allies of the working class in the United States. As they fight imperialism from Cuba, so the working class should fight monopoly Capitalism, which is imperialism, in the United States. They are allies because, in the struggle, they weaken American imperialism.

LIU Shao-chi was not speaking in the concrete sense that united fronts as such are in existence.

Chile

This reporter knows of no such united fronts in existence at the present time. However, in the reports of the meetings with ANIBAL ESCALANTE and [redacted] it is to be noted that an inter-American conference or congress against imperialism is under consideration. Further, that it is possible that some North American progressives or anti-imperialists, who would be sympathetic to the aims of these Latin American countries as they may be stated at such a congress, might be invited to attend. There might be some Communists among these so-called progressive North American invitees.

This is the only concrete thing that is known at the present time, except for the fact that the Communist Party - USA does have some relationship with some Communist Parties in Latin America.

ENCLOSURE

100-428071-524

However, this is not a united front, as such. It is a fraternal relationship, which is a part of the international Communist conspiracy, whereby one Communist Party is associated with other Communist Parties on a world-wide scale.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 07-05-2011

~~TOP SECRET~~

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Decker
1 - Liaison Section

December 10, 1959

VIA LIAISON

Honorable Christian A. Herter
The Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Herter:

With regard to my letter of December 3, 1959, concerning Czechoslovakian activities in the United States, I thought you would be interested in the enclosed memorandum. This information was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA, and pertains to statements made by Gustav Soucek, a high-ranking official of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

In view of the extremely sensitive nature of certain of the sources of our information, it is requested that the contents of this communication be afforded the most careful security and its use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

Sincerely yours,

REC-32

100-428091

Enclosure

NOTE ON YELLOW:

This letter and its enclosure are classified "~~Secret~~" since the information was obtained from a highly confidential source and unauthorized disclosure of this information would tend to disclose the identity of this source with resultant grave damage to the national defense.

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont 12/9/59 captioned "Solo, IS-C," AJD:med.

AJD:med:mpp (6)

~~TOP SECRET~~

100-428091
20 DEC 14 1959

FBI

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Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

5 DEC 17 1959

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: 12/11/59

FROM : A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: SOLO

Tolson
Belmont
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W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room

In accordance with Mr. Tolson's memorandum of 12/10, we have revised the letter to the Vice President concerning information gathered by our informant from communist sources in Czechoslovakia, to restrict the letter to one page.

I recognize that the Vice President is a very busy man, and there is a natural tendency for high officials to be reluctant to read a letter or communication of more than a page or two. I feel I would be remiss, however, if I did not point out that during his recent trip to Russia and China our informant, based on targets we gave him, talked to top communist leaders in Russia, China, Czechoslovakia, Spain, Argentina, Cuba and Japan. Inasmuch as the Communist Party runs the government in Russia, China and Czechoslovakia, the information gathered by our informant represents the top policy of those countries, not expressed for public consumption, but the inner thoughts as expressed from one top communist to another.

While communists do not control the other countries, the information represents the planning of the communists in those countries, and as such is simply not available to US Government officials from any other source--a fact admitted by CIA. As in the instances of the other countries above mentioned, the information from Gustav Soucek, head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, pertained only in small part to relations with the CP of the US, but dealt largely with the policies of the communists in running Czechoslovakia, the problems they have encountered, and the strength of the communist control of the country. To me, this appears to be information of extreme value to the policy makers of our country, of a type which would avidly be consumed by our policy makers.

Because of the highly unusual nature of the information, and its extreme value, coupled with the delicacy of our source, we have restricted dissemination to the top level in government. In so doing we have consolidated the heavy volume of information furnished by our informant into meaty, concentrated memoranda. I know of no other information we have been able to collect and disseminate which exceeds or even comes up to the quality of the information furnished as a result of the recent trip of this informant.

55 DEC 17 1959 REC-32 100-428091-536

Perhaps we could accomplish both objectives, namely to present a concise one-page picture, and also furnish the additional information, by making the cover letter a one-page summary, and attaching the four-page memorandum as an enclosure in the event the Vice President wants to read it. If you agree with this, we will re-do the attached letter to show the four-page memorandum as an attachment.

AHB:CSH (4)
Enclosure

no. attached is sufficient
I concur
#591

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: 12-10-59

FROM : F. A. FROHBOSE

SUBJECT: SOLO

Tolson
Belmont
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As you know, we recently disseminated information developed by the Bureau's highly sensitive source, who was in Peking, Red China, and who conferred with several foreign top communist officials. You may be interested in the following comments which were made to Agent Papich by CIA officials.

On 12-8-59 Allen Dulles referred to the information as being "terrific." He was extremely interested in the information furnished concerning the Japanese Communist Party and he has found that the comments of the Red Chinese officials are being most helpful in analyzing the current Soviet "peaceful coexistence line."

James Angleton, CIA, referred to the information as being extremely valuable. He pointed out that the information will fill several gaps in current foreign intelligence coverage.

[redacted] a former Bureau Agent, who is now a CIA specialist on communist activities in Latin America, described the Bureau informant's information as being "sensational." [redacted] comments are particularly significant since he definitely is a well-informed individual and has been a keen student of developments in South America. [redacted] stated that some of the information emanating from the Bureau informant was entirely new, and other information was ~~new~~ substantiating previous reports received from sources of unknown reliability. He commented that the Bureau's information now makes it much easier to evaluate certain developments.

b6
b7C

[redacted] commented in apparent sincerity that the information concerning the Communist Party of Spain was probably the best developed data for the past year. He implied that CIA and other agencies have not been able to come up with any really good information concerning developments within the Spanish Communist Party.

ACTION: None. For your information.

SJP/nmn
(6)
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Decker
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Papich

REC-32 100-428921-527

EX-133

7 DEC 16 1959

55 DEC 18 1959

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Ocker

The Attorney General

December 8, 1959

Director, FBI

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

In reference to our conversation on December 3, 1959, I have reviewed the information that I have previously furnished to you concerning contacts of the Soviets with the Communist Party, USA. The material which has been incorporated in our previous memoranda was obtained from a high-level informant and if this information was used publicly, it could result in exposing our informant.

However, there is attached a memorandum containing information concerning the tie-in of the Communist Party, USA, with the international communist conspiracy, the reaction of Communist Party, USA, leaders to peaceful coexistence and the stepped-up activity on the part of communist parties in Latin American countries which you may desire to use.

Enclosure

100-428091

NOTE ON YELLOW:

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 12-8-59 captioned "Solo, IS-C," AJD:med.

AJD:med
(6)

100-428091-536

6 DEC 15 1959

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55 DEC 15 1959

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Decker

December 8, 1959

THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND ITS RELATION TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY

The November, 1959, issue of the "World Marxist Review," the theoretical journal of international communism published in Prague, Czechoslovakia, contained an article by L. Ilyichov entitled "Peaceful Co-existence and the Struggle of Two Ideologies." The following excerpt from this authoritative communist journal reveals the actual theoretical basis of peaceful coexistence and its real meaning to the free world:

"Apart from the struggle in the political and economic spheres--which, according to the Communists, should develop in the form of peaceful co-existence, in the form of peaceful competition, there is also the struggle in the sphere of ideology--a major factor in the development of society.

"In the latter sphere there has never been nor can there be peaceful co-existence between socialism and capitalism. The Communists have always fought and will continue to fight for their ideas, for the revolutionary ideology of the working class as the most advanced and progressive ideology of our times.

"Whereas in the sphere of politics it is possible and necessary within reasonable limits to take into account the point of view of the opponent (otherwise negotiations would be out of the question since the object of the latter is to find points of contact and rapprochement between the standpoints) and whereas in the economic sphere concessions are likewise natural (on a mutual basis, of course), concessions which in the final analysis benefit the two parties, it would be utterly wrong to imagine that in exchange for concessions in political and economic relations the socialist state would make concessions in the sphere of ideology, to think that normalisation of international relations depends on reconciling ideologies and abandoning principles."

Dec 8 4 40 PM 59
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100-428091
AJD:med
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ENCLOSURE

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Despite Soviet advocacy of an ostensible "peace front," there has been no letup in Red subversion. To the contrary, the Soviet Union's much heralded "peaceful coexistence" campaign has opened the door for foreign-directed espionage on an accelerated scale. To the Soviets, this slogan is merely a tactical expedient clearly designed to expand international communism's capabilities for espionage and subversion. Experience has taught the bitter truth that never should we be more alert than when communist powers cloak their drive for world domination behind appeasement policies. There is little doubt that the increasing pressure of foreign-directed espionage activity will continue with added emphasis for an indefinite future period.

Next to subversion itself, the greatest danger this country can face is an ever-growing national disregard for realities evidenced by an attitude that our way of life is so well entrenched that nothing need be done to protect it. This doctrine induces a dangerous apathy. We cannot afford to accept it.

Today, the international communist conspiracy which is clearly the greatest menace free civilization has ever known is organized in over 70 countries throughout the world. Communist parties have come into control in 17 of these countries. The communist controlled or dominated areas comprise one-fourth of the land area and approximately one-third of the inhabitants on the face of the globe. Even in noncommunist nations, there are almost four million Communist Party members dedicated to the overthrow of their existing governments. The Communist Party of the United States is a vital link in this world-wide conspiracy. The Communist Party, USA, utilizes elaborate security measures to conceal its operations and vigorously promotes front groups as well as other concealed outlets for a furtherance of its clandestine pursuits. It should be kept in mind at all times that the seriousness of the domestic threat from a Soviet dominated Communist Party in the United States is in direct proportion to the world threat posed by its masters in the Soviet Union. The fact that the Communist Party, USA, is a part of the international communist conspiracy directed by the Soviet Union was made abundantly clear by the presence of two Communist Party, USA, functionaries as official delegates to the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in Moscow, Russia, during January and February, 1959.

The Communist Party, USA, approaches its 17th National Convention scheduled for December 10-13, 1959, with renewed optimism for the future. It has succeeded in weeding out dissident groups from within its ranks and is solidly behind the Soviet Union. There are strong indications that the Communist Party, USA, will draft a new constitution based on democratic centralism which will assure that control will rest fully with the leadership which is in line with the Marxist-Leninist theory followed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In the future, no dissent by the rank and file will be tolerated. The Communist Party, USA, unfailingly follows the line emanating from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Early in December, 1959, a top-ranking official of the Communist Party, USA, bitterly castigated lesser Communist Party officials for pursuing the line that the anti-monopoly coalition is out of date, that the cold war is over and that the Communist Party's main task is to work for peace. He stated in no uncertain terms that the class war will not subside or weaken, that the antimonopoly coalition is not outmoded and that the cold war has not ended. He explained that the proper tactic for the Communist Party in the United States is to mobilize the people and to compel the United States Government to reach an understanding with the Soviet Union and with other socialist countries under terms dictated by Soviet Russia.

The Communist Party, USA, has, however, recognized that Khrushchev's siren call for peaceful coexistence and disarmament presented an unprecedented opportunity for it to seize upon these issues as propaganda to create for the Communist Party a false air of respectability and legality. In recent weeks, leading Communist Party members have voiced the belief that Khrushchev's line has created an atmosphere which will enable the Communist Party to successfully expand its recruitment program and substantially increase its activities in all of its fields of subversion.

Despite statements by Khrushchev and Mikoyan that the Soviets have no contact with and exercise no control over the communist parties of other countries, the communist parties in Latin American countries have with the approval of the Soviets stepped up their activities designed to infiltrate mass organizations and to promote demonstrations against the United States. This is particularly true in Cuba where the Communist Party has been making rapid inroads in its efforts to infiltrate the Cuban Cabinet and has for all practical purposes gained control of the Armed Forces and the police agencies.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 11/30/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

REC 13

CG 5824-S*, on November 29, 1959, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING the following items, which are being enclosed herewith to the Bureau:

(1) A book in Chinese which contains production statistics in regard to China. This book was used as a reference by LI Fu-chun, Vice Premier of the State Council and Chairman of the State Planning Commission, at a meeting in Peking, China, on or about September 30, 1959. This meeting was attended only by leading members of Communist Party delegations to the 10th Anniversary celebration of the founding of the People's Republic of China. During the meeting, the heads of the delegations from other Communist Parties asked if they could be given a copy of the book. In a day or two, this copy was delivered to CG 5824-S*.

The Bureau may wish to translate this book. Whether or not this is done, it is requested that the book be returned to the Chicago Division as soon as the Bureau is finished with it, so that it can be returned to CG 5824-S* in the event that he may have to produce it at some time or another or exhibit it to members of the Communist Party - USA.

(2) A brochure concerning the House of Nationalities, which has recently been constructed in Peking. This building is not yet open to the public.

It is also requested that this item be returned to the Chicago Division for CG 5824-S* as soon as the Bureau is through with it.

Enc #2 returned by 0-7 to CG 12-4-59 AJD/bcm

Enc #1 returned by 0-7 to CG 12-10-59 AJD

ENCLOSURE

REC 13 100-428091-529

2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

14 DEC 15 1959

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INT. SEC.

Ret to Sec of State Christian A. Nater 12-14-59 AJD dju

Ret to Director CIA Allen W. Dulles 12-14-59 AJD dju

TOP SECRET

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Decker
1 - Liaison

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 07-07-2011

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(JT)

December 14, 1959

VIA LIAISON

Downgraded to Secret by letter to C/A 1/18/60
100-428091-59

To A. Dulles with enc 12/14/59

Mr. Allen W. Dulles
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Administration Building
2430 E Street, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Allen:

I thought that you would be interested in the enclosed photographic copy of a book written in the Chinese language which was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA.

This book, which is entitled "The Great Ten Years (Statistics of Economic and Cultural Achievement)," was published by the People's Publication Agency of the People's Republic of China on September 1, 1959, and describes the economic and cultural achievements of Red China for the last ten years.

In view of the extremely sensitive nature of certain of the sources of our information, it is requested that this communication and its enclosure be afforded the most careful security and its use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

Sincerely,

NOTE ON YELLOW: This letter is classified "Top Secret" inasmuch as the above-described book was obtained from a highly placed source and unauthorized disclosure would tend to disclose the identity of the source, with resultant grave danger to the national defense.

Enclosure

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont 12-11-59 [illegible] "Solo, IS-C," AJD:djw.

REC-13 100-428091-
AJD:djw
(6)

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FBI

7 DEC 15 1959

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/7/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

CG 5824-S* on December 2, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following pages. This report pertains to a question and answer session between Communist Party delegates to the 10th Anniversary Celebration of the Founding of the People's Republic of China and LI Fu-chun, Vice Premier and Director of State Planning in China.

1-Rm 1243
2 - Bureau (AM) (RM)
1 - New York (100-134637) (AM) (RM)
1 - Chicago

JEK:fes
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Book referred to pg 2 - disseminated State + CIA 12/14/59

#5

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-530

REC

25 DEC 15 1959

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55 DEC 21 1959

Question and Answer Session Between Communist Party Delegates to the 10th Anniversary Celebration of the Founding of the People's Republic of China and LI Fu-chun, Vice Premier and Director of State Planning in China

China

On September 30, 1959, delegates from other Communist Parties in Peking, China, for the 10th Anniversary Celebration of the Founding of the People's Republic of China, were invited to listen to a report by LI Fu-chun, Vice Premier and Director of State Planning in China. LI Fu-chun is also a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China. This meeting was chaired by WANG Chia-hsing, Head of the International Liaison Department of the Communist Party of China. This meeting was held in the old Hall of the People's Congress in Peking.

LI Fu-chun's report concerns statistics in regard to production in China. He used as the basis for his report a book printed in Chinese. Delegates from the other Communist Parties asked if they might be given a copy of this book. In a day or two, copies of the book were made available to the heads of the delegations from other Communist Parties, and this book has been submitted separately.

The following are questions asked of LI Fu-chun by various delegates and his answers to these questions.

Question: When tens of thousands of people were mobilized for transportation, distribution, etc., during the period of the big drive to produce steel in small furnaces throughout China, did this advance affect production in other fields?

Answer: Nine million people were mobilized in the drive to produce more steel. Yes, this drive did adversely affect harvest work. This was due to the fact that we lacked experience in organizing mass work on such a large scale.

Question: When the demands on the market are increased due to higher standards, why is it incorrect, as the Rightists say, to call it disproportion?

Answer: Last year agricultural production increased 25%, light industry production by 34%, and the purchasing power of the people by 12%. Therefore, the picture as a whole shows development in good proportion. For the short period there was a strain on the

100-428491 — 535

ENCLOSURE

market merely in regard to eggs, pork, and vegetables. The lack of proper arrangements and experiences were responsible for this short strain. We did not estimate that the peasants in the Communes would eat more meat and vegetables. If each peasant eats one additional pound of pork, five hundred thousand additional tons of pork are needed to supply this demand. There are 5.5 persons in the countryside to every one in the city. If the people in the countryside eat a little bit more than the people in the city get less. However, we discovered this last March and we are now producing a lot more agricultural products on the outskirts of the cities so this question is being solved. This is different from the statements of the Rightists that there is "total disproportion in the economy".

Question: How do you encourage private capital to join socialist construction?

Answer: The main thing is that there should be no conflict between private capital and socialist construction. Prior to 1957, we went through two stages in regard to private capitalists. The third stage consists of restricting, controlling, and reforming them. The Government made contracts with and supervised them. They must abide by the laws of the state. Yet we guaranteed them certain profits. In 1957, we entered a higher stage through the movement to turn private capital into joint state-private enterprises. Prior to 1956, we had given private capital fixed interest. Now private capital takes part in the joint state-private enterprises. The Communist Party calls this the "Policy of Redemption". It has cost 20,000 million yen for redemption, and it will cost another 10,000 million yen to complete redemption.

Politically and ideologically we struggle against the Rightists and the bourgeoisie. We severely criticize them. Therefore, there is a bitter struggle with the remnants of the capitalist class. In 1957, we transformed private capital into joint state-private enterprises. Then the Rightists opened an offensive against us. Economically private capital has been changed. The private capitalists do get fixed interest. Ideologically and politically the private capitalists still have influences. This ideological struggle will be prolonged until the world outlook bourgeoisie will be changed.

At the present time the ideology of the bourgeoisie can be placed into three categories. One category is the Left and it is willing to follow the Communist Party, but this category is small in number. The majority of the bourgeoisie are in a middle category.

They draw fixed interest each year. They take part in the joint state-private enterprises and they get salaries. The third category opposes socialism and are Rightists and obstructionists. After the campaign of 1957, this Rightist section was isolated. The Right opportunists in the Communist Party of China are few in number. They reflect the class origin of the bourgeoisie and are the spokesmen for the bourgeoisie within the Communist Party. When these Right opportunists oppose the leap forward, they are on the side of the bourgeoisie.

Question: What are the differences and similarities between the Right opportunists who are in the Communist Party of China now and those who were in the Communist Party of China before the liberation?

Answer: Before the liberation, Right opportunism expressed itself in the method of combating the bourgeois democratic revolution. That is, to stop the bourgeois democratic revolution halfway instead of carrying it through to the end and developing it into a proletarian revolution. The class origin of the Right opportunists is the same now as it was in the past. Today, however, we are carrying forward the socialist revolution. The Right opportunists oppose this. They want to slow it down. If we do not eliminate bourgeois thinking, this would be a setback for the socialist revolution.

China is a country of poverty and backwardness. Even at normal speed it will take one hundred years to turn China into a modern industrial, cultural China. The Chinese laboring people are eager to rapidly change China. The big population and the help from the other socialist countries can speed the development. The general line of the Communist Party reflecting the desire of the people to speed up socialist construction has the support of the people. This is responsible for the great leap forward. The Right opportunists are opposed to this and want to slow the advance of socialism. If we do not push ahead we will fall back to capitalism. The Right opportunists, before and after liberation, are a reflection of bourgeois ideology at two different stages of development.

Question: What methods and means are used to fight Right opportunism?

Answer: First of all, we criticize the Right opportunists. We point out their class, historical origin. Through vigorous criticism of the Right opportunists we make things clear to the entire Party. In this way we reduce their influence and isolate the Right opportunists. However, organizationally we treat them with leniency. This is because of the dual character of the Right opportunists. In the past, they made a contribution to the

revolution. We try to encourage their aspirations for socialism. Then we see if they change. If they do not, then we help them to change.

Question: Did Left deviations emerge in the Party?

Answer: Yes, some Left tendencies did emerge in the last three years. For instance, there was overconcentration. There was also a tendency toward equalitarianism in the distribution in the Communes. Again, the unrealistic targets before May, 1959, reflect Left tendencies. However, these Left tendencies were different from Right opportunism since they did not affect the general line, could easily be corrected and did not affect the trend of the revolution. The struggle against Right opportunism is a struggle to decide which road to follow. The issue is socialism or not socialism.

Question: What foreign trade does China carry on?

Answer: We carry on foreign trade with numerous countries with equality and mutual advantage. Some countries are still not willing to carry on trade with China. Most of our imports are from the socialist countries. Most of our oil comes from socialist countries, but we do get some oil from Indonesia. We have a shortage and need rubber and will get it from Southeast Asia. In short, as we develop socialism we will be better prepared for foreign trade. As a result of the help from the socialist countries we do not need to beg.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/4/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re Chicago airtel dated November 16, 1959, setting forth information from CG 5824-S* concerning a meeting in Moscow, Russia, with an unidentified person called "Comrade PETER".

During November, 1959, the photographs of the following were exhibited, with negative results, to CG 5824-S* in an effort to identify "Comrade PETER":

PETR VASILIEVICH ANDREEV
PETIOR TERENTEEVICH GITULYAR
PETR IVANOVICH IASSYA
PETR ANDREEVITCH SERGEEV
PETR IVANOVICH YABLONKA

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637)(SOLO)(REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kws
(4)

REC-81
100-428091-531

55 DEC 17 1959

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 07-05-2011

~~TOP SECRET~~

Belmont
Baumgardner
Decker
1 - Liaison

100-428091-594

Downgraded to Secret by letter to State 1/18/62

December 14, 1959

VIA LIAISON

delivered to Herter's secretary 12/14/59

Honorable Christian A. Herter
The Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Herter:

I thought that you would be interested in the enclosed photographic copy of a book written in the Chinese language which was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA.

This book, which is entitled "The Great Ten Years (Statistics of Economic and Cultural Achievement)," was published by the People's Publication Agency of the People's Republic of China on September 1, 1959, and describes the economic and cultural achievements of Red China for the last ten years.

In view of the extremely sensitive nature of certain of the sources of our information, it is requested that this communication and its enclosure be afforded the most careful security and its use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

Sincerely yours,

NOTE ON YELLOW: This letter is classified "~~Top Secret~~" inasmuch as the above-described book was obtained from a highly placed source and unauthorized disclosure would tend to disclose the identity of the source, with resultant grave danger to the national defense.

Enclosure

REC-11 100-428091-533

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont, 12-11-59 captioned "Solo, IS-C," AJD:djw.

100-428091

AJD:djw
(6)

4 DEC 16 1959

EX-135

Tolson
Belmont
DeLoach
McGuire
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~TOP SECRET~~

55 DEC 18 1959

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/1/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re Chicago letter dated November 23, 1959, containing information from CG 5824-S* concerning a meeting with GUSTAV SOUCEK, head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

CG 5824-S*, on November 25, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following pages. This is a more complete report of the meeting with SOUCEK.

1-1243
2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637)(SOLO)(REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kws
(4)

EXP. PROC.

MEMO: B'gardner to Belmont 12/8/59 letter detailed AG, UP, GRAY, Herter + Dulles 12/9/59 AJD:med.

C.D. BRENNAN

EX-135 REC-11 100-428091-534

7 DEC 8 1959

ENCLOSURE

55 DEC 18 1959

MEETING BETWEEN MORRIS CHILDS, OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY - USA, AND GUSTAV SOUCEK AND LADISLAV KOCMAN, OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

On the morning of November 7, 1959, MORRIS CHILDS met with GUSTAV SOUCEK, Head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. LADISLAV KOCMAN, of the same department, also participated in this meeting. KOCMAN has the following mailing address:

LADISLAV KOCMAN
Strosovico
Spanna 12
Praha 5

This meeting began with remarks by CHILDS. He talked about the preparations by the Communist Party - USA for its 17th National Convention. He also discussed the current economic and political situations in the United States. He then gave a brief analysis of the results of the visit of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV to the United States.

After thanking CHILDS for this information, SOUCEK stated that HENDRYCH (phonetic), of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, wanted to meet with CHILDS, but he was quite ill and was not in Prague.

SOUCEK said, We understand the difficulties connected with Communist Party work in the United States. Your circumstances are different than those in many other countries. You have to make contact with the masses. LENIN often spoke of the dangers of sectarianism. You are correct in trying to break away from your isolation from the masses.

Next, SOUCEK stated, Your Party and our Party should strive for closer contacts. Our contacts need improvement. They have not been of the very best. Not everything needs to go through the Embassy. There is no reason why some Party matters cannot be sent to our Party here or from our Party to your Party through a news agency. We made some mistakes in the past. Some questions concerning the United States were taken up and sent through our Embassy in the United States and that was wrong.

100-425091-534

ENCLOSURE

Then SOUCEK stated that he would like the Communist Party - USA to express itself or would like the leadership of the Communist Party - USA to render an opinion on the propaganda which the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia issues for consumption in the United States. He said that such an opinion should be transmitted to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia through the International Department of the Communist Party - USA and should be confidential. You must be the judge as to whether our propaganda material for the United States is good or bad.

SOUCEK then mentioned the Czechoslovakian General Council of Trade Unions. He said it has many contacts in the United States, but it intends to enlarge its contacts in the United States. Some three years ago, some trade union delegates from the United States visited Czechoslovakia. Some in this delegation were of Czechoslovakian origin. SOUCEK stated that he hopes that the General Council of Trade Unions will enlarge its contacts and extend its influence in the United States.

Then SOUCEK stated, We have our Philharmonic Orchestra travelling. It has been to Australia and to other countries, and is receiving a good welcome. This will improve contacts with those countries. He stated that this symphony orchestra would be willing to accept an invitation to the United States, and asked if this would help to better United States - Czechoslovakian relationships. CHILDS replied that it would.

Next, SOUCEK suggested the possibilities of exchanges of trade union delegations between the United States and Czechoslovakia. He stated that a large number of international meetings are held in Prague. In particular, there are a lot of trade union meetings in connection with theWorld Federation of Trade Unions. Yet, American trade unionists very rarely come to Prague. He commented that perhaps there can be an exchange of trade union delegations between the United States and Czechoslovakia in the future.

At this point, SOUCEK asked what CHILDS know about the people who had been in Prague a few days earlier and had claimed to be a trade union delegation. (This is a reference to the group which included [redacted]. b6 b7C
CHILDS stated that these people are members of the Communist Party - USA and may have carried some "credential" from their respective trade union locals, but the official trade union movement in the United States does not favor the exchange of official trade union delegations between the United States and the Socialist countries at the present time.

Then SOUCEK stated that Czechoslovakia has a special institution for the spreading of international contacts and relationships. This institution combines cultural exchanges with other forms of exchange. Last year, three thousand Americans, mostly of Czechoslovakian and Slovak descent, visited Prague.

Next, SOUCEK discussed the question of contact in the United States with former Czechoslovakian citizens. He recalled that he had mentioned the bad relationship which developed because of the way the Czechoslovakian Embassy in the United States contacted former Czechoslovakians who are also members of the Communist Party - USA. He said that [redacted] of Chicago, may have gone beyond her field, which is arranging for visits of former Czechoslovakians to Czechoslovakia. Yet, the Communist Party - USA should understand that Czechoslovakia wants to have friendly relationships and contact with former Czechoslovakians and Slovaks who are now residing in the United States.

CHILDS said that [redacted] had gone beyond the scope of her authority. She meddled in the arrangements for this delegation of trade unionists who had just been in Prague. She did not have the authority of either the Communist Party - USA or the Illinois District of the Communist Party - USA to do this.

SOUCEK admitted that Czechoslovakia would not have received this group unless it had been informed in advance by HELEN VRAESL that they wanted to visit Prague.

CHILDS stated that [redacted] has been removed from the State Committee of the Illinois District of the Communist Party - USA, and has also been removed from the All-Slav Committee. CHILDS said that through the Czechoslovakian Embassy, [redacted] sent many people to Czechoslovakia for visits, but did not discuss any of this with the All-Slav Committee. SOUCEK admitted that VRAESL had gone too far, but stated, You must bear with us when we have contact with former Czechoslovakian citizens.

During this discussion, SOUCEK mentioned that Czechoslovakian diplomatic personnel in the United States had also been in contact with ANTHONY KRCHMAREK and his daughter.

Next, SOUCEK stated that there were thousands of visitors in Czechoslovakia last year. These people came to Czechoslovakia with all kinds of prejudices. They expected to see the churches destroyed, all personal and real property taken over by the State, etc. Yet, when they arrived here, they saw the treasures intact.

They see all the food in the stores. They see that all of the people are living well. We even had some bankers of Czechoslovakian descent as visitors. They were amazed at our banking facilities and the fact that we have so few bank guards.

Continuing, SOUCEK stated, We want these people to come to Czechoslovakia. Some of them re-visit their home towns. They compare the present conditions with what they were thirty years ago. Then they change their opinions of Czechoslovakia and Socialism. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia can utilize these travellers for propaganda purposes. Then he emphasized that the establishing of contacts and the arranging for tourists to go from the United States to Czechoslovakia can be done legally. It has to be done legally, because Czechoslovakia wants to improve its relationship with the United States.

SOUCEK said that former contacts in the United States with the Communist Party - USA are no good. They have been spoiled. We have broken all contact. TISHLER (phonetic) joined the "enemy" and has asked the United States State Department for asylum. This defection has caused us to make hard and sweeping changes. We have a new Ambassador in the United States, Comrade MILOSLAV RUZEK. He is a very capable comrade and diplomat. He is going to change the entire personnel. He is going to tighten up. He has also been instructed to change the contacts with members of the Communist Party - USA. His instructions are to use the "illegal channels" only when absolutely necessary.

(Parenthetically speaking, it is believed that SOUCEK was referring only to contacts with members of the Communist Party - USA in the United States. Thus, the term "illegal" would refer to the subject matter of the contact. For example, a "legal contact" would be one in which a member of the Communist Party - USA was contacted merely to arrange for someone in the United States to take a trip to Czechoslovakia for personal reasons. Therefore, it is not believed that SOUCEK was referring to any intelligence or illegal agents which Czechoslovakia may have in the United States).

Then SOUCEK said, We need "legal channels". We have to work out the use of these "legal" channels. In regard to information, it is news. Why can't information be sent to the United States from Czechoslovakia and from the United States to Czechoslovakia as news. We send our press releases to bourgeoid newspapers. We can also send them to the Communist Party - USA so they can use them. The Czechoslovakian Information Agency cannot send

out anything without our knowing about it. Information in regard to general developments of the economy in Czechoslovakia can be sent to the Communist Party - USA through the news agencies.

Then SOUCEK said, I was present when some of our trade union people met with five people in the trade union delegation from the United States (this group included [redacted] all of Chicago). SOUCEK stated, They seem to think that it is possible to send more trade unionists to Czechoslovakia legally.

CHILDS replied that the Trade Union Commission of the Communist Party - USA is working on this and that Comrade IRVING POTASH is in charge of this commission. SOUCEK stated, I know Comrade POTASH very well. Give him my warm personal regards. The Trade Union Commission of the Communist Party - USA is in good hands.

Next, SOUCEK stated, We have to improve contacts between the Communist Party - USA and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. We have to do it carefully and lay a solid basis for it. There should be no improvisation. Think this question over. Maybe you will have some proposals for direct contact. We must think of some way to exchange information on mutual problems. Maybe the best method would be to have a contact in Prague and an occasional contact in the United States. Keep in mind, however, that these things are dangerous. In view of the re-organization of the Embassy in the United States, it would be necessary to carefully consider any contact in the United States. He again stated that he believes that Comrade MILOSLAV RUZEK will do a good job in the United States. He repeated that it would be well to keep in mind that there can be no improvisation, in regard to a contact between the Communist Party - USA and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the United States.

At this point, CHILDS stated that perhaps sometime after the 17th National Convention in December, 1959, the Communist Party - USA may send a representative to Prague and possibly to Moscow. Further, the Communist Party - USA has some problems to take up with the Communist Party of China, and the Chinese prefer that the Communist Party - USA do this through a Chinese comrade on the "World Marxist Review". CHILDS said that at that time the Communist Party - USA might make some suggestions for improved contact between the Communist Party - USA and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. SOUCEK said that this plan sounded reasonable.

CHILDS then stated that if this representative of the Communist Party - USA (possibly JACK CHILDS) makes a trip to Prague, he will probably travel under illegal circumstances, since he will carry material which requires security. CHILDS asked, Will this comrade be introduced to the Chinese comrade and will his trip to Moscow be expedited?

SOUCEK replied, We will do everything you ask. We want to improve our contact.

Next, SOUCEK talked about KHRUSHCHEV's visit to the United States. He said that while it will not be possible to repeat such a visit at such a level, Czechoslovakia also wants to improve relationships with the United States.

SOUCEK again referred to the fact that Czechoslovakia has various groups travelling abroad. He said that a Czechoslovakian circus was in Japan, and that thirty thousand people have seen its performances there. Such things result in good will and are, indirectly, propaganda. The Philharmonic Orchestra created good will in India, Burma, and Australia. He again wondered if such a visit by such a group to the United States would help United States - Czechoslovakian relationships. Again, SOUCEK stated that he wants the leadership of the Communist Party - USA to study the Czechoslovakian means and methods of propaganda from the standpoint of whether this material is influencing anyone. He also stated that he would like any advice in regard to non-Communist Party members in the United States who would be interested in promoting Czechoslovakian-American cultural exchanges.

Then SOUCEK stated that when the Czechoslovakian circus was in Tokyo, Japan, the performers violated instructions and made a sectarian mistake. They joined in the celebration of the anniversary of the Communist Party of Japan. While the Japanese comrades appreciated this, we thought that it was a mistake. We do not want to repeat this mistake in other countries. In regard to cultural exchanges, we are thinking of broad mass contacts and not just contacts with comrades in other countries. The exchange of educational groups and scientific groups would help United States - Czechoslovakian relationships. We have no personality who can do what NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV did in the United States and, in any event, KHRUSHCHEV's visit cannot be repeated.

Next, SOUCEK stated, I ought to talk to you about our situation in Czechoslovakia. I will join you for lunch in order to continue the discussion.

In concluding this phase of the discussion, SOUCEK urged that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia be supplied with more information on the defense of the "legal rights" of the Communist Party - USA. He also stated that he thinks that this international campaign for legality for the United States should start in Capitalist countries, even though the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is willing to do its share in the campaign.

Later, SOUCEK and KOCIAN joined MORRIS and SYLVIA CHILDS for lunch in the hotel which the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia uses for representatives of other Communist Parties who are in Prague. During the opening conversation, SOUCEK stated that he had been the Czechoslovakian Ambassador to France. SOUCEK dresses well and is very business-like. He stated that originally he was a coal miner and was active in the trade union movement. Later, he was trained in diplomacy and then became the head of the International Department of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

SOUCEK talked about WILLIAM L. PATTERSON. He said, "Tell Comrade PATTERSON and his wife that they can come to Czechoslovakia and can spend three or four weeks in Czechoslovakia. This decision is different from the decision which was made earlier in the year. We do not want well known Communists from the United States to take up residence in Czechoslovakia, since we are trying to improve relationships with the United States.

SOUCEK then asked if CHILDS knew that PATTERSON had sent a document on the Negro question to the Czechoslovakian Embassy in the United States. CHILDS replied that he knew this and also knew that PATTERSON had done it without authority from the leadership of the Communist Party - USA. CHILDS said that he also knew that PATTERSON had asked the Czechoslovakian Embassy for some money without authority from the Communist Party - USA. SOUCEK replied, These are the very things we were thinking about. Many of these things have been handled carelessly in our Embassy in the United States up to now.

Hurriedly, SOUCEK talked about the situation in Czechoslovakia. He said that there has been a real rapid improvement in the economic conditions. Economic production increased by 11% in the first ten months of this year. What is needed now is to solve the agricultural situation. While it has been improving steadily, it is not improving fast enough. Czechoslovakia has some difficulties in the fact that the farms are divided into small plots of land, and this is not very efficient or economical. Therefore,

Czechoslovakia will try to push co-operative and collective farm movements on a scientific basis. It will also try to step up production of agricultural machinery and fertilizers. It will also step up the introduction of power and electricity on the farms.

Then SOUCEK stated, You have been to China. Did you visit any communes? If so, what do you think? CHILDS replied, in a reserved manner, that he had visited a couple of communes but asked what he could say since he had not visited enough communes to be able to make an opinion or judgement.

SOUCEK replied, It is true that no one knows China. Perhaps the communes are good for the Chinese, but we cannot force any such rapid collectivization.

Then SOUCEK stated, We were successful in our revolution at a most crucial moment, because we had the majority of the people on our side. We had the workers and convinced the majority of the farmers and the middle classes that we were fighting for their interests too when we were fighting for national interests. You do not know how close American imperialism came to dominating Czechoslovakia in 1948. However, we beat them because we had good relationships with all strata of our population.

Next, SOUCEK stated, One of the problems we have now is to convince the working class that the standard of living, which is rising rapidly, cannot continue to rise without increased productivity. This is a big problem facing us now. Plants are constantly being mechanized and some automation is being introduced. The younger worker is quite productive, but the older worker expects to get proportional and constant pay increases as productivity increases. This cannot continue. We have to carry on a tremendous ideological campaign to convince the majority of the workers that all of the increased productivity cannot go merely to increase their standards of living. More of it has to be used to expand industries. It has to be used for more capital investment in industry.

SOUCEK complained that many of the workers in Czechoslovakia measure the standard of living by how much meat, butter, and milk they got. He said, There is a limit to that. Accompanying our ideological campaign, we are carrying on an enlightment campaign, organized by scientists, doctors, and dieticians, to convince the population that over-eating is not good. Our people eat too much meat and fat.

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

b6
b7C

FBI

Date: 12/9/59

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL -- REGISTERED
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re Bureau airtel dated 12/7/59.

Interviews in connection with the most recent "SOLO" operation have been completed, and seven items are in the process of dictation. These concern the following subject matter:

(1) Information concerning [redacted]

(2) Meeting with representatives of the Foreign Literature Department of the Soviet Union.

(3) Information pertaining to MANYA REISS.

(4) Information pertaining to V. J. JEROME and HERSHEL MEYER.

(5) Information pertaining to [redacted] and [redacted] of Paris, France.

(6) Meeting in Prague, Czechoslovakia, with some of the Editors of the "World Marxist Review".

(7) Information pertaining to a trip to Nanking and Shanghai, China, and two meetings held in Shanghai concerning underground operations of the Communist Party of China prior to the revolution.

3 - Bureau
1 - Chicago

REC-11 100-428091-535

JEK/kws
(4)

EX-135

16 DEC 11 1959

INT. SEC.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

55 DEC 18 1959

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

CG 134-46 (Sub B)

The first six of the above-listed items will be submitted by the Chicago Division on 12/9/59. Item #7 consists of approximately fifteen pages, and will be submitted on 12/10/59.

CG 5824-S* is presently in New York City. Upon his return to Chicago, he will be asked to again review his notes; however, as of the present time he has advised that he has completed furnishing information concerning the third "SOLO" trip.

LOPEZ

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: December 8, 1959

FROM : MR. F. J. BAUMGARDNER

Tolson
Belmont
DeLoach
McGuire
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Gandy

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference is made to the Director's memorandum 12-3-59 and my memorandum 12-4-59, both of which are attached. In accordance with the Director's instructions, we have carefully reviewed the material we have received as a result of the informant's most recent trip to the Soviet Union and Red China as well as recent information we have received through our coverage of the Communist Party, USA, and a memorandum has been prepared which should be of assistance to the Attorney General in making public statements concerning the Communist Party, USA, and its ties with international communism.

This memorandum quotes from an article which appeared in the 11-59 issue of the "World Marxist Review," the theoretical journal of international communism, which states that in the field of ideology, there can never be peaceful coexistence between socialism and capitalism and that the communists will continue to fight for the revolutionary ideology of the working class and will make no concessions in the sphere of ideology.

This memorandum also includes information which appeared in the Director's testimony before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations on February 5, 1959, in which the Director pointed out the danger of an apathetic attitude on the part of the public, the increase in foreign-directed espionage activity, and the tie-in of the Communist Party, USA (CP), with the international communist conspiracy.

It is noted that on 12-5-59 Gus Hall who will undoubtedly be the next general secretary of the CPUSA castigated CP members who have been taken in by Khrushchev's line and pointed out that the class struggle will continue unabated, that antimonopoly coalition is not outmoded and the cold war has not ended. He advocated that the CP mobilize the people to compel the United States Government to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union. The CPUSA has, of course, seized upon Khrushchev's statements as propaganda issues to create an atmosphere under which the Communist Party can pursue its subversive purposes.

Enclosures 12-8-59
100-428091
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Decker
AJD:med
(4)

REC-11 100-428091-536

EX-135

DEC 16 1959

55 DEC 18 1959

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
RE: SOLO
100-428091

Despite statements by Khrushchev and Mikoyan that the Soviets have no contact with and exercise no control over other communist parties, our informant determined during his last trip to Russia and China that the communist parties in Latin American countries have with Soviet approval stepped up their activities designed to infiltrate mass organizations and to promote anti-American demonstrations. The CP in Cuba has been particularly successful. It has infiltrated the Cuban Cabinet and has control over the Cuban Armed Forces and police agencies.

ACTION:

There is attached for the Director's approval an appropriate communication to the Attorney General in line with the details of this memorandum.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: December 4, 1959

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Decker

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
McGuire
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Gandy

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference is made to the Director's memorandum 12-3-59 attached, noting that the Attorney General had inquired concerning the possibility of his publicly making statements along the line of the reports we have been sending to him on the contacts of the Soviets with the Communist Party (CP), USA.

The reports referred to by the Attorney General contained information developed by our top informant, CG 5824-S, during his recent extensive visit to the Soviet Union and Red China. As the Director has indicated, the material which we incorporated in our memoranda to the Attorney General has come from our top-level informant, is of a highly delicate nature and has been disseminated only to high-ranking Government officials under a "Top Secret" classification.

We are examining the material from the Solo operations and such other material as we may have to determine what information is available which can be used by the Attorney General. It has occurred to us that an excellent vehicle to provide information along these lines may be the national convention of the CP, USA, scheduled for December 10-13, 1959. If it is possible to wait until the conclusion of this convention, our problem of providing material to the Attorney General and still protecting our informant may be solved.

RECOMMENDATION:

If the Director agrees, we will complete the memorandum to the Attorney General immediately after the receipt of the results of the CP, USA, convention December 10-13, 1959.

REC-11 100-428091-537

EX-135

10 DEC 16 1959

Not all will have to be done before then.

55 DEC 21 1959

Enclosure
100-428091
AJD:pwf (4)

memo Baumgardner to Belmont 12-8-59
Let A.G. 12-8-59 approved

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR

DATE: 12/10/59

FROM : Clyde Tolson

SUBJECT: Solo

Tolson
Belmont
DeLoach
McGuire
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

I do not think we are being properly selective in dissemination of information to public officials and particularly to the Vice President. An example is the attached letter concerning Czechoslovakian activities in the United States to which is attached a 4-page single-spaced memorandum. I personally doubt that all of this information is of any interest whatsoever to the Vice President.

I think if we want to advise him of developments in the Soviet and Communist Party field we should select only the most important such items and that under no circumstances should we send a communication more than one page in length.

Enclosure

cc - Mr. Belmont

I concur.

CT:LCB
(3)

memo 12/11/59

EX 109

REC-15 100-428091-538

5 ENCLOSURE cancelled-mail

10 DEC 16 1959

55 DEC 21 1959

CRIME REC.

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Decker

December 10, 1959

VIA LIAISON

Miss Rose Mary Woods
Executive Secretary to the Vice President
Room 361, Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Rose Mary:

I am enclosing a letter, with enclosure, which I think the Vice President might want to see.

Sincerely,

Enclosures - 2

NOTE ON YELLOW:

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 12/9/59 captioned "Solo, IS-C," AJD:med.

100-428091

AJD:med:ras
(6)

Tolson
Belmont
DeLoach
McGuire
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

100-428091-538
ENCLOSURE

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 07-05-2011

Honorable Richard M. Nixon
The Vice President
Washington 25, D. C.

PERSONAL AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~TOP~~ SECRET

Washington 25, D. C.

VIA LIAISON

Honorable Richard M. Nixon
The Vice President
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Dick:

With regard to my letter of December 3, 1959, concerning Czechoslovakian activities in the United States, I thought you would be interested in the enclosed memorandum. This information was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA, and pertains to statements made by Gustav Soucek, a high-ranking official of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

In view of the extremely sensitive nature of certain of the sources of our information, it is requested that the contents of this communication be afforded the most careful security and its use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

Sincerely,

Enclosure

100-428091

NOTE ON YELLOW: This letter and its enclosure are classified "Top Secret" since the information was obtained from a highly placed source and unauthorized disclosure of this information would tend to disclose the identity of this source with resultant grave damage to the national defense.

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont 12/9/59 captioned "Solo, IS-C," AJD:med.

AJD:med:mpp (6)

100-428091-1538

ENCLOSURE

Tolson
Belmont
DeLoach
McGuire
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐ SECRET

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

December 10, 1959

VIA LIAISON

Miss Rose Mary Woods
Executive Secretary to the Vice President
Room 361, Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Rose Mary:

I am enclosing a letter, with enclosure, which I think the Vice President might want to see.

Sincerely,

Enclosures - 2

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 07-05-2011

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

December 10, 1959

INFORMATION CONCERNING STATEMENTS BY A HIGH-RANKING OFFICIAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Sources which have furnished reliable information in the past to the FBI have reported that Gustav Soucek, head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, made the following statements in Prague, Czechoslovakia, during the month of November, 1959.

Gustav Soucek stated that the Communist Party, USA, and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia should strive for closer contacts and pointed out that the methods of making contacts must be improved. He stated that general information concerning Communist Party matters could be exchanged between the Communist Party, USA, and Czechoslovakia through a news agency rather than through the Czechoslovakian Embassy in the United States. He explained that the Czechoslovakian Information Agency sends press releases to bourgeois newspapers and these press releases could also be sent to the Communist Party, USA, furnishing the latter information such as the general development of the economy in Czechoslovakia. He indicated that the Czechoslovakian Information Agency is controlled by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Soucek continued that as a result of the defection of Lieutenant Colonel Frantisek Tisler, the former Czechoslovakian military attache in the United States, on July 25, 1959, the former contacts in the United States with the Communist Party, USA, have been "spoiled" and the Czechoslovakians have broken all previous contacts with the Communist Party, USA. He said that Tisler's defection has caused the Czechoslovakians to make hard and sweeping changes. Soucek remarked that the Czechoslovakians now have a new ambassador in the United States, Miloslav Ruzek, whom he characterized as a very capable comrade and diplomat. Ruzek is going to change the entire personnel at the Czechoslovakian Embassy in the United States and he has been instructed to change the method of making contacts with members of the Communist Party, USA, and to use illegal channels only when absolutely necessary.

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100-428091-5BB

ENCLOSURE

It was believed that Soucek was referring to the nature of contacts between the Communist Party, USA, and Czechoslovakia and was not referring to intelligence or illegal agents for Czechoslovakia living in the United States. Soucek added that in view of the reorganization of the Czechoslovakian Embassy in the United States, direct contacts between the Communist Party, USA, and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the United States must be very carefully considered. He suggested that the best method might be to have a contact in Prague and an occasional contact in the United States.

Soucek then suggested the possibility of exchange of trade-union delegations between the United States and Czechoslovakia. He said that a large number of international meetings are held in Prague, Czechoslovakia. He noted specifically that there are a number of trade-union meetings in Prague in connection with the World Federation of Trade-Unions. However, American trade-unionists rarely come to Prague. He mentioned that the Czechoslovakia General Council of Trade-Unions has many contacts in the United States and that it hopes to enlarge its contacts and extend its influence in the United States. Soucek observed that approximately three years ago some trade-union delegates from the United States visited Czechoslovakia and certain of the members of this delegation were of Czechoslovakian origin.

In regard to contacts in the United States by Czechoslovakian Embassy officials with former Czechoslovakian citizens who are members of the Communist Party, USA, Soucek related that these contacts resulted in the development of a bad relationship. However, he added that the Communist Party, USA, should understand that the Czechoslovakians desire to have friendly relationships and contact with former Czechoslovakians and Slovaks who are now residing in the United States. Soucek mentioned that Czechoslovakian diplomatic personnel in the United States have been in contact with Communist Party functionaries from the Illinois and Ohio Districts of the Communist Party, USA.

Soucek stated that Czechoslovakia has a special institution for the spreading of international contacts and relationships which combines cultural with other forms of exchange. During the past year, 3,000 Americans mainly of Czechoslovakian and Slovak descent visited Prague. They came to Czechoslovakia with all kinds of prejudices. They expected to see the churches destroyed and real property taken over by the state. However, when they arrived, they found the treasures intact. They observed that the stores were well

stocked with food and the people were living well. Soucek stated that among the visitors were bankers of Czechoslovakian descent who were amazed at the banking facilities and the fact that there were so few bank guards. Soucek continued that the Czechoslovakians want these people to visit Czechoslovakia. He explained that some of the American visitors of Czechoslovakian origin visited their home towns and compared the present conditions with those 30 years ago. They changed their opinion of Czechoslovakia and of socialism, and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia can utilize these individuals for propaganda purposes. Soucek emphasized that the establishment of contacts and arranging for tourists from the United States to travel to Czechoslovakia can and must be done legally because Czechoslovakia wants to improve its relationship with the United States.

Soucek stated that Czechoslovakia has various groups traveling abroad. He mentioned that a Czechoslovakian circus traveled in Japan and the Czechoslovakian Philharmonic Orchestra traveled to India, Burma and Australia. He stated that these groups are used to improve contacts in the countries visited. They create good will and are indirectly propaganda. He related that when the Czechoslovakian circus was in Tokyo, Japan, the performers violated instructions and made a sectarian mistake by joining in the celebration of the anniversary of the Communist Party of Japan. He added that in regard to cultural exchanges, the Czechoslovakians are thinking of broad mass contacts and not just contacts with Communist Party members in other countries. Soucek stated that the Czechoslovakian Philharmonic Orchestra would be willing to accept an invitation to the United States and added that he would be interested in non-Communist Party members in the United States who would be interested in promoting Czechoslovakian - American cultural exchanges.

In regard to the Communist Party, USA's attempt to establish an international campaign for defense of its "legal rights," Soucek stated that although the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is willing to do its share in this campaign, he believes it would be more effective to start this campaign in capitalist countries.

Concerning the internal situation in Czechoslovakia, Soucek stated that there has been a rapid improvement in economic conditions with an increase of 11 per cent in production during the first 10 months of 1959. He stated that the problem facing Czechoslovakia is agricultural production. While it has been

improving steadily, it is not improving fast enough. He explained that the farms are divided into small plots of land which is neither effective nor economical. Soucek said the Czechoslovakians will attempt to push cooperative and collective farm movements on a scientific scale. It will attempt to step up production of agricultural machinery and fertilizers together with the introduction of power and electricity on the farms. In regard to communes, Soucek remarked that while they may be good for China, Czechoslovakia cannot force any such rapid collectivization.

Soucek related that the Czechoslovakian Communist Party was successful in its revolution at a most crucial moment because it had the majority of people on its side. The Czechoslovakian Communist Party had the workers' support and was able to convince the majority of the farmers and the middle class that the communists were fighting for their interests. He continued, "You do not know how close American imperialism came to dominating Czechoslovakia in 1948. However, we beat them because we had good relationship with all strata of our population."

Soucek remarked that a big problem facing the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia today is convincing the working class that the standard of living which is rising rapidly cannot continue to rise without increased productivity. Plants are constantly being mechanized and some automation is being introduced. The younger worker is quite productive. However, the older worker expects to get proportional and constant pay increases as productivity increases. This cannot continue. Soucek stated that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is carrying on a tremendous ideological campaign designed to convince the majority of the workers that all of the increased productivity cannot go merely to increase the standard of living and more of it has to be used for greater capital investment in industry. Soucek complained that many of the workers in Czechoslovakia measure the standard of living by how much meat, butter and milk they receive. He said that accompanying the ideological campaign, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is carrying on an additional campaign organized by scientists, doctors and dietitians to convince the population that overeating is not good.

1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Decker

December 11, 1959

VIA LIAISON

Delivered 12-11-59

Miss Rose Mary Woods
Executive Secretary to the Vice President
Room 361, Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Rose Mary:

I am enclosing a letter which I think the Vice President might want to see.

Sincerely,

Enclosure

DEC 11 2 44 PM '59
REC'D READING ROOM
FBI

EX 109
REC- 15 100-425091-539

ENCLOSURE

10 DEC 16 1959

AJD:ssh
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DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 07-07-2011

1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Decker

December 11, 1959

Honorable Richard M. Nixon
The Vice President
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Dick:

I thought you would be interested in the following information obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), concerning statements made by Gustav Soucek, head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPC).

Soucek is interested in an exchange of trade-union and cultural delegations with the United States. He said 3,000 Americans, mainly of Czechoslovakian descent, visited Prague during the past year, certain of whom changed their opinions of Czechoslovakia and socialism and can now be utilized by the Czechoslovakians for propaganda purposes. Soucek desires to have non-Communist Party members in the United States promote Czechoslovakian-American cultural exchanges so Czechoslovakia can develop broad mass contacts in the United States. Soucek indicated that the 11 per cent increase in productivity in Czechoslovakia during the first ten months of 1959 must be used for capital investments and not merely to increase the standard of living. Czechoslovakia will push cooperative and collective farm movements to gain greater agricultural output but will not institute communes. Soucek pledged support of the CPC in the CPUSA's campaign for "legal rights" in the United States but opined that the campaign would be more effective if started in capitalist countries.

ENCLOSURE

In view of the sensitive nature of the sources of our information, it is requested that the contents of this communication be afforded the most careful security and its use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

REC-15 100-428091-539

Sincerely,

EX 109 10 DEC 16 1959

NOTE ON YELLOW:
This letter is classified "~~Top Secret~~" since the information was obtained from a highly placed source and unauthorized disclosure of this information would tend to disclose the identity of this source with resultant grave damage to the national defense.

AJD:ssh
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DEC 11 2 44 PM '59

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/7/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

Re Bureau letter, 11/17/59, Chicago airtel, 11/21/59, and Bureau letter, 11/27/59, concerning the organizational structure of the Communist Party of China.

On December 2, 1959, and December 3, 1959, CG 5824-S* was again questioned concerning the organizational structure of the Communist Party of China. CG 5824-S* stated that he still has not received one particular item which he mailed to himself and which might help him in identifying other members of the leadership of the Communist Party of China, some of whom he met in Peking. CG 5824-S* stated that the only recent changes in the top leadership of the Government of China are those he previously reported.

On December 2, 1959, CG 5824-S* identified the following persons from his notes:

TAN Chen-lin, member of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the Communist Party of China.

LIAO Lu-yen, Minister of Agriculture.

While it is believed that CG 5824-S* has furnished all the information in his possession concerning the International Liaison Department of the Communist Party of China, the organizational structure of the Communist Party of China will again be discussed with CG 5824-S* at the conclusion of the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA.

2 - Bureau (AM) (RM)
1 - Chicago

JEK:fes
(3)

REC-8 100-428091-540

7 DEC 15 1959

3 DEC 18 1959

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 11/28/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46) (Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

REC 92

CG 5824-S*, on November 25, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following pages. This information pertains to a meeting in Moscow, Russia, with VICTORIO CODOVILLA, head of the Communist Party of Argentina delegation to the 10th Anniversary celebration of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

Reference is made to Chicago airtel dated November 16, 1959, containing information from CG 5824-S* concerning the time and place of a meeting with ANIBAL ESCALANTE, head of the delegation from the Communist Party of Cuba to the celebration in Peking, China. The meeting with CODOVILLA occurred at the same place and on the same day, but after the meeting with ESCALANTE.

1 - Rm 1243

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637) (SOLO) (REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kws
(4)

Memo: Bizardner to Belmont 12/3/59
AJD: mes
Letter + letterhead memo: AG, V.P., W.H., State, + CIA. 12/4/59
AJD: mes

REC 92
EX 109

100-428091-541

15 DEC 16 1959

ENCLOSURE

55 DEC 21 1959

MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA, WITH VICTORIO CODOVILLA, HEAD OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA DELEGATION TO THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

After dinner on October 30, 1959, the day on which MORRIS CHILDS met with ANIBAL ESCALANTE, of the Communist Party of Cuba, CHILDS proceeded to the library on the second floor of the palace in the compound in Moscow, Russia, which has been previously described. He was joined there for a discussion by VICTORIO CODOVILLA, head of the Communist Party of Argentina delegation to the 10th Anniversary celebration of the founding of the People's Republic of China. Also present in the capacity of interpreters were YURA IVANOV, a Russian-English translator working in the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), and a Russian-Spanish translator, who also works in the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU, but whose identity is not known.

When CODOVILLA indicated that he wanted to know what are the current developments in the Communist Party - USA, CHILDS gave him a brief resume of recent happenings in the Communist Party - USA. CHILDS said that the Communist Party - USA is preparing for its 17th National Convention. He stated that the leadership of the Communist Party - USA is united, as evidenced by the fact that there was no opposition in the leadership to the draft of the main political resolution for the 17th National Convention. CHILDS also stated that the Communist Party - USA is conducting an international campaign for its "legal rights" in the United States, and that the Communist Party of Argentina will be asked to aid in this campaign for legality for the Communist Party - USA.

At this point, CODOVILLA stated, I understand that you kicked the revisionists out of the Communist Party - USA, but I also understand that at times EUGENE DENNIS was waivering. Realizing that CODOVILLA has exchanged correspondence with WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, CHILDS sharply asked CODOVILLA, Who told you that? Realizing that CODOVILLA would not answer this question, CHILDS quickly followed with the statement, Whoever told you that gave you a personal opinion and not the political position of the leadership of the Communist Party - USA. CODOVILLA replied, It was probably a personal opinion, so let us forget about it.

100-428091-5 ENCLOSURE

Then CODOVILLA stated, Our Party tried to campaign for you during the McCarthyite days. While we will campaign for you to expose the hypocrisy of American justice, we are going to ask that you, too, campaign for us. In Argentina, the Communist Party is not yet formally illegal. There is a mass movement to prevent legislation to outlaw the Communist Party in Argentina. The Communist Party of Argentina is participating in this mass movement. The Communist Party of Argentina is leading strikes and it is growing. Nevertheless, the situation, as it concerns our legality, is grave. In the last few months, there have been 143 arrests. The last congress of the Communist Party of Argentina, scheduled to be held in April, had to be held underground. As regards legality, our position is somewhat like yours. Formally, we are not illegal, but de facto we are.

Then CODOVILLA stated, We are going to fight for your Party, just as we are going to fight for ours. We are going to ask, for the Communist Party - USA, the assistance of lawyers from the League of Struggle for the Rights of Man. These are lawyers which we used in the fight against reactionary laws in our country. They will raise your problem publicly. However, we need more material from you, so be sure to send us this material.

Next, CODOVILLA stated that the lawyers he had mentioned publish a paper known as "Sol Lus Unios" (phonetic). There is a united front which publishes this legal paper. This united front is broader than the legal profession. It contains radicals, social democrats, and progressives. They hope to turn this publication into an organ of the national democratic front. The rest of the Party publications in Argentina are illegal.

Continuing, CODOVILLA stated, Send us enough material and we will even put out a pamphlet dealing with the injustice in the United States. He said, the Communist Party of Argentina publishes an illegal paper called "Nuestra Puebla" (phonetic). This paper has a circulation of 48,000. Together with other illegal papers, the total circulation of the Party press is 150,000.

Turning to a discussion of Argentina, CODOVILLA stated that the country is characterized by complete economic and political instability. The policy of the government is to split the people's forces and to do nothing to change the situation. President ARTURO FRONDIZI is like a statue in the bow of a pirate ship which is being steered by the foreign monopolies -- chiefly, those of the United States.

Then CODOVILLA stated, The dominating professions in our country are held by reactionaries with the help of the Army and the Navy. FRONDIZI came into power with the help of labor, the peasantry, the Communist Party, the Peronista Party, non-Party progressives, and his own party, the Left radicals. The promises of FRONDIZI during the campaign to carry through the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist program have gone up in smoke. He promised to revise the foreign concessions agreement. He promised peaceful relations with all countries. He promised agrarian reforms, as well as liberal labor laws. In short, he promised full democracy.

Next, CODOVILLA emphasized, FRONDIZI has carried through all these promises in reverse. At the beginning, he gave freedom to all the parties; even the Communist Party was allowed freedom. He made false pretenses to improve the relations with the Socialist countries. He even signed an agreement for one hundred million dollars in trade with the Soviet Union. But very soon, FRONDIZI submitted himself under the heel of the monopolies and the Army.

CODOVILLA stated that with the help of the masses, FRONDIZI had possibilities to smash the pressures from reaction. Our Party raised this question with him, but FRONDIZI succumbed to the pressures of the reactionaries. What FRONDIZI did proves that the masses have to go, and can go, beyond the national bourgeoisie. The government retreated from its program, while the people pushed forward. Thus, there came a moment when the progressives had to differentiate between themselves and FRONDIZI. The question was either that the government satisfy the demands and the needs of the masses and thus consolidate the regime, or utilize the reactionary forces of the Army and suppress the people's movement.

According to CODOVILLA, FRONDIZI decided to make concessions to the imperialists. This resulted in strike struggles on the part of the workers in order to defend Argentina's oil resources from foreign monopoly. The strikes developed into partial and general strikes in many industries. FRONDIZI conscripted workers into the Army and resorted to repression. Workers were court martialed as if they were criminals. When FRONDIZI started to use the Army against the people, the reactionaries in the officer corps began to feel stronger and emboldened.

Next, CODOVILLA stated, Despite the repressions, the masses pushed forward. We Communists succeeded in uniting the workers in our country, though we have no national labor federation as yet. The peasants, too, began to seize the land. The students

were united under the Communist Party on a mass scale. All of these struggles climaxed in a 48-hour general strike, in which four million people participated.

Continuing, CODOVILLA stated, alongside the mass struggles, the Communist Party, the youth movement, women's organizations, and other mass organizations increased in numbers. FRONDIZI had to either succumb to the people's pressures or resort to the methods of the dictatorship. He chose the methods of a dictatorship. FRONDIZI blamed the Communist Party of Argentina. He now wants to formally illegalize the Communist Party. The military officers are demanding from FRONDIZI open and naked dictatorship. This will happen unless we are able to unite the movement. There are many opportunities to check the dictatorship. All of the political parties in Argentina fear that the dictatorship will be used not only against the Communists, but against them. This is why all parties have spoken out against the illegalization of the Communist Party and are insisting on more democracy.

Then CODOVILLA said, Statements, verbal and written, will not save Argentina from dictatorship. The Communist Party has come out for a national democratic front. Several government changes may take place in the near future. Some personalities will be supported by the United States imperialists and some by the British imperialists. The Peronist forces are preparing to overthrow the government. We have a pact with the Peronists and the trade unions. The Peronists are made up of large sections of the working class of Argentina. Our policy -- that is, the policy of the Communist Party -- is against all coups d'etat, even if it is a coup led by the Peronists.

Continuing, CODOVILLA said, Our policy, in the event of such a situation, is to mobilize the masses for a general strike. We will demand a government of the widest democratic coalition. The Communist Party of Argentina is pointing out and warning the people that if civil war breaks out in Argentina, the Communist Party will not be responsible for this. At the present moment, reaction is on the offensive, but the resistance of the masses is great. Although the people are fighting, we may have to live through great difficulties. The militancy of the masses, as well as the roots of the Communist Party amongst them and its influence, guarantees our victory.

In concluding his remarks, CODOVILLA stated that the main enemy for Argentina is United States imperialism. If it were not for the interference of the United States, we would have done away with our oligarchy.

CODOVILLA stated that the United States imperialists do not want to let go of their grasp of big investments in Argentina. Thus, we have to fight them.

When CHILDS asked the strength of the Communist Party of Argentina, CODOVILLA stated, A few months ago we had 125,000 members. However, since the Party went into the underground, it has dropped some people. Most likely there are only 80,000 members in the Communist Party of Argentina at this time. There are 20,000 in the youth movement -- that is, the Young Communist League.

CHILDS asked if the Communist Party of Argentina continues to grow and to strengthen itself. CODOVILLA replied in the affirmative, and stated that they have been prepared to function illegally for many months. He went on to say that the Communist Party of Argentina has great influence in the labor movement and among the peasants in some provinces. He stated, We are among the masses and have authority among them.

CHILDS told CODOVILLA that he had met with GERONIMO ALVAREZ and ALCIRA DE LA PEÑA after the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and that they had given him some addresses to which Communist Party - USA material could be sent. CHILDS said that he would like to keep in touch and wondered if these addresses were still good. CODOVILLA suggested that CHILDS mail some unimportant material to these addresses as a sort of trial run.

CHILDS then gave CODOVILLA a brief picture of current developments in the Communist Party - USA, including its general line as embodied in the draft of the main resolution for the 17th National Convention. CODOVILLA remarked, If you carry through on the defeat of the revisionists and if you have a policy for work with the masses, the Communist Party - USA will grow. He commented that contact with the masses saved the Communist Party of Argentina during the dictatorship of JUAN PERON.

As this discussion concluded, CODOVILLA said that he is going to try to influence the Preparatory Committee in order to see that progressive North Americans will be present at the proposed Western Hemispheric, anti-imperialist congress.

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FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 07-05-2011

~~TOP SECRET~~

Mr. Belmont
Liaison
Mr. Baumgardner
Mr. Decker

The Attorney General

December 1, 1959

Director, FBI

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SoLo

With regard to my communication of November 27, 1959, concerning Soviet Russia's and Red China's reaction to Nikita Khrushchev's peaceful coexistence line, I thought you would be interested in the enclosed memorandum. The information in this memorandum was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA, and sets forth additional information concerning the line espoused by the Soviets for peaceful coexistence as well as information regarding the nature of future contacts between representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party, USA.

This information is also being furnished to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, the Vice President; Honorable Gordon Gray, Special Assistant to the President; and Honorable Christian A. Herter, Secretary of State.

In view of the extremely sensitive nature of certain of the sources of our information, it is requested that the contents of this communication be afforded the most careful security and its use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

Enclosure

100-428091

NOTE ON YELLOW:

This letter and its enclosure are classified "~~Top Secret~~" since the information was obtained fromaa highly placed source and unauthorized disclosure of this information would tend to disclose the identity of this source with resultant grave damage to the national defense.

100-428091-542

Tolson
Belmont

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DATE 07-05-2011

Rosen
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Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Gandy

ENCLOSURE

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DEC 17 1959

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 07-05-2011

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1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Decker

December 1, 1959

INFORMATION CONCERNING CONTACTS BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

During the course of his recent visit to the Soviet Union, a leading functionary of the Communist Party (CP), USA, conferred at length with representatives of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU). Officials of the CCCPSU emphasized that the Soviets will make every effort to avoid statements or acts which could disturb the present United States - Soviet relationship. They stated that the CP of the Soviet Union (CPSU) does not want to be openly identified with the CPUSA even though the CPSU has the same sympathies and ideological outlook as the CPUSA.

Boris Ponomarev, head of the International Department, CCCPSU, said that the Soviets do not desire to abandon contacts with the CPUSA in the United States but that for the immediate future, it would be advisable to make such contacts in certain European capitals for security reasons. Ponomarev pointed out that such contacts have been limited recently because of political reasons and cited, for example, negotiations between Russia and the United States, Khrushchev's visit to the United States and President Eisenhower's proposed trip to the Soviet Union. Ponomarev concluded that the CPSU does not want to create any situation which could offset these political developments.

Otto Kuusinen, member of the Presidium, CCCPSU, stated that the Soviets follow the activities of the CPUSA closely and approve its activities. He added that he had reviewed the main resolution to be presented to the national convention, CPUSA, December, 1959, and that its main line is correct. In regard to the present CPUSA constitution, Kuusinen said that the Soviets disagree with this constitution and he recommended that a new constitution be drafted based on democratic centralism which would assure that control will rest fully with the leadership.

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE 2

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ENCLOSURE

Kuusinen instructed the CPUSA functionary to establish contact with the widest masses of people in the United States and advocated that the CPUSA participate in strikes, trade-unions and other organizations of the people. He continued that Khrushchev's visit to the United States helped the CPUSA and the CPUSA must utilize in full the atmosphere created for peace and friendship to reach the masses. He pointed out that such issues as taxes, unemployment, disarmament and trade relations with Russia and other socialist countries should be raised by the CPUSA with the American people. The struggle would, therefore, be carried out in two directions, first to reach the masses, and second to defend the CP and Marxism-Leninism.

Leaders of the CPSU have issued instructions that there must be extreme caution when contact is had in the United States between representatives of the CPSU and representatives of the CPUSA and that contacts with persons known to be CP members or even suspected of being communists must be eliminated. The Soviets have recently refused to employ CP members in Soviet organizations in the United States. A New York attorney who had previously entered into an agreement approved by the CCCPSU to set up a law firm in New York City to handle legal defense of the CPUSA as well as Soviet legal business will be advised that the Soviets have vetoed this and similar contacts.

Despite statements by leading officials of the Soviet Government and of the CPSU that the Soviets have no contact with and exercise no control over the CPUSA, it is quite evident that the CPSU continues to follow the activities of the CPUSA closely and is affording CPUSA leaders instructions and direction on major policy matters. Although all open contacts between representatives of the CPSU and the CPUSA have been eliminated, those contacts of a clandestine nature will continue and the Soviets have assured the CPUSA of financial assistance.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

This communication classified "~~Top Secret~~" since the information was obtained from a highly placed source and unauthorized disclosure of this information would tend to disclose the identity of this source with resultant grave damage to the national defense.

Original on plastiplate.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: December 3, 1959

FROM : MR. F. J. BAUMGARDNER

Tolson
Belmont
DeLoach
McGuire
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Gandy

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

This matter pertains to liaison activities of our highly placed informant, CG 5824-S, between the Communist Party (CP), USA, and the CPs of the Soviet Union, Red China and other Iron Curtain nations. Informant returned to United States on 11-11-59 following seven-week stay in Russia and Red China. By letter 11-28-59, Chicago furnished information regarding informant's conversation with Victorio Codovilla, founder of the CP of Argentina and a member of its Presidium and Central Committee. This conversation took place in the Soviet Union on 10-30-59.

Codovilla said that up to quite recently the CP of Argentina had 125,000 members but since it went into the underground a few months ago, its membership is now about 80,000. There are an additional 28,000 members in the CP's youth group, the Young Communist League. He claimed, however, that the CP of Argentina continues to strengthen itself and wields great influence in the labor movement and among the peasants in some provinces.

Codovilla related that the CP of Argentina is not yet formally illegal but it is de facto illegal. While there is a mass movement to prevent legislation to outlaw the CP, its situation is grave. He noted that during recent months 143 CP members have been arrested in Argentina and it was necessary to hold the last Congress of this CP in an underground status.

Codovilla stated that President Arturo Frondizi came into power in Argentina due to the support of a number of groups including the CP. While Frandizi initially gave freedom to all parties including the CP, he has recently advocated declaring the CP of Argentina illegal. This decision followed a general strike in Argentina which Codovilla claimed was directed by the CP of Argentina.

Codovilla remarked that CP of Argentina presently advocates a national democratic front and in this regard has entered into a pact with the Peronist group and with the trade-unions. He alleged that the Peronists are preparing to overthrow the Argentinian Government

Enclosures
100-428091
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Decker
AJD:med

REC 91 100-428091-543
12-4-59

EX-117

10 DEC 17 1959

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and although the CP of Argentina is against a coup d' etat, its policy in the event of this occurrence will be to mobilize the masses for a general strike and demand a coalition government.

Codovilla stated that despite the offensive position of the present ruling figures in Argentina, the militancy of the masses and the influence wielded by the CP among the masses guarantees the CP's victory.

Codovilla characterized United States imperialists as the main enemy of Argentina and pledged the support of the CP of Argentina in an international campaign against the persecution of communists in the United States. In this regard, Codovilla said an organization of lawyers known as the League of Struggle for the Rights of Man which has been utilized by the Argentinian CP to fight against "reactionary" laws in Argentina will be asked to assist the CPUSA. In addition, the CP of Argentina has illegal newspapers with a total circulation of 150,000 which he inferred could be used to assist the CPUSA.

The CP delegates from Latin American countries while in Peking, China, decided to hold a People's Congress of Latin America. The details concerning this congress are being discussed and worked out in Havana, Cuba. Codovilla stated that the CPs plan to have this congress called by outstanding liberals and mentioned in this regard President Lazaro Cardenas of Mexico, Jorge Alessandri, president of Chile, and Fidel Castro of Cuba. Delegates from North American countries will be permitted to attend this congress if they are against United States imperialism.

OBSERVATIONS:

In view of the increased interest in Latin America brought about by Mikoyan's recent visit to Mexico, the Cuban situation and the recent anti-American turbulence in Panama and increased interest of the CP's of Soviet Union and Red China in Latin American affairs, this information is quite significant.

It is believed that the information developed by our informant concerning Argentina should be brought to the attention of high-ranking U.S. officials attributed to our over-all coverage of the CPUSA to afford additional security to our informant.

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
RE: SOLO
100-428091

RECOMMENDATION:

There are attached for your approval appropriate communications incorporating pertinent data furnished by this informant. If you agree, these communications with a ~~"Top Secret"~~ classification will be furnished to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, the Vice President; Honorable Gordon Gray, Special Assistant to the President; Honorable Christian A. Herter, Secretary of State; Mr. Allen W. Dulles, Director, Central Intelligence Agency; and the Attorney General.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/3/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

REC-91

CG 5824-S*, on November 23, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following pages. This information concerns miscellaneous items in regard to Communist Party - USA and Communist Party of the Soviet Union relations.

1 - Rm 1243
2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637)(SOLO)(REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

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MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS PERTAINING TO COMMUNIST PARTY - USA AND COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION RELATIONS

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

On September 26, 1959, while at the airport in Moscow waiting for a plane to Peking, China, MORRIS CHILDS told NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS, Head of the North And South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), and his assistant, ALEKSEI GRECHUKHIN, that he had been asked to deliver a message that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER would like to receive an invitation from some official organization in Russia so that he might go to Russia for medical treatment without cost.

Subsequent to October 17, 1959, MOSTOVETS and GRECHUKHIN stated that within a couple of days after September 26, 1959, a cablegram had been sent to FOSTER informing him that he could come to Russia as a guest of the Physicians Trade Union. They also asked CHILDS to discuss the following with FOSTER and with the leadership of the Communist Party - USA (CPUSA):

FOSTER has a lot of money due to him as a result of the fact that his books have been translated, published and sold in Russia. FOSTER has at least $4,000 to $5,000 due to him in royalties, which are from the sale of the "History of the Three Internationals", in Russia alone. Thus, FOSTER should spare no expense in getting treatment in the United States.

MOSTOVETS and GRECHUKHIN also stated that the CPSU would like a current photograph of FOSTER.

Possibility of Additional Copies of "The Worker" for Distribution in Russia

MOSTOVETS and GRECHUKHIN asked CHILDS if it would help "The Worker" if an additional 500 to 1,000 copies were ordered for distribution in Russia. They explained that "The Worker" is sold out in Russia almost as soon as it hits the newsstand.

(First Name Unknown) RESNIKOFF (phonetic)

MOSTOVETS and GRECHUKHIN stated that one RESNIKOFF, a former resident of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, needs verification

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of the fact that he was a member of the Communist Party - USA in Philadelphia during the period from 1930 through 1933, in order to get a pension from the Soviet Union. RESNIKOFF has been a resident of the Soviet Union since the middle 1930's.

Publicity in the United States in Regard to ARNOLD JOHNSON

MOSTOVETS and GRECHUKHIN asked why ARNOLD JOHNSON received publicity concerning his cross-country trip to obtain information about cities NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV would visit in the United States. CHILDS stated that the CPSU was the cause of this. It sent someone to ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG and/or JESSICA SMITH with the message to obtain this information and material. These people involved other people, so it did not become too difficult for United States intelligence agencies to discover what was going on. CHILDS said that if the message to obtain this information had been sent to EUGENE DENNIS or to CHILDS, this publicity might have been avoided. This is one of the reasons why it is necessary to improve contacts between the CPSU and the CPUSA in the United States.

Mr. Decker

SAC, Chicago (134-46-Sub B) December 17, 1959

Director, FBI (100-428091)

(ST)

SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reurlet 12-7-59.

You are requested to advise as soon as possible whether you have been able to obtain all information from CG 5824-S* possession regarding the organizational structure of the Communist Party of China.

REC-8 100-428091-Sub B-545

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SAC, Chicago (134-46-Sub B) December 9, 1959

Director, FBI (100-428091)

SOLO
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REGISTERED MAIL

Attached is the translation which you requested by letter dated 11/17/59.

The contents thereof, where pertinent, must be reported under appropriate captions and afforded whatever investigative attention is necessary.

Disposition of the foreign language material submitted in this connection is set forth below:

Returned herewith. Copy of relet and translation furnished Legat, Mexico City. Copy of translation furnished New York per your request.

1 - New York (100-134637) - Enclosures (2)
1 - Legal Attache, Mexico City - Enclosures (3)
1 - Mr. Baumgardner (sent direct with enclosures)
Enclosures - (6)
1 - Foreign Liaison Unit without enclosure (route through for review)

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TRANSLATION FROM SPANISH

RESOLUTION OF THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON THE INTERIOR STRUGGLE IN THE PARTY

The Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party, held at the end of July and the beginning of August, 1959, has examined the situation of the Party and the internal struggle which began at the Plenary Session of December, 1956, and has arrived at the following conclusions:

I

Our Party is going through a long period of crisis which has been especially apparent in the loss, little by little, of its influence over the masses and by its progressive organic weakening. Although political conditions in the country have been and continue to be favorable for the increase of the Party's influence over the masses, the Party has drifted away from them and has lost the influence which it had in the past. This loss in influence over the masses resulted in the organic weakening of the Party since a proletarian party becomes tired and declines in the measure that it loses influence among the working and farmer masses.

The crisis began to develop in 1937 when the Directorate formulated an opportunistic rightist line which led to the loss of the political independence of the working class. The most important manifestations of this line were the policy of "unity at all costs" (1937), the attitude toward the government of CARDENAS, the adoption of the revisionist views of BROWDER (1944), the attitude toward the government of AVILA CAMACHO and the first stage of the government of ALEMAN.

One of the principal manifestations of the Party's crisis lies in the fact that as a result of the erroneous handling of the internal struggle, the Party split. The creation of the Mexican Worker-Farmer Party in 1948 is the most evident expression of this schism. The whole process of continuous expulsions, making use of methods which violated the Leninist norms of the Party, was certainly peculiar enough and ended in a division.

100-428091

TRANSLATED BY:
PAUL JOSEPH LALLI:bjm
November 27, 1959 (1-23)

ENCLOSURE

The causes of the Party's crisis rests first of all in the ideological influence which the Mexican bourgeoisie exercised over the worker movement in general: an influence which penetrated into the very ranks of the Party. In the second place, Marxist-Leninist principles were not assimilated by the Party. In the third place, and as a result of the foregoing, the political line of the Party was weak and erring. In the fourth place, the organization policy applied during all these years was incorrect. Lastly, during this whole period, a truly Marxist-Leninist nucleus was not consolidated in the Directorate.

The Party did not solve this crisis because it did not understand the magnitude of the errors committed nor their true significance. It continued to maintain erroneous positions in its political line as well as important deviations. For a long time it did not correct the opportunistic positions of the right and the left, nor did it plan a conscious struggle for the elimination of all these errors and the elaboration of a proletarian political line.

II

In the recent period of its activity, our Party has lacked a political line clearly in keeping with the fundamental problems of our country: the agrarian problem, the penetration of imperialism, the situation of the working classes and the labor masses, the perspectives and progress of the revolution in Mexico.

Our Party does not show itself in daily life as an active political combatant. In all this, the bureaucratic methods which have been followed by the Directorate and which are the consequence of concepts, methods and practices far removed from Marxism-Leninism concerning the role of the Party, have played a considerably negative role.

We do not answer the principal problems in the daily life of the country; we show no political initiative; we arrive after the event. This is a result of our not having conceived the Party as a combative organization whose mission consists in leading the masses toward the revolutionary struggle, organizing and educating them.

All the foregoing clearly shows that at the present time our Party is not fulfilling its role as a vanguard organization of the working class and the Mexican people.

The working out of a just political line is one of the primary conditions for achieving the role of vanguard by the Party and constitutes one of the undelayable tasks of the Directorate. But even this is insufficient. It is also necessary to organize the application of this political line and to prove it upon the basis of practice.

But without good organizational work, the best political line fails. Here resides another of the principal deficiencies of the Party which it is necessary to correct. There is no good organizational work. The work of organization has been conceived in a bureaucratic fashion and not as a function of leading the Party to the application of a determined political line nor with a view toward preparing it for the fulfillment of its duties before the rest of the working class and before the masses. On the contrary, the Party's organizational work has been conceived only to accomplish certain internal tasks. For several years now we have been lacking a concrete plan of organization. The organs of the Party are marching aimlessly, spontaneously. The functioning of cells is defective. Recruiting work is neither prepared nor organized by the Directorate nor does this latter control the work of the State Committees and base organizations.

At the present time, membership in the Party has been extremely reduced and the political activity of its members is very small. For a population such as Mexico's, our Party is extraordinarily small and the number of militant workers within the Party is also relatively very small.

Many workers who have entered the party abandon it because they do not find here the satisfaction for their aspirations for fighting; they do not receive the attention necessary in order to raise their ideological and political development; they do not feel that the Leninist norms of organization are being observed, such as cell militancy, the application of democratic centralism and the exercise of conscious discipline.

The causes of all this are evidently internal causes which reside in the Party itself. We cannot attribute these causes to objective conditions nor to the peculiarities

of the Mexican working class which has well known revolutionary and combative traditions. The causes of the situation which the Party is suffering are fundamentally to be found in ourselves, in our defective and erroneous work. They are political and ideological causes which are related to the political line which our Party has applied during the last few years as well as related to the conceptions which have predominated in the organs of the Directorate. Nevertheless, it is necessary to take into account the influence of objective conditions which do not depend upon the will of the Party.

The errors in the political line and the errors in organization also stem from the lack of union between Marxism-Leninism and the firm practice of the revolutionary movement in our country. Subjectivism, in its manifestations of empiricism and dogmatism, has prevailed in this order in the Directorate of the Party and constitutes an important obstruction to its development.

The Party and the Directorate, in particular, will correct their errors and enter upon the road of their impetuous development on the basis of combating and overthrowing subjectivism and all ideas and occurrences foreign to Marxism. This signifies that the ideological base is fundamental for the correction of errors, combined with the energetic action and efficient political work of the Party among the masses.

III

The situation described above has created discontent among the bases of the Party and among numerous cadres.

The meeting of the XX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union provided the principal opportunity for important sectors of the Party and intermediary cadre to demand that the National Directorate profoundly change its style of work and directive methods, and examine all of the past experiences of the Party and its present situation.

Nevertheless, the National Directorate continued clinging to its erring positions, not carrying on a truly self-critical discussion as the present situation and

necessities of the Party demanded and still demand. The National Directorate did not head the Party in the struggle for the correction of these errors. It maintained essentially the old errors without correction as well as the mistakes and deficiencies both in the general work of the Directorate as well as in the problems of the internal life of the Party.

The attitude of the Directorate, consistent in postponing and constantly delaying the discussion and the solution of the serious problems of the Party for two and one-half years, has greatly damaged the Party, [illegible] represents a serious problem and [illegible] must be criticized by the whole Party.

If our Party and especially the Central Committee had followed the path laid out for them in the Plenary Session of October - November, 1957, they would have already solved many of the problems which they have been confronted with during this period. The wrong attitude of some cadre and militants, who saw the internal struggle which has developed within our ranks as the product of the action of the enemy, consisting of revisionist tendencies, has not helped the Party but seriously damaged it.

All this led to the serious situation in which the Party found itself at the time of the present Plenary Session. In fact, our Party has been split into two groups. This is not a formal schism on the organic plane but an objective fact. Before the numerous problems of the internal life of the Party and of its policies, the Central Committee split into two groups, which we have called the majority and the minority of the Central Committee and which is also reflected in the Party base.

In making out the balance sheet of this internal struggle, the Central Committee has reached the conclusion that, in spite of the many and important differences which have manifested themselves and which must be solved upon a basis of principles, there exist no profound discrepancies in the ideological and theoretical plane and that both groups are trying to apply Marxism-Leninism. Nevertheless, both groups have one fault; the absence of a political line. Neither one nor the other has tried to harm the Party. It would be incorrect to assert that either one maintains a liquidating or revisionist attitude with respect to the Party or that either one is an enemy of the Party or of the working class.

However, the existence of discrepancies which have not been justly solved does great damage to the Party. Both groups are responsible for this situation, especially if we take into account the fact that the disputes have taken place within the National Directorate of the Party. It would not be right to blame the situation upon only one of the groups. However, we must neither forget that the higher the directors, the more responsibility they have to the Party. The principal responsibility for the present situation must be given to the so-called "majority" of the Central Committee.

Our Party must face the grave responsibility which falls upon its shoulders with determination, in order to finally solve all those problems which have been under discussion for the last three years. It must deepen its critical examination of the directive work and of the situation of the Party on all planes. It must correct the errors which have been committed in the process of this internal struggle and give a clear and firm basis for the development of our Party and for the growth of its influence over the masses.

The most important task of our Party and above all of the Central Committee, consists of re-establishing the unity of the Party on the basis of principles, the correction of errors committed, the mastering of present deficiencies and of finding the right path toward the increasing of political activity within the Party, converting it into the banner of the struggles of our people. This unity must be based upon the resolutions of the Plenary Session of December, 1956, and October - November, 1957, as well as on the Resolution of the Conference of the Party in the Federal District, held in August - September, 1957, and upon the resolutions of the present Plenary Session of the Central Committee. The resolutions of the Plenary Session of October - November, of the Central Committee, are completely up to the interests of the Party.

In this sense, we must continue the critical and autocritical process begun by the Plenary Session of December, 1956, and October - November, 1957, which signaled the certain path toward mastering the situation of the Party and which was later corrected in practice by certain agreements and resolutions of the Central Committee and of the Political Commission, whose agreements remained fundamental.

From this we realize the great importance of the present meeting of the Central Committee, upon which depends the course which things in our Party will take in the immediate future. Our Plenary Session is laying the groundwork for solving the present crisis in the Party and for the achieving of its internal unity.

IV

The Plenary Session of the Central Committee has reached the conclusion that the present schism in the Party, with the above-mentioned characteristics, was the result of the following principal factors:

1. The National Directorate of the Party did not understand the essence of the teachings of the XX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which influenced the whole international communist movement very strongly and continued, in practice, to apply many of the old errors which were holding back the Party's advance.

We can say the same for the [illegible] Declaration of the first Conference of Representatives of the Communist Parties and Workers of the Socialist Countries, held in November, 1957. This established the fundamental programmatic theses of the communist movement in the present historical stage.

After the XX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (PCUS), the Central Committee held, among other meetings, the Plenary Sessions of December, 1956, and October - November, 1957, which established an important basis for correcting the errors and deficiencies which the Party has been committing for many years. Nevertheless, the fundamental agreements of these Plenary Sessions were not put into practice.

The struggle within the Party began because these resolutions of the Central Committee and of the XX Congress of the PCUS were not applied. Many of the attitudes of the majority of the members of the Central Committee contradicted in practice the spirit of the XX Congress of the PCUS.

2. As a result of the influence exercised by the XX Congress of the PCUS, there arose among several of the cadre and militants of the Party, the need to fight in order to transform the present state of affairs, to correct the errors and defects in directive work and to examine with an autocritical spirit the condition of the Party and the causes which have led it to its present state. This tendency had its clearest expression in the Party Conference in the Federal District in August - September, 1957, which subjected the Directorate of the Party to criticism and whose views were justly upheld in the Plenary Sessions of October - November, 1957.

The fact that the National Directorate has not adopted a just attitude in the face of this tendency and has attributed to it a character which it did not have, confusing it with a struggle to capture the posts of the Directorate, in much the same way as the National Directorate planned to solve discrepancies, only contributed to complicate the Party's situation.

3. Another important cause of the schism of the Party rests in the violation of the norms of internal life such as the incorrect attitude with respect to criticism and auto-criticism, the crushing of internal democracy, the false policies of the cadre and the application of a unilateral concept of democratic centralism.

4. The discrepancies [illegible] arose in the Central Committee and between this latter and the Committee of the Federal District as regards the union tactics of the Party, particularly with reference to the problem of how to treat the government union leaders and how to interpret and to apply in practice the line of united action.

5. Another reason for discrepancies in the Directorate of the Party consisted in how to treat the problem of the Farmer-Worker Party; a discrepancy which culminated in the agreements of the Plenary Session of January, 1959, which hindered the just solution of the problem of uniting the two parties.

6. The problem of the convoking edict and the nature of the 13th Congress has also been a producer of serious discrepancies in the Party. The agreements of the Plenary Session of January, 1958, will play an especially

negative role and will change the nature of the Congress and the date of its celebration agreed upon by the Plenary Session of October - November. It also changed the constant delay of the Congress and the irregularities in its preparation.

7. Within the Central Committee there have existed different views concerning such important problems as the characterization of the present state of the Party, the process of the Party's development in the last twenty years, the causes of its tiring and the problem of whether the Party is or is not accomplishing its role of vanguard at the present time.

8. Other important questions have also been the motive for discrepancies such as the characterization of the government of LUIZ CORTINES, the activity of the Party in the past electoral campaign, the defining of the principal danger for the Party at the present time and many other questions, although the discussion of these problems was not developed.

9. The bungled leadership of the internal struggle was not based upon fundamental ideological and political problems; there was an attempt to solve internal contradictions by means of organization and not by means of clearing up the problems on a theoretical and political plane. The internal battle was wrongly conducted by both sides and if it had continued on this road there existed the immediate danger of an organic division in the Party. The minority tried to get the base of the Party of the Federal District to oppose the National Directorate and the majority tried to get several organizations to oppose the Committee of the Federal District.

10. The lack of auto-criticism based upon the errors of the past and the new errors committed since the accentuation of the internal struggle being examined in this Plenary Session is another cause of the present schism.

11. In the Party schism, the leaving off of fraternal relations among the members of the National Directorate played an important part as did the leaving off of fraternal relations among other intermediary cadre of the Party. This was done to the degree that name-calling was prevalent without the least justification. Agreements were made on matters which had not been completely investigated or proved. Having decided that in this situation the main responsibility was

due to the so-called "majority," the Plenary Session has arrived at the conclusion that also the comrades of the "minority" of the Central Committee, as well as the Committee of the Federal District, committed certain errors which contributed to sidetracking the internal struggle from its proper contents and which contributed to violations of the principle of democratic centralism.

In placing before the Party base in the Federal District their point of view which was contrary to the agreement of the Plenary Session of May, 1953, concerning the postponement of the date of the 13th Congress and the changing of its nature, some comrades from the "minority" of the Central Committee violated the discipline of the central organ.

The comrades of the Committee of the Federal District have incurred violations against democratic centralism in repeating their help of the National Directorate in the accomplishment of several concrete tasks; in neglecting completely the tasks referring to the distribution and payment of the "Voice of Mexico" and the voters of the Directorate for a certain period of time.

On the other hand, having taken up too much time on the discussions of internal problems and neglecting the organic strengthening of the Party, this latter also played a negative role in the work of the Committee of the Federal District.

These negative attitudes were not justified by the fact that the National Directorate was committing serious errors and was not adopting the correct attitude with respect to the organization of the Party in the Federal District.

Although the Central Committee is not unaware of the merits of the Central Committee of the Federal District in this internal struggle, it considers it necessary to ask the Committee of the Federal District to examine its activity during this period auto-critically in order to correct the above-mentioned errors.

The Plenary Session is of the opinion, on the other hand, that the positions of what was called the "minority" within the Central Committee, the Political Commission and the Committee of the Federal District are not revisionists, nor are those who upheld these positions revisionists or anything else.

(In the Plenary Session the following discrepancy arose: Several comrades are of the opinion that during the years of internal struggle the Committee of the Federal District acted as a Party within the Party, not because it had its own program but because it had argued with the Directorate. Other comrades were of the opinion that this opinion is not just, that it does not reflect the true position of the Committee of the Federal District, since it means that this latter acted as a faction within the Party. This does not correspond to the truth. Due to this, the Plenary Session decided to submit this discrepancy to the consideration of the whole Party.)

V

After having considered previous arguments and after having discussed the report presented by the Delegation to the 21st Congress of the PCUS and by the Political Commission, the Plenary Session of the Central Committee arrived at the following resolutions:

1. Re-establish completely the Leninist norms of the internal life of the Party as well as the directive Leninist principles which have been violated during the last few years, particularly during the period of internal struggle. The Central Committee has reached the conclusion that it must bear the main responsibility for the violations of the past and that it must lead the way toward the re-establishing of these norms throughout the whole Party base.

In crushing the criticism of the base, in accusing the organs and comrades who criticized the work of the Central Committee and of the Political Commission, in not fulfilling the agreements of the Plenary Session of December, 1956, and of October - November, 1957, the majority of the Central Committee violated the main principle of internal life in the Party; democratic centralism.

The Directorate of the Party committed grave errors in the waging of the internal struggle. In reaching this conclusion, the Central Committee proposes to change the orientation and practices followed up to now and will re-establish confidence in the Party.

The experiences of the international communist movement and the movement of our own Party show that when discrepancies as serious as this arise within the Party and when one tries to confound the comrades who are trying to correct the situation by means of criticism, this leads to the violation of the norms of the internal life of the Party as well as leading to the appearance of negative phenomena in the methods used.

The violations against the principle of collective leadership, which were condemned by the Plenary Sessions of December, 1956, and October - November, 1957, continued to be committed in the period thereafter. This complicated the position of the Party and sharpened the discrepancies. With the goal of correcting this situation, the Central Committee adopted several concrete resolutions which are gone into in detail below and thought it necessary to declare that it would sanction any new violation committed in the future.

The Central Committee believes that criticism, especially criticism on the basic level, is the most efficient way to correct the present situation of the Party and calls upon all communists to be vigilant and to disregard any action, from any source whatsoever, which tends toward minimizing criticism.

2. Convoke the 13th National Congress of the Party for the first half of December of this year. The correct preparation for this Congress has become the fundamental link in correcting and doing away with the present situation of the Party.

The Plenary Session considers that the preparation of the 13th National Congress is the most important task of the Central Committee and of the whole Party and condemns any irregularities in its preparation, which were criticized by the Committee of the Federal District. The Plenary Session considers, likewise, that the constant delaying of the Congress has played a negative role during this period of internal struggle. It had become indispensable to have a positive and complete interchange of ideas on how to prepare for the 13th National Congress which will transcend these irregularities and assure the realization of a preparatory campaign which is in keeping with the needs and interests of the Party.

The Central Committee has decided that the Congress must be prepared through wide national discussion of all problems based on respect for criticism, respect for the opinions of all comrades and based on complete internal democracy. Without these conditions, the Congress will not be able to fulfill its objective of uniting the Party and working out a fair line either as regards the policies of the Party or as regards its organization.

The Central Committee has agreed to restore the 13th Congress to the position which was given it by the Plenary Session of October - November, 1957, when it was established that: "The examination of the present situation of the Party, its causes and the directive work do not embrace only the normal period between the 12th and the 13th National Congresses, but the last 17 years of the life of the Party. With a critical and auto-critical spirit, they summarize the experience and generalize the teachings of this period."

The Central Committee designates an Organizing Commission of the Congress entrusted with everything regarding the ideological and organizational preparation of the Congress. This Commission must take charge of everything relating to the preparation of the Congress: organization of the discussions, addition of articles and materials to be discussed, preparation of the State Conventions and control of the participation of basic organizations in the discussions.

The immediate task of this Commission is to formulate a plan for the political platform of the Party which is to be presented for discussion throughout the whole Party and finally approved by the Congress. This platform is to be the fundamental document for the preparatory discussion of the Congress and takes the place of the "Discussion Material" published previously by the Central Committee. The Organizing Commission of the Congress will be made up of the following comrades: FRANTI CARDENA (Central Committee), DIONISIO ENCINA (Central Committee), JOSEFINA LEON (Central Committee), EDELMIRO MALDONADO (Central Committee), ARNOLDO MARTINEZ VERDUGO (Central Committee), RUBEN OLIVARES (Central Committee), MANUEL TERRAZAS (Central Committee), JUAN PABLO SAINZ (Central Committee), J. E. ENCARNACION VALDEZ (Central Committee), ALEJO MENDEZ (Committee of the Federal District), GREGORIO CASTORENA (Coahuila), AMADOR GRACIA (Tamaulipas), LUIS RIVERA TERRAZAS (Puebla), LORENZO VASQUEZ (Jalisco), RAMON DANZOS PALOMINO

(Sonora), J. ENCARNACION CASTRO (Zacatecas), RAFAEL LOPEZ (Michoacan), JULIO PRADO (Baja California), SAMUEL LOPEZ (Oaxaca), TOMAS CUEVA (Nuevo Leon), and PRISCILIANO PEREZ (San Luis Potosi).

This Commission is not substituting for the Central Committee: this latter is to appoint it, entrust to it the preparation of the 13th National Congress and is to give it wide powers in order to do this. It is not free from the authority of the Central Committee but depends on this latter and must act in accordance with the powers given it.

The planned political platform which the Organizational Commission of the Congress works out should be given to the Central Committee for consideration in order that this latter Committee might discuss it, approve it, and send it to the Party for discussion.

The Central Committee resolves to ratify the agreement adopted by the Plenary Session of January, 1950, which planned to hold the 13th Congress in the city of Torreon, Coahuila, and has decided to hold this Congress in the Federal District. This decision does not mean that a Congress of the Party cannot be held in any region or state. It is being adopted because the Federal District is the working center of the country and where, at the present time, the repercussions of the Congress will be the strongest. The present conditions for holding the Congress in the Federal District are also better.

3. Undertake a wide ideological campaign throughout the whole Party, planning and organizing this campaign well, with the goal of uprooting false concepts, the influence of bourgeois ideology, the incorrect methods of the carrying on of the internal struggle within the Party and the incorrect methods of working styles at all levels. The Party must immediately undertake a resolved struggle for the assimilation of general Marxist-Leninist principles among its militants and cadre. This is necessary in order to set up the basis for its bolshevization.

The Central Committee entrusts the Commission with the immediate preparation and application of this concrete plan.

It must be recognized that there exists in our Party a low ideological and political level. Theory is disdained and no great importance is given to ideological work. This situation must be amended: it must no longer continue.

This becomes much more indispensable if we take into account the fact that the key to Party unity lies in the Party's ability to join with the masses and above all with the working class, in that it is able to firmly join with the working masses on the basis of just strategy and tactics, depending upon Marxism-Leninism and on the true study of the national situation, interpreting this situation in the light of the thesis of dialectic materialism and historic materialism. Thus the organization and control of the study of the Marxist-Leninist theory must be elevated to the category of a fundamental task and not only words, throughout the whole Party and especially by the Central Committee, in order to achieve the raising of the ideological and political level of the Party, especially its directing cadre.

4. The Plenary Session considers that one of the main tasks of the Party is to positively solve the problem of the existence of the Farmer-Worker Party, based on the organic unity of the two parties. There exists no reason for prolonging the existence of a party which bases its action on Marxism-Leninism and which desires unity with the Mexican Communist Party. Those discrepancies which continue to exist can be resolved on the basis of fraternal discussion and with the goal of unity in the interests of the worker movement.

The Plenary Session has decided to cancel the resolutions made by the Plenary Session of January, 1959, concerning this problem because those resolutions do not contribute anything to unity.

The Plenary Session is agreed upon proposing to the Directorate of the Farmer-Worker Party the immediate realization of discussions between the National Directorates of both parties in order to arrive at a unanimous agreement concerning the manner in which to definitely solve the problem of unity and with the objective of arriving at common points of view on those questions where discrepancies persist.

As for immediate action, the Plenary Session agreed to propose to the Directorate of the Farmer-Worker Party the formation of a coordinating committee of the two parties in order to join their efforts in all activities and to adopt the same line in the face of national and international problems.

The Plenary Session agrees to invite a numerous delegation of the Farmer-Worker Party to the 13th National Congress.

The Plenary Session also resolves to authorize the holding of joint meetings of the Political Commission and the Executive Commission of the Mexican Farmer-Worker Party, as well as with the State Committees and the basic organs, whenever necessary. The meetings of the State Committees will be authorized by the Political Commission and those of the basic organs by the State Committees.

5. The Plenary Session considers that the discrepancy which arose both within the Central Committee and between this latter and the Committee of the Federal District concerning the union policy of the Party with regard to the method of treatment of corrupt and treacherous union leaders, who are representatives of the government and the enterprises and with reference to the comprehension and application of the line of unity of action, must be solved on the basis of recognizing that in practice, the position of the majority of the Central Committee in planning that the economic demands of the workers were to be raised first and that in the heat of this battle the necessary conditions for unmasking the government leaders were to be created, hindered the struggle against these very leaders and did not stimulate it.

The Plenary Session considers that it is incorrect for us to use this "trial tactic" which consists of organizing the economic struggles first and then planning the struggle against the treacherous leaders or vice versa. The struggle for economic demands and the battle against treacherous leaders form a unit and are closely united and cannot be placed one before the other. Everything depends on particular cases since there are occasions on which the struggle against a certain treacherous leader is closely related and will immediately unite the workers and lead them into battle.

The Party must head and direct the battle against treacherous and government leaders. It must not give up this battle in any case or for any reason. Communists within the union will act in accordance with the specific situations, always coordinating the defense of the specific rights of the workers with the battle against the false leaders until their elimination is achieved.

The Plenary Session considers that one of the causes which have determined the incorrect attitude of the Party's Directorate as regards the strike movements of last year, rests in a false and dogmatic conception of the tactics of united action. Through fear of provoking official leaders such as W. SANCHEZ, through fear of division, we have made a fetish of unity of action with the leaders, without realizing that unity of action is basically obtained throughout the base of the Party, among the workers, subordinating relations with the leaders to the attitude they maintain regarding the workers' interests.

The Plenary Session thinks that notwithstanding the ever increasing participation of communists in movements, the battles of the masses last year were not organized by the Party but had a spontaneous nature and were fundamentally economic. The political repercussions and implications which these movements had, doubtlessly of great importance and meaning, do not change this nature.

6. The Central Committee believes that in spite of the decisions of the Plenary Session of December, 1956, and October - November, 1957, the above-criticized incorrect methods in the work of the Directorate largely continued.

No heed was paid to the criticisms, the advice and proposals of the Party base. The unipersonal method of the Directorate as well as the incorrect attitude towards the cadre who are responsible for criticizing, continued to predominate. Above all, bureaucracy, which has manifested itself in the political inoperativeness of the directive organs, has continued to predominate. These directive organs do not give a favorable political orientation, do not intervene in the outstanding problems of national political life and leave the Party without an efficient and tried Directorate.

As regards the policy of promotion and selection of cadre, personalism has predominated; that is, the tendency to expel cadre because they hold this or that critical opinion. In the ranks of our Party the cult of personality has not yet been exiled. This has continued to manifest itself in the work of the Directorate. The same methods of order and command have prevailed as well as manifestations of sheepish following and nepotism. A few comrades have been the ones to decide fundamental questions on the life of the Party.

The Plenary Session believes that a radical change is necessary in the manner of work done by the Political Comission and by the Secretariat. These are the organs entrusted with daily political directive actions and with the control of everything in the Party work. Upon its activity depends the outcome of agreements made by the Central Committee in each Plenary Session as well as the daily activity of the Party. This does not discard but rather supposes the responsibility of the members of the Central Committee as regards vigilance and the control of the fulfillment of agreements.

On the other hand, the Plenary Session believes that the present concept of the Central Committee must be changed. The Central Committee has been considered a consulting organ concerned with giving decisions upon internal problems of the Party. The Plenary Session considers the Central Committee to be/true Directorate of the Party and wants it to act as such from now on. It must discuss and decide not only on internal problems but on all the problems concerning the life of the Party and particularly on those problems of the masses and political activity. A strong effort must also be made so that the members of the Central Committee assume their responsibilities at all times and not only when the Plenary Session meets.

The Central Committee should, in the future, meet once every two months in order to increase its participation in all the problems of the Party and in order to see to the fulfilling of all their decisions in an opportune manner.

7. Taking into account the fact that according to the decisions of the Plenary Session of the Central Committee in

December, 1956, and October - November, 1957, the Marxist-Leninist principle of collective directive action has not been re-established in our Party, the Central Committee resolves to eliminate the post of Secretary General of the Party.

The Plenary Session designates a Secretariat of the Central Committee consisting of five members and made up of the following comrades: DIONISIO ENCINA, ARNOLDO MARTINEZ VERDUGO, JUAN PABLO SAINZ, MANUEL TERRAZAS and J. ENCARNACION VALDES. This Secretariat will be entrusted with the collective directive action of all the daily work of the Party and will collectively answer to the Central Committee and the Political Commission for its actions.

The collective directing of all the fronts and organs of the Party is an essential condition for the proven application of the Party line. No organ, enterprise or activity can remain ahead outside of the control of the Central Committee and the corresponding organs since this results in serious damages to the life of the Party.

8. The Plenary Session also resolves to eliminate the commission for the work of the masses since this contributes to concentrate in the hands of a single comrade all the mass work of the Party. In the future, the mass work must be controlled and directed by the Secretariat combined, without the deterioration of the designating of the respective National Commissions at whose head must remain a single responsible comrade.

9. The Plenary Session resolves to modify the previous decision of the Central Committee which consists of granting the right to vote to those on the Political Commission who request it, since this procedure is in violation of the internal rules of the Party. These petitioners to the Political Commission and the Central Committee are equivalent to candidates in other Communist Parties and only acquire the right to vote when they become full members.

10. Insofar as Comrade HERIBERTO SAUCEDO has left behind his other comrades and insofar as he no longer participates in an active way in the directive work of the political commission, the Plenary Session has decided to remove him from his position as a member of the Political Commission.

11. The Plenary Session designates Comrade ARNOLDO MARTINEZ VERDUGO as a member of the Political Commission.

12. Insofar as Comrade JOSE A. SANCHEZ has abandoned the work of the Party and renounced his post as member of the Central Committee, the Plenary Session has decided to exclude him from the Central Committee and to submit his case to the Control Commission.

13. Insofar as Comrade FIDEL ROMJARAZ has not fulfilled his minimum obligation as a member of the Central Committee, the Plenary Session has decided to exclude him from this organization.

14. The Plenary Session designates the Comrades EDELMIRO MALDONADO and RUBEN OLIVARES, as full members of the Central Committee.

15. Taking into account the deficiencies and irregularities observed in the work of the Fund for Popular Culture, which has not achieved the necessary development, which has not been accomplishing the function assigned to it and due to the existence (sic) in the accomplishing of some of its tasks, the Plenary Session has decided to remove Comrade JESUS LAZCANO from his position as Manager of this institution.

Insofar as there are charges brought against the activities of Comrade JESUS LAZCANO in the above-mentioned institution, the Plenary Session has decided to institute a broad investigation of the charges made. For this purpose it designates a special commission made up of Comrades ARNOLDO MARTINEZ VERDUGO, HILARIO MORENO and JUAN PABLO SAINZ.

Insofar as in the work of the Fund, the Political Commission has not instituted collective directive action but unipersonal directive action, the Plenary Session has decided to appoint a Council which will collectively direct all the work of the Fund. This Council would be made up of the following comrades: TZINZUN CARRANZA, MANUEL DIAZ RAMIREZ, ELI DE CONTARI, ALEJO MENDEZ and MIGUEL VAZQUEZ. Comrade MANUEL DIAZ RAMIREZ will act as the manager of the Fund.

Lastly, taking into account the mistakes of the organs of the Party in the diffusion of revolutionary literature, the Plenary Session resolves to hold a discussion throughout the whole Party in order to take the necessary steps to stimulate the work of diffusion of Marxist literature, the payment of debts and the accomplishing of a work plan which will work toward this goal.

16. The Central Committee entrusts the Political Commission with working out concrete measures to stimulate Party propaganda on all levels. Without widespread oral and written propaganda, the Party could not convey to the masses its point of view on different problems of the nation's political life, could not combat the anticommunist and reactionary campaign or successfully unmask the policies of dominating and governing bourgeoisie.

17. Taking into account the fact that the measures adopted by the Political Commission and later approved by the Central Committee against Comrades MANUEL TERRAZAS, JOSE MONTEJANO and GERARDO UNZUETA, which amount to relieving them of their position as Director-Manager, Administrator and Chief Editor of "The Voice of Mexico," under the existing conditions of the time and considering the conditions of the internal struggle, appeared as political repression because of discrepancies in their opinion with the majority of the Central Committee, the Plenary Session has decided to rectify this measure and nullify this sanction.

The Plenary Session has decided that in the future, the central organ of the Party must be directed by a Council made up of the following comrades: JUAN PABLO SAINZ, HERIBERTO SAUCEDO, EDELMIRO MALDONADO, GERARDO UNZUETA and MANUEL TERRAZAS.

18. Due to the fact that the Central Control Commission designated earlier by a referendum, has remained practically inactive, the Plenary Session designates a new Control Commission made up of the following comrades: JOSE CHAVEZ LORADO, JORGE FERNANDEZ AMAYA, XAVIER GUERRERO, LUIS RIVERA TERRAZAS and SOTERO VALDES. Comrade SOTERO VALDES is designated as President of the Control Commission.

19. In view of the fact that the Financial Control Commission formerly named by a referendum is no longer in existence at the present time, the following comrades are designated as new members of the above mentioned Commission: ADEL CABRERA, EDELMIRO MALDONADO and LUIS SOLIS. Comrade EDELMIRO MALDONADO is named President of the Commission.

20. The Plenary Session has criticized the suspension of the review "Liberacion" (Liberation) and has decided to have it published again.

21. In view of the fact that there exists preoccupation for making known the administrative situation of the "Voice of Mexico" during the last few years as well as for a complete report upon the installation and functioning of the periodical's workshop, the Central Committee hereby entrusts the Financial Control Commission to make an investigation and present a report to the Central Committee.

22. The Political Commission must make an examination of the work done by the comrades commissioned in different zones of the country in order to see that the work of the Party is done, as well as to take the necessary measures for improving this work in all the states on the basis of examining the situation of each State Committee.

23. The Central Committee decides to stimulate the work of the cells within the Party throughout the whole country in order that they may play their role better as organs of directive action among the masses. While there exist inactive cells with insufficient work, the deficiency in the mass work of the Party will not be corrected. The Plenary Session has decided to review the work of each cell through the state organs, taking the necessary steps to increase their work.

24. The Central Committee assigns to the Political Commission the working out of the theses concerning the situation of the working class; the situation in the field and the Party's agrarian program; the state; the dominant classes and the characterization of the present government. The Political Commission is to present plans to the Central Committee.

25. The Central Committee believes that one of the immediate and main tasks of the Party is increasing its political activity in the following directions:

a) Raising the political work of the Party among the classes. All the organizations of the Party and above all the Political Commission, must organize their work in such a way that the fundamental nature of their activity will be their connection with the working and farming classes and with their problems, giving them proven and opportune solutions and organizing the mobilizations and struggles for their demands.

b) Improving the organizational work of the Party.

Without good organizational work it will be impossible to practice the political orientation of the Party. The work of the organization has as its objective to place the Party in a position to struggle, to direct the masses, to strengthen the Party. The Plenary Session considers that it is necessary to complete the struggle for the organic strengthening of the Party on the basis of the recruiting of new members and the reincorporation into the Party of those comrades who have retired from regular activity or have placed themselves on the outside of the Party during certain periods but who still maintain revolutionary positions.

c) Developing the ideological work within the Party. The Plenary Session believes that in this respect there is rooted one of the great weaknesses of the present work of the National Directorate and entrusts the Political Commission and the Secretariat with taking all measures necessary for raising the theoretical and political level of the members of the Party. In particular, the Plenary Session believes that there should be organized a wide net of study clubs throughout the Party and during this very year there should be created a National School of the Party.

26. The Plenary Session considers it necessary to call the attention of the Party to the fact that there is needed everywhere a discussion concerning the concrete manner of work to be done for the formation of the democratic fund for national liberation in accordance with the actual conditions of each locality.

27. The Central Committee reaffirms the plan of the Plenary Session of October-November 1957 to double

and raise revolutionary vigilance, to stop the political activity of its enemies within and without of its own ranks. The agents of American imperialism and of the Mexican bourgeoisie will continue to be interested in taking advantage of the critical and autocritical process which must be taken up again throughout the whole Party.

It is necessary to really understand that one of the principal ways to stop the activity of the enemies within the Party consists in increasing the critical and autocritical processes. The enemy would be pleased if the Party did not advance. Because of this, all of those positions of resistance to criticism, of opposition to the transformation of the Party into the great Party of the masses which our people are crying for, will not serve the working class, but will serve its enemies. Being convinced of which is the right road towards the solution of the Party's problems and to promote its positive transformation, in order to fight to follow this road and carry it forward; this is the greatest form of exercising revolutionary vigilance. To keep an eye upon the principles of Marxism-Leninism and on their creative application in the national situation is the best way to strike back at the positions of the enemy. Thus it can be concluded that to battle against all kinds of deviations, dogmatic and sectarian, against all manifestations of revisionism as concerns the Marxist theory and as concerns the principles of the Party, against all deviations toward the right or left in questions of a political nature and the organizational line; all this is the best way to exercise revolutionary vigilance.

28. In order to place the Party on the way towards achieving its role of vanguard of the working class and of the people, the Plenary Session considers it necessary to accomplish the following fundamental tasks:

a) Working out a political line and a correct strategy and tactics based on the concrete study of the economic and political situation of the country in the light of Marxism-Leninism.

b) Characterizing (sic) the class, the regime and the government at the present time, in order that we may clearly determine what kind of economic and political transformation Mexico needs and which practical methods we must propose to the masses.

c) Working out a Party program immediately declaring a program which contains those fundamental points for which our Party is fighting.

d) Combating and overthrowing all positions of the bourgeoisie and lower bourgeoisie ideologies which confuse the working class and make it deviate from its historical objectives.

The achieving of the role of vanguard by our Party cannot depend upon the working out of the fundamental documents concerning its strategy and tactics for its planned programs. The Party will conquer the masses and will become their standard bearer only on condition that in daily life the masses show themselves as political combatants, as the unwavering defenders of their immediate interests as well as their future interests. For this, the radical changes which the Party must make must not remain only written but must become practical and extraordinary actions in order to be carried to their happy and full realization. We must fight so that the Party as a whole will understand the need for making a fundamental change in order to enter upon the road of consolidation as a Marxist-Leninist Party.

The critical situation, prolonged by what the Party has been going through, must be changed. The conclusions of this Plenary Session established the basis for this. This base must be broadened by the Party. For this it is necessary to stimulate internal discussion, discuss the ideological battle thoroughly and mobilize all communists for the practical application of agreements and resolutions. As a result of this struggle a re-education of the cadre will be realized as well as an education for the militants. Those who resist criticism and above all, cadre and directors, are being obstinate in their sectarianism in the internal struggle, are becoming entrammeled in the unwavering defense of errors and are not setting an example by their own activity nor are they willing to struggle for changes and transformations which the Party needs. They will try to continue their present activities and will have to be replaced in their present positions by the Party.

VI.

In establishing its errors and deficiencies through

auto criticism, as well as by tracing the picture of the present situation of the Party, the Central Committee has based itself upon the idea that the free pointing out of errors will help the Party to correct them and will impede their repetition in the future.

In spite of its errors and deficiencies, our Party, the Mexican Communist Party, boasts of great traditions of battle and doubtless merits before the working class of our country. No other political party existing in Mexico has in its power the merits of our Party. We could point out, for example, that our Party was the main organizer of the farmer movement for land during the period after the Revolution of 1910-17. Our Party has been the main educator and organizer of the great anti-imperialist movements of the past decades such as the expropriation of the oil industry and the railroads. No great action of the working class has transpired without the Party's decided participation.

It is necessary to make this clear at the present time because by taking advantage of the Party in its prolonged internal crisis, elements within and without the Party are trying to prove the inexistence of this crisis and the impossibility of correcting the Party's errors and deficiencies. This current, essentially a liquidating one, in whatever variations it manifests itself, attempts to introduce demoralization, internal struggle and dissent within our ranks.

In spite of the deficiencies pointed out, our Party has maintained important influence among the farming masses of the states of Coahuila, Sonora and Baja California as well as among important nuclei of the working class. We must fight in order to preserve this influence and to spread and defend it.

The basis for correcting the situation of the Party, for developing it in the political and organizational sense rests upon the correction of its errors and the unity of the Party based upon the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The Central Committee is confident that the efforts and the abnegation of all communists, the spirit of the Party, the faithfulness to the interests of the working class and the principles of Marxism-Leninism will prevail over any other consideration and will be the solid basis for working out the unity of the whole Party and its transformation into the combative vanguard of the Mexican working class.

The Central Committee calls upon all communists to increase their activity, to double their efforts to transform our Party into the true vanguard of the working class.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

Mexico, D. F. August 15, 1959

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

TRANSLATION FROM SPANISH

THE COMMISSION OF THE PERMANENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE FARMER-WORKER PARTY

Joint Declaration

The Mexican Communist Party and the Mexican Farmer-Worker Party have arrived at an important agreement concerning their joint relations and activities. In making known these agreements of undoubtable interest and meaning for the worker and popular movement, they greet the workers and the people of Mexico in this hour of great importance for our country and for the destiny of humanity.

Our two parties have begun a new process in the treatment of activities and problems which they face together. Their plan is to re-establish within a short time the organic unity of Mexican communists and the positive solution of the division and crisis of the communist movement in our country, which has been apparent in the existence of two political organizations which subscribe to the same ideological, programmatic and organizational principles.

This new plan thus is of exceptional importance because of the crisis which the communist movement has been suffering for 20 years and because in the crucial situation in our country and the world, the drawing together of our two parties, the coordination of their action on all fronts and their integration into a single Marxist-Leninist organization will have a profound influence upon the Mexican nation at the present time and in the future.

The new plan which we mentioned began with the agreements adopted by the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party held at the end of July and the beginning of August of this year. These agreements permitted us to successfully face the task of creating, upon the proposal of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party (PCM), a Coordinating Committee of the Mexican Communist Party and the Mexican Farmer-Worker Party; a proposal which the PCM has accepted since it coincides with its own unifying objectives.

TRANSLATED BY:
PAUL JOSEPH LALLI:el
November 24, 1959

100-428691-

ENCLOSURE

The goals of this Committee, which has already been drawn up from representatives of the Directorates of our two parties, are to coordinate all of the activities of our two parties and to join them in a single political orientation.

The agreements of the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party form the bases for the objective and just solution to the problems which in the past have separated our two parties and open the way for their two National Directorates to immediately examine the basic problems of the crisis with the aim of reaching organic unity within a short time. Whatever concrete unitarian form is adopted, we are sure that it will decisively contribute towards ending the organic dispersion of Mexican communists, towards formulating a fair communist policy and forging a single proletarian political center.

The Mexican Communist Party and the Mexican Farmer-Worker Party at the same time publish this joint declaration and express their firm determination to be an important factor in the progress of organization and militancy in all patriotic and anti-imperialist forces in order to safeguard the sovereignty of the nation, contribute efficiently to defend peace and friendship among nations, achieve the re-conquering of constitutional freedoms and the improvement of living conditions among the working classes, the farmers and the whole Mexican people.

The Mexican Communist Party and the Farmer-Worker Party will do everything in their power to form a democratic alliance with other democratic and nationalist parties and forces in order to essentially change the Mexican electoral regime. We are counting upon a party system where competition in civic struggles will be characterized by proportional representation in order to jointly undertake the realization of these tasks. We shall contact the Popular Party first.

They will also try to see to it that the working class succeeds in forming a powerful single front based on their economic demands and for the cleaning up and democratizing of unions, indispensable supports in the plan to obtain a substantial change in the policies followed in the forefront of the destiny of Mexico. Union, farmer and popular struggles require the formation of a powerful single front in order to make their economic demands heard and to successfully battle for the cleaning up of petty leaders and for the independence of union, farmer, popular and student organizations with

respect to the power of the state. Our parties will see to it, as much as possible, that the workers of the city and the country, the workers in the service of the state, the students and clerks, reach these objectives.

Finally, we shall further with all our might, the struggle for the rights and privileges of the workers and the people for the democratization of the country, the independent development of the national economy, the liberation of Mexico from its dependency upon North American oppression and imperialism, and for peace.

This joint declaration is also a friendly and heartfelt call to the men and women of Mexico whether affiliated or not with the political parties, in order to struggle together for the fulfillment of the Constitution and for the re-establishing of the democratic liberties suspended by governmental repression. Together we could stop the abuses of liberty and constitutional rights which gravely injure the already restricted freedoms and rights which our people were enjoying. Together we could obtain the release of all political prisoners and succeed in stopping the open reactionary program begun on March 28 last and which is leading the country towards the establishment of a dictatorial regime, political and military, and towards a position of greater dependence upon and oppression by imperialists. Together we could overthrow the reactionary plans of the political and financial oligarchy of Yankee imperialism, thus creating a powerful obstacle to the economic and political penetration of imperialism.

Mexico, D. F., September 16, 1959.

THE POLITICAL COMMISSION OF THE

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE

MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

THE EXECUTIVE COMMISSION OF THE

NATIONAL DIRECTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE

FARMER-WORKER PARTY

b6
b7C

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: December 7, 1959

FROM : MR. F. A. FROHBOSE

SUBJECT: [redacted]
SECURITY MATTER - C
(Bufile 100-412680)

Tolson
Belmont
DeLoach
McGuire
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

On December 7, 1959, Mr. Robert D. Johnson, Chief of the Legal Division, State Passport Office, advised that information had been received by State that the captioned couple, husband and wife, and their two teen-age children, are en route back to the U. S. from Red China, where they have been since 1954. Johnson said that this information had been received at the State Department from a New York lawyer who represents the family of [redacted] this family being the well-known New York department store family of [redacted] father [redacted] Johnson added that the [redacted] family is expected to arrive in Moscow from Red China on December 7 or 8 and are going to apply at the U. S. Embassy in Moscow for U. S. passports to return to this country.

100-428091-
NOT RECORDED
141 DEC 16 1959

Johnson said that State has authorized the U. S. Embassy in Moscow to issue passports to this family good only for returning to the U. S., if the Embassy is satisfied that the family has not expatriated themselves. The Embassy has been instructed to notify State headquarters of the travel plans, estimated time of arrival, etc., if the passport is issued. By way of background in this case, Johnson said that the husband is a scientist who went with his family from England to Red China in 1954 on a U. S. passport. According to Johnson, the husband has been reportedly working in Red China. Johnson added that the [redacted] is said to be primarily concerned about the welfare of the two children involved, a boy and a girl.

According to our files, both the [redacted] are on the Security Index and they are from the Philadelphia area.

The above information was furnished orally on December 7, 1959, to Supervisor T. D. Rushing, Subversive Control Section. Mr. Johnson assured that we would be advised of any further information in this matter as soon as it comes to his attention.

ACTION:

For information.

55 DEC 18 1959

JMF:jlk (6)

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. Donahoe
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Fitzgerald

DEC 16 1959

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-

12/1/59

PLAIN TEXT

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-397666)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-6061)

SUBJECT: [redacted] aka
IS-R & PO

ReNYairtel 11/24/59 and Buairtel 11/25/59.

On 11/27/59, NY 694-S* advised that for security reasons he cannot now, or in the immediate future, contact [redacted] By reason of his being part of the "Solo; IS-C" operation, the informant is awaiting contact by Soviet agents, and a prerequisite for his making such contact was the assurance of CG 5824-S* to the Soviets that NY 694-S* is "clean", that is, that he has no contacts with CP officials or anyone else whom the Soviets would regard as a threat to the security of their operations.

NY 694-S* stated that, according to CG 5824-S*, the Soviets at this time are particularly distrustful of Polish Intelligence. NY 694-S* stated also that he must assume that he is being watched closely by the Soviets, who already have indicated they have considerable information concerning him. Should the Soviets learn of a contact between [redacted] and NY 694-S*, the "Solo; IS-C" operation would cease.

For the above reasons, NY 694-S* feels that for at least an indefinite future period, he should make no attempt to contact [redacted]

In view of the foregoing and UACB, NY will accede to the request of NY 694-S* as outlined above and refrain from having the informant initiate a contact with [redacted] until a more opportune time. The NYO agrees that the

3-Bureau (100-397666) (RM)
1-New York (134-91) (INV.) (415)
1-New York (100-134637) (SOLO) (415)
1-New York (105-6061)

NOT RECORDED
270 DEC 9 1959

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(7)

55 DEC 18 1959

observations of NY 694-S* are sound and for this reason we should defer the initiation of a contact by the informant with [redacted]

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STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/9/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C REC 87

CG 5824-S*, on December 3, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING and Stenographer [redacted] the information on the following pages, which pertains to TIMMY DENNIS.

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2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637)(SOLO)(REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kws
(4)

ENCLOSURE

REC 8 100-428091-547

DEC 17 1959

55 DEC 21 1959

INFORMATION PERTAINING TO TIMMY DENNIS

As indicated previously, TIMMY DENNIS has been transferred back to Moscow from an assignment on the "World Marxist Review" in Prague, Czechoslovakia. This transfer seems to indicate that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has returned to Moscow persons who are familiar with the United States, the history of the United States, and who read and write English. The significance of the transfer of DENNIS is the new relationship between the USSR and the United States.

During the period between October 17, 1950, and November 5, 1950, TIMMY DENNIS stated that since his return to Moscow, he has had a few discussions with BORIS PONOMAREV, Head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. DENNIS commented that more attention is being paid to him at present. He said that PONOMAREV was even instrumental in arranging for a larger apartment for him and his family.

DENNIS stated that PONOMAREV had asked him why he did not take a trip to the United States. DENNIS said he told PONOMAREV that he is willing to go to the United States, if he is ordered to go there, but that the decision is not up to him.

DENNIS said that one reason he has not made a trip to the United States is that NIKOLAY KOSTOVETS is standing in the way. DENNIS said that not only is KOSTOVETS very careful, but he is also jealous of the role that DENNIS is playing and knows that if DENNIS made a trip to the United States, he would be more of an expert on the United States than he is at the present time.

TIMMY DENNIS asked MORRIS CHILDS to mention to BORIS PONOMAREV, if the occasion arose, that he would like to go to the United States as a member of a delegation or in some temporary assignment for the Russian Government. This occasion was never presented during discussions with PONOMAREV.

TIMMY DENNIS stated that he is interested in history and is doing research, which is turned over to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to "Pravda". He said that he prefers to do the type of work he is presently doing, because he likes to dig deeply into problems and does not like to carry on propaganda work.

100-42501-5477

ENCLOSURE

DENNIS asked that his parents be reminded that for his birthday he would like to receive a number of books dealing with the history of the United States and the American labor movement.

DENNIS stated that he has a Masters Degree, that he wants to get his Ph.D, and also wants to be an academician. He said that as a result of the move to Prague, his wife lost some schooling but has returned to school in Moscow.

4-41 (Rev. 2-9-59)

DECODED COPY

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Trotter
Mr. W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

☐ Radio ☒ Teletype

URGENT 12-16-59 1:12 PM CB

TO DIRECTOR AND SAC NEW YORK

FROM SAC CHICAGO 161839

SOLO. IS-C. RE NY AIRTEL DECEMBER 11, LAST, RE POSSIBLE CONTACT BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVE OF CPUSA AND CHAO YI MIN IN PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA. CG 5824-S ADVISED ON DECEMBER 16, INSTANT, THAT EUGENE DENNIS STATED ON DECEMBER 15, LAST, THAT MORRIS CHILDS SHOULD GO AHEAD WITH PLANS TO HAVE FUNDS FROM CP OF CHINA PICKED UP IN PRAGUE. DENNIS SAID THAT REFUSAL TO ACCEPT OFFER OF CHINESE MIGHT ANTAGONIZE THE CHINESE AND ADVERSELY AFFECT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CPUSA AND CP OF CHINA. CG INFORMANT FURTHER ADVISED THAT GUS HALL KNOWS THAT EUGENE DENNIS KNOWS SOME THINGS ABOUT INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS THAT HE HAS NOT BEEN TOLD, AND IS WILLING TO HAVE DENNIS MAKE DECISIONS IN THIS REGARD UNTIL DENNIS' HEALTH IMPROVE AND HALL, DENNIS AND CHILDS CAN HAVE A FULL DISCUSSION ABOUT THESE MATTERS SOMEPLACE OUTSIDE NY.

RECEIVED: 2:20 PM TELETYPE

2:24 PM CODING UNIT HLB

1- CC - returned Rm. 1243 REC 8 100 — 428091 — 548

10 DEC 17 1959

Mr. Belmont CC--MR. BELMONT & Mr Decker RELAYED TO MY

Memo Baumgardner to Belmont 12/17/59

55 DEC 21 1959

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/9/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

REC-18

CG 5824-S*, on December 3, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING and Stenographer [redacted] the information on the following pages. This report concerns a meeting in Prague, Czechoslovakia, with some of the Editors of the "World Marxist Review".

1-R-10-43

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637)(SOLO)(REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kws
(4)

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-549

16 DEC 18 1959

55 DEC 23 1959

MEETING IN PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, WITH SOME OF THE EDITORS OF THE "WORLD MARXIST REVIEW"

On November 9, 1959, MORRIS CHILDS was escorted to the office of the "World Marxist Review" in Prague, Czechoslovakia. There, he met in the editors room with (First Name Unknown) RUMYANTSEV (phonetic), Editor-In-Chief of the "World Marxist Review"; HERMAN STATAREV (phonetic); (First Name Unknown) HAVLICEEK, Czechoslovakian member of the Editorial Board; and (First Name Unknown) CATAYEV (phonetic), who is in charge of the Party activity or apparatus in connection with the "World Marxist Review". One RODIANOV (phonetic) acted as the translator.

RUMYANTSEV asked CHILDS to give those present a current picture of developments in the United States, particularly his opinion of the manner in which NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV was received in the United States. After CHILDS had done this, RUMYANTSEV stated that the "World Marxist Review", as a result of a new policy, will not print anything containing the language of the cold war or anything which would cause friction between the United States and Russia. It was at this point that RUMYANTSEV asked CHILDS to tell WILLIAM Z. FOSTER that even though FOSTER had been promised that one of his articles would be reprinted in the "World Marxist Review", this cannot be done because of the new relationship between the United States and Russia.

RUMYANTSEV also stated that the "World Marxist Review" cannot originate any article dealing with the amnesty campaign in the United States or the fight for the legality of the Communist Party - USA. However, the "World Marxist Review" might print a letter from the United States which deals with these campaigns, provided that the letter is carefully written. Furthermore, any article written by the Communist Party - USA and dealing with the economic and/or political situation in the United States should be very carefully written and should not contain the language of the cold war, if the articles are intended for publication in the "World Marxist Review".

At this time, RUMYANTSEV stated that an article written by HERBERT APTHEKER will appear in the No. 11 issue of the "World Marxist Review". He asked CHILDS to tell APTHEKER that a few small changes had been made in the article. CHILDS was also asked if he would deliver to APTHEKER "royalties" for this article.

RUMYANTSEV then asked about the current situation in

100-428091-5491

- 1 - ENCLOSURE

the Communist Party - USA, and CHILDS gave those present a brief review of recent developments in the Communist Party - USA. RUMYANTSEV stated he thinks that the Communist Party - USA is on the right track and that the general line of the Party is correct. He commented that the Communist Party - USA defeated revisionism.

CHILDS was also asked questions about the economic situation in the United States, the percentage of unemployed, the steel strike, prospects for more strikes, etc. CHILDS was told that if someone in the Communist Party - USA would write an article dealing with strike struggles in the United States, it would be printed in the "World Marxist Review". RUMYANTSEV asked that CHILDS send to the "World Marxist Review" documents dealing with Communist Party - USA activities in mass movements and theoretical articles which have been approved by the Communist Party - USA and which could be printed in the "World Marxist Review". He also stated that they would like to have leading members of the Communist Party - USA write articles for the "World Marxist Review".

COMMENTS OF CG 5824-S*

It may be significant that the representative of the Communist Party of China on the Editorial Board of the "World Marxist Review" was not invited to attend this meeting. After leaving the meeting, this reporter observed a person on another floor of the building, who was identified as the Chinese representative on the "World Marxist Review". In the past, both TIBOR DENNIS and V. KORIOKOV stated that they could not do anything on the "World Marxist Review" without participation by the Chinese editor. They stated that nothing was printed in the magazine unless the Chinese were consulted.

RUMYANTSEV gives the appearance of being a very capable man. He is the Editor-In-Chief of the only theoretical magazine of the international Communist movement. He is a very smart dresser and has a pleasing personality.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/3/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

REC-15

Re Chicago letter dated November 20, 1959, containing information from CG 5824-S* pertaining primarily to FRANK and RUTH COE, and VICTOR PERLO.

On November 25, 1959, CG 5824-S* orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following pages. This information concerns miscellaneous items in regard to FRANK COE, a possible correspondent for "The Worker" in Peking, and addresses in Peking to which items from the Communist Party - USA should be mailed.

1 - Rm 1243
2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637)(SOLO)(REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kws
(4)

EX 101 REC-15 100-428091-12550

18 DEC 4 1959

55 JAN 4 1960

ENCLOSURE

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS IN REGARD TO COMMUNIST PARTY - USA and COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA RELATIONS

Material Being Sent from Peking to the United States for "The Worker"

In conversations with FRANK COE and TANG Ming-chao, it was learned that in addition to SIDNEY RITTENBERG, FRANK COE, and TANG Ming-chao, and others send material to the United States for publication in "The Worker". However, RITTENBERG is listed as the author for all of this material. COE and TANG Ming-chao stated that they want the Communist Party - USA and/or "The Worker" to tell them what types of articles are wanted until such time as "The Worker" can send a correspondent to Peking.

Possible Correspondent for "The Worker" in Peking

TANG Ming-chao stated that the Communist Party of China felt disappointed because "The Worker" sent a correspondent to Moscow but did not send one to Peking. TANG stated that the Communist Party of China wants the Communist Party - USA to send a correspondent to Peking. They would prefer a married man with a family, and they will take care of his and his family's needs. They realize that he would have to use a pseudonym for his articles.

After TANG Ming-chao had discussed this, WANG Chia-hsing, Head of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, in a subsequent conversation asked CHILDS if TANG Ming-chao had mentioned it to him.

Mailing Addresses in Peking to which Mail from the Communist Party - USA Should be Sent

TANG Ming-chao and YU Chi-ying, of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, provided the following addresses for mail or material being sent from the Communist Party - USA to the Communist Party of China. The first is the preferred address:

YU Chi-ying
~~Post Office Box 509~~
~~Peking, China~~

100-428011-550

ENCLOSURE

TANG Ming-chao
9 Tai Chi
Peking, China

Arrangement for FRANK COE to Send Letters to the United States

FRANK COE was given a post office box number in Chicago to utilize for the sending of letters to the United States. He may send a letter for [redacted] through this channel. He stated that he wants to try to convince [redacted] and his wife to do some travelling not only to the Socialist countries, but by all means to China.

FRANK COE stated that he would use the following code in any letters he might send to the post office box in Chicago:

"GERALD" will refer to EUGENE DENNIS.
"MORGAN" will refer to MORRIS CHILDS.
"V.P." will refer to the trading corporation in New York established for possible trade between the United States and China.
[redacted] will refer to [redacted]

Funds for Research Work on the Part of VICTOR PERLO

TANG Ming-chao stated that if VICTOR PERLO needs funds to do research work for the Communist Party of China, this money should be supplied by the Communist Party - USA, and the Communist Party of China will reimburse the Communist Party - USA.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum · UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: December 11, 1959

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

Tolson
Belmont
DeLoach
McGuire
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Candy

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

During our informant's (CG 5824-S) recent trip to the Soviet Union (SU) and Red China, he had the opportunity to discuss the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), official news organ "The Worker" with officials of both the SU and Red China.

Tang Ming-chao of the International Department, Central Committee, CP of China (CPC), advised informant that the CPC wants the CPUSA to send a correspondent from "The Worker" to Peking. They would prefer a married man with a family and the Chinese will take care of his financial needs. Tang stated that the CPC felt disappointed because "The Worker" sent a correspondent to Moscow but did not send one to Peking. It should be noted that John Pittman, a long-time CP member from the west coast, recently traveled to Moscow, Russia, where he is the official representative of "The Worker" to the SU. His columns have appeared in both "The Worker" and the "People's World."

Nikolai Mostovets, head of the North and South American section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU and his assistant, Alekseij Grechukhin, advised informant that the Russians would be willing to help "The Worker" by taking an additional 500 to 1,000 copies for distribution in Russia. They explained that "The Worker" is sold out in Russia almost as soon as it hits the newsstand. It should be noted that in the Spring of 1958, the Russians placed an order for 3,000 copies of "The Worker" to be delivered to Moscow weekly. On July 3, 1958, the first shipment of newspapers was sent to Moscow by air and the Soviets have claimed that they used these newspapers in their schools to assist in the teaching of the English language. It must be kept in mind that for all practical purposes the arrangement under which the Russians receive copies of "The Worker" results in a direct cash subsidy to "The Worker" from the SU.

ACTION:

EX 101

This is submitted for your information. We will follow this matter quite carefully and any further developments will be called to your attention.

100-428091-228
55 DEC 23 1959
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Dise
1 - Mr. Decker
AJD:ssh
(5)

REC-15

10 DEC 21 1959

INDEXED

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: December 11, 1959

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson
Belmont
DeLoach
McGuire
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W. C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Gandy

While in Red China attending the Tenth Anniversary Celebration of the People's Republic of China, CG 5824-S obtained a book written in Chinese from Li Fu-chun, Vice Premier of the State Council and chairman of the State Planning Commission of China. Copies of this book were also furnished to other leading members of Communist Party delegations to the Anniversary Celebration.

The book is entitled "The Great Ten Years (Statistics of Economic and Cultural Achievement)." It was published by the People's Publication Agency on 9-1-59, and was compiled by the National Statistics Bureau, the People's Republic of China.

This book has been reviewed by the Bureau's Chinese translator, Ryong C. Hahm. It described the economic and cultural achievements of the People's Republic of China for the last ten years and contains statistics broken down into the field of agriculture, industry, commerce, education and standard of living. Translator Hahm stated that from a review of this publication, it contains no information of political or military significance. This book will not be translated. However, a photographic copy will be maintained in the "Solo" file.

Through our liaison representative, we have ascertained that neither the State Department nor the Central Intelligence Agency has a copy of this book and that these agencies are definitely interested in obtaining a copy.

OBSERVATIONS:

It is believed that photographic copies of this book should be furnished to the Secretary of State and the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency in view of their interest in statistical data of this nature. However, in view of the sensitive position of our informant, this book will be forwarded under a "Top Secret" classification and attributed to our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA.

Enclosures (2)
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Decker

REC-15 100-428091-552

10 DEC 21 1959

62 DEC 29 1959
(5)

CENTRAL RESEARCH

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
RE: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ACTION:

There are attached for your approval appropriate communications transmitting photographic copies of the above book. If you agree, these communications, with a ~~"Top Secret"~~ classification, will be furnished to the Honorable Christian A. Herter, the Secretary of State, and to Mr. Allen W. Dulles, Director, Central Intelligence Agency.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/9/59

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

REC 15

CG 5824-S*, on December 2, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING and Stenographer [redacted] the information on the following pages. This information pertains primarily to JOHN AND MARGARETE PITTMAN and OLLIE HARRINGTON, of Paris, France.

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Oliver Wendell Harrington
Bufile 100-379980

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637)(SOLO)(REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

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(4)

#59

100-428091-554

ENCLOSURE

10 DEC 21 1959

INFORMATION CONCERNING JOHN AND MARGARETE PITTMAN AND OLLIE HARRINGTON

During conversations with ALEKSEI GRECHUKHIN, of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), it was learned that the CPSU wants JOHN PITTMAN to work in a more or less "legal" manner as any newspaper correspondent assigned to Moscow. However, from time to time the CPSU may want him to put across some idea in an article or may want him to interpret something as an authority on conditions in the United States.

In a conversation with JOHN PITTMAN, he stated that he is moving around in the press colony in Moscow. The Russians have assigned a translator to him and this translator also acts as his secretary. He sees press correspondents from other Communist papers, such as MARK FRANK of the "Canadian Tribune", and OGDEN STEWART, of the "London Daily Worker". He stated that he was planning to broaden his contacts. He said that he planned to go to the American Embassy, report his residence in Moscow, and ask to be invited to all press conferences of the American Embassy which are held for the Soviet Information Bureau.

In regard to personal matters, PITTMAN stated that his daughter is going to a Russian school in the neighborhood of their apartment. The Russians wanted the boy to go to a boarding school, in which event he would only spend weekends at home. The PITTMANs did not want to do this, preferring to send their son to a neighborhood kindergarten. However, waiting lists are long for kindergartens in Moscow. GRECHUKHIN, who said that he will be in contact with PITTMAN, promised MORRIS CHILDS that PITTMAN's son would be placed in a neighborhood kindergarten by the end of November, 1959.

GRECHUKHIN also indicated that the Russians would prefer that MARGARETE PITTMAN be a housewife; not an accredited correspondent of any newspaper. However, if she wants to work, they will try to get her an assignment, probably on a newspaper such as the "Moscow News". They will also arrange for JOHN PITTMAN to take a tour so that he will know more about the Soviet Union.

Both JOHN and MARGARETE PITTMAN complained that their lack of knowledge of Russian has hindered their shopping, particularly for food. They are assigned to a public dining room, but also have cooking facilities in their apartment.

100-428091-5544
- 1 -ENCLOSURE

PITTMAN stated that he had not as yet written a preface to an article JAMES JACKSON wrote on the Negro question in the United States for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Information Concerning OLLIE HARRINGTON, Former Resident of the United States, now Living in Paris, France

In discussions with NIKOLAI KOSTOVETS and ALEKSEI GRECHUKHIN, they stated that the CPSU received information that the secret police of France had caught a "big atomic spy". The story is that at the time JOHN and MARGARETE PITTMAN were on their way from the United States to Moscow, an atomic energy delegation from the United States, headed by JOHN C. CONE, was also travelling to Moscow. Both the PITTMANs and the atomic energy delegation were scheduled to pass through Paris. According to the story of the secret police of France, there was an atomic scientist named JOHN PITTMAN who was travelling with MC CONE. At the same time that JOHN and MARGARETE PITTMAN arrived in Paris, the scientist, JOHN PITTMAN, also arrived in Paris. Obviously, the secret police of France had to take security measures in regard to the atomic scientist.

According to this story, the secret police of France say that JOHN PITTMAN, the scientist, is a Communist spy. They found a lot of Communist documents in his possession. They also found names and addresses of over one hundred Communists in the United States, chiefly in California. In fact, this "atomic spy" has contact with over one hundred Communists in California and the secret police of France has notified American intelligence, including the F.B.I. The secret police of France made copies of the documents in the possession of JOHN PITTMAN, the scientist, and has been notified that this scientist will be arrested by American intelligence agencies upon his return to the United States.

KOSTOVETS and GRECHUKHIN said that they did not know if this story was true, that something is wrong and that due to carelessness, the secret police of France had been able to copy documents in the possession of JOHN and MARGARETE PITTMAN and that "somebody will get it in the neck". CHILDS was asked to discreetly check this story with PITTMAN. KOSTOVETS and GRECHUKHIN also stated that the CPSU suspects that OLLIE HARRINGTON may be a spy.

On November 3, 1959, CHILDS asked JOHN and MARGARETE PITTMAN about their trip to Moscow from the United States, and

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asked if they had visited relatives in Germany as they had planned to do. They replied that they had not gone to Germany because they were "shadowed" all the time they were in Paris. When CHILDS asked what reason they had for this, they said that they did not know and that all they know is that they met OLLIE HARRINGTON in Paris and were followed everywhere while there.

According to the PITTMANs, HARRINGTON apologized to them and said that whenever any Americans are in Paris, he is followed everywhere. Then HARRINGTON told them that a Negro professor in Paris had written a letter to "Life" magazine and in this letter falsely accused HARRINGTON of being a Soviet agent. As a result of this letter, the French secret police went after OLLIE HARRINGTON. According to HARRINGTON, the letter was fabricated; he had written to "Life" about the letter; had hired a lawyer and was prepared to go to court, when the writer of the letter admitted that he had concocted the story in the letter.

The PITTMANs said that they are of the opinion that HARRINGTON may be involved in some story and that perhaps the "shadowing" of them in Paris has some connection with HARRINGTON. They said they felt that HARRINGTON's story about the letter to "Life" magazine sounded like a fairy tale and that he should be investigated to see whether or not he has some connection with French and/or American intelligence.

CHILDS asked PITTMAN if he carried any material with him on his way from the United States to Moscow. He replied that he had carried copies of "Political Affairs" and other Communist documents with him. He also has a big book filled with names and addresses of people with whom he plans to correspond. These are addresses of Communist Party members and friends in California. All of this material was in a brief case, which he left in his hotel room while travelling about Paris. CHILDS criticized PITTMAN for leaving the brief case in his hotel room, and said that it is possible that "the enemy" obtained copies of this material. MARGARETE PITTMAN said that she had told JOHN PITTMAN not to leave this material in his hotel room.

In subsequent conversations, KOSTOVETS and GRECHUKHIN stated that they are now convinced that the secret police of France had followed JOHN and MARGARETE PITTMAN and had concocted the story about a JOHN PITTMAN, a scientist, who is an atomic spy.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/9/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

REC-15

CG 5824-S*, on December 2, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING and Stenographer KATHERINE W. SUTPHEN the information on the following pages. This report pertains mostly to V. J. JEROME and HERSHEL MEYER.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637)(SOLO)(REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kws
(4)

EX 101

ENCLOSURE

DEC REC-15 100-428091-555

10 DEC 18 1959

55 DEC 23 1959

INFORMATION PERTAINING TO V. J. JEROME
AND HERSHEL MEYER

By way of background information, in February, 1959, NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS and ALEKSEI GRECHUKHIN, of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), had stated that arrangements had been made for V.J. JEROME to apply for a visa to Russia, but that he had not done so. [redacted] before leaving Moscow for Peking, China, was supposed to notify JEROME that if he had a desire to go to Moscow, he should make arrangements to do so. When [redacted] failed to do this, MORRIS CHILDS sent a brief personal note to JEROME. This note indicated to JEROME that the Russians were complaining because he had not applied for a visa.

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JEROME arrived in Moscow at the end of September, 1959. He stated that he had gone to East Germany from England without any credentials of any kind, and not even his acquaintance with GERHARDT EISLER helped him in East Germany. He went to Poland, and the Russians finally found him in Poland and suggested that he go to Moscow as a sort of English editor in the International Publishing House. They told him that some new editions or volumes of LENIN were being published and since he has a good command of the English language, he could do some editing on the English language editions.

JEROME was living in the Hotel National (phonetic) in Moscow. This is one of the main and swankiest hotels in Moscow. He had been given an advance on his salary, a complete winter wardrobe, and had been sent to a sanitarium. JEROME was still complaining about some illnesses, was visiting a clinic, and complained that he needed an operation, even though the physicians said that he did not. While he had been in Moscow about one month, he had not started to work as yet.

In regard to Poland, JEROME stated that while the Party situation was improving there, things in general are very difficult. He said that he had a difficult time in Poland because he did not have a mandate from the Communist Party - USA. At the Congress of the Communist Party of Poland, he was just a visitor in the gallery and no one paid any attention to him. He stated that it is a good thing that he left Poland, since he might be able to do more creative work in Moscow than he was able to do in Poland.

100-428091—555

- 1 - ENCLOSURE

JEROME stated that he wanted to be a part of the CPSU. He said he did not want to work for a public institution in Moscow as a non-Party person. He also stated that he wanted some item concerning him to appear in the "Moscow News".

MORRIS CHILDS discussed JEROME and his complaints with NIKOLAI KOSTOVETS and ALEKSEI GRECHUKHIN. They stated that JEROME was brought to Moscow to do a specific job. He has been given a very good job. His salary is approximately 2,500 rubles a month as base pay. His bonuses can be as much as 1,500 rubles a month. Furthermore, he is working for the one institution in the Soviet Union which will permit him to send a part of his income to his family in a foreign country. He has requested that this be done. He has been given this job because the Russians know that he is capable. It is more than merely correcting English. It also involves some editorial work.

KOSTOVETS and GRECHUKHIN also stated that the CPSU does not want JEROME to have any connections with the CPSU. They said, We do not transfer into the CPSU members of other Communist Parties who come to Moscow to work. If JEROME wants information concerning current happenings in the Communist Party - USA, he can contact JOHN PITTMAN. They also stated that they did not want JEROME's wife in the Soviet Union, and that they only want JEROME in Russia until he completes this assignment, which will probably take less than one year.

Subsequently, CHILDS conveyed this information to JEROME. CHILDS also pointed out to JEROME that POPOV (phonetic), who was a member of the Central Committee of the CPSU until the 20th Congress and who was a translator for MOLOTOV, now has a leading position in the International Publishing House. Thus, through POPOV, JEROME should be able to obtain information regarding events in the Soviet Union. Therefore, it would not be necessary for JEROME to be in the CPSU.

JEROME stated that he wants some documents from the United States, particularly from the Communist Party - USA. CHILDS stated that he would convey this message to JEROME's wife, and it would be up to her to send him any documents. JEROME stated that his wife could be reached at the following telephone number in New York, and that this is an unlisted number: GRamercy (ph) 5-0523.

JEROME stated that he does not want his passport to expire, and that the time limit expires sometime during the late summer of 1960.

HERSHEL MEYER

JEROME told MORRIS CHILDS that he would like CHILDS to discuss HERSHEL MEYER with the leadership of the Communist Party - USA. He said that MEYER has been driving around Europe in a car which he purchased in Europe. MEYER has visited in Poland and in Russia. He also sneaked into China for a period of time.

JEROME stated that at one time he worked with MEYER. He asked MEYER to explain to him where he got his income. One story given by MEYER was that he inherited a large estate from his uncle. Another story was that he inherited a large estate from his aunt. Another story was that his mother had left him a lot of real estate. Another story was that he had practiced medicine, although as far as anyone in the Communist Party - USA knew, he had never practiced medicine.

JEROME stated that after MEYER moved from Chicago to New York, he went right into the National Office of the Communist Party - USA and was assigned to work with JEROME, which assignment lasted for several weeks. Yet, MEYER never did carry through any of the detailed tasks which were given to him. JEROME stated that at one time MEYER was scheduled to attend a very important meeting, for which JEROME was responsible. MEYER did not show up for the meeting and did not even bother to call JEROME. According to JEROME, when he next saw MEYER, the latter said that he could not attend the meeting because he was "kidnapped by the FBI". JEROME commented, This just does not happen.

JEROME said that in the past, MEYER was under suspicion because of a lack of stability and because of his varied stories regarding his income. JEROME said that the Communist Party - USA should start investigating MEYER again. JEROME asked, Why did MEYER get permission to go to the Soviet Union, China, etc.? He said he thinks there is something "fishy" about MEYER. He said that he was amazed that the Communist Party - USA would say anything good about MEYER.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/3/59

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

REC-10
EX-136

CG 5824-S*, on November 25, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following page, which pertains to instructions for sending mail or printed matter from the Communist Party - USA to Moscow for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637)(SOLO)(REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

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REC-21
EX-117

100-428091-556

18 DEC 4 1959

6 DEC 29 1959

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INSTRUCTIONS FOR SENDING MAIL OR MATERIAL FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY - USA TO MOSCOW FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

During one of the many conversations with ALEKSEI GRECHUKHIN, of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), he stated that when material from the Communist Party - USA (CPUSA) is sent to Post Office Box #341 in Moscow for the CPSU, that, in addition to the box number, a common American name, such as COOPER, or a popular Russian name, for example KUZNETSOV, should also be used.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/8/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CG 5824-S*, on December 2, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING and Stenographer KATHERINE W. SUTPHEN the information on the following pages. This report pertains mostly to LOUIS and ROSE WEINSTOCK.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637)(SOLO)(REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

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BLAND
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EX-117

100-428091-557

10 DEC 22 1959

ENCLOSURE

55 DEC 23 1959

INT SEC

INFORMATION PERTAINING TO LOUIS AND ROSE WEINSTOCK

During the first part of November, 1959, LOUIS WEINSTOCK was in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and was discussing his travels in Europe.

Hungary

WEINSTOCK stated that his wife, ROSE WEINSTOCK, who is the Editor of a Hungarian language newspaper in New York City, had permission of the United States State Department to visit relatives in Hungary. While LOUIS WEINSTOCK did not obtain permission from the United States Department of State, he accompanied his wife to Hungary.

WEINSTOCK stated that while in Hungary, he visited his home town, Tokay. He participated in some meetings with Communist Party leaders. He also attended a conference of building tradesmen from various unions in Europe, particularly from the World Federation of Trade Unions, which is under the leadership of the Communist Party. He also saw his daughter, who is about seventeen or eighteen years of age and is attending school in Hungary.

WEINSTOCK said that while he saw and talked to a number of persons in the top leadership of the Communist Party of Hungary, he did not see JANOS KADAR. These leaders of the Communist Party of Hungary blamed the old leadership, and particularly MATYAS RAKOSI, and the misuse of power for the uprising in Hungary. They also blamed the imperialists for launching the armed uprising in Hungary.

WEINSTOCK said that he was told that for a time the Communist Party of Hungary was pretty much disorganized. Many Party members became passive or deserted, until the new leadership, under KADAR, asserted itself. Most of those who had been active Communists were subjected to persecution and arrest by the old leadership of the Communist Party. They all suffered from the "knock on the door". The secret police would pick them up and then lock them up. Some were shot and others were thrown into prison.

WEINSTOCK stated that he learned that RAKOSI is not in Hungary at the present time. Of the old leadership, only the Minister of the Interior and his son are presently in prison. They

100-428091-557

ENCLOSURE

are still to be tried. Of the others who were in high government posts or in the leadership of the Party, some received short sentences, some were expelled from the Party, and most of them are now at work as laborers, clerks, etc.

WEINSTOCK said he saw some former members of the Communist Party - USA who are now in Hungary. He saw J. PETERS, who is in charge of all language publications. PETERS' wife is in charge of radio propaganda for foreign consumption. WEINSTOCK stated that these people are living high and that the institution of private property is highly developed in Hungary. Not only do they have fine apartments, but they have also built homes in the country and have servants. He said that many Communists, both Hungarians and former Americans, live this way; and he, WEINSTOCK, is against this mode of living in luxury.

WEINSTOCK stated that PETERS has contact with some people in the United States. For example, he corresponds with WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and sends money to FOSTER regularly. Some months ago, a Hungarian journalist interviewed FOSTER. He wrote a series of articles which were carried in a newspaper in Budapest. The articles indicated that FOSTER is mistreated in the United States and that he has no money. Further, that FOSTER is ill and is not receiving any medical attention. Also, that FOSTER lives in a sixth floor apartment and cannot get down to the street level. The articles created a sensation in Hungary and as a result, money was collected from school children for FOSTER. WEINSTOCK also commented that he had personally collected money for FOSTER in the United States.

WEINSTOCK also stated that while in Hungary, he had seen EMIL and GRACE BLAIR GARDOS. They have a son who is attending a university in Hungary. He is studying to be a physicist and has almost completed his education. EMIL GARDOS was scheduled to leave Hungary for Moscow on or about November 1, 1959. He is scheduled to be a Commercial Attache in Moscow.

East Germany

WEINSTOCK stated that he went to East Germany from Hungary. He stayed at a hotel for trade unionists in East Berlin and participated in some trade union meetings. He saw WALTER ULBRICHT and other leaders of the Communist Party of East Germany, but did not participate in any political discussions with them. He also saw GERHARDT EISLER and BEATRICE JOHNSON KISKIND. He also saw (First Name Unknown) NORDIN (phonetic), former resident of the United States who is now a member of the Political Bureau of the

Communist Party of East Germany and is a minister in the government of East Germany.

WEINSTOCK said that he was a guest at the celebration of the 10th Anniversary of the establishment of the German Democratic Republic. He said that East Germany is following a cautious line as a result of the visit of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV to the United States. He said that at one meeting he attended, a member of the Communist Party of Italy, who is a Senator and Vice President of the Italian Senate, took issue with ULBRICHT's theory that a free city is possible. WEINSTOCK stated that the Vatican was used as an example, and the arguments of the Italian Senator were beaten down.

WEINSTOCK said that he was carrying a message to the Communist Party - USA from the East Germany Socialist Unity (Communist) Party to the effect that the East German comrades want delegates from every country, particularly from the United States, to visit East Germany. This would include both trade union and Communist delegations. WEINSTOCK stated that Party people are treated very well in East Germany, which has modern hotels. The East German comrades are eager to expand their international connections. They just cannot understand why more Americans do not visit East Germany, since all they have to do is take a subway in West Berlin and ride it into East Berlin.

Czechoslovakia

WEINSTOCK stated that he had tried to get into the Soviet Union from Hungary. He talked to some Russians and they told him that Moscow was crowded because of the holidays. He, therefore, decided to go to Prague, Czechoslovakia, from East Germany, in order to attend some trade union meetings. He arrived in Prague soon after ELMER JOHNSON and other trade unionists from Chicago left Prague for East Germany.

Until he met with MORRIS CHILDS, WEINSTOCK had only seen LADISLAV KOCMAN, of the International Department of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and (First Name Unknown) BATAYEV (phonetic), who is in charge of the Communist Party apparatus within the "World Marxist Review". BATAYEV had asked WEINSTOCK to write an article on the work of Communists in industry in the United States. WEINSTOCK prepared four or five pages of notes in regard to the situation in the United States and how the Communist Party - USA works in industry.

KOCMAN brought BATAYEV to the hotel in Prague where

CHILDS was staying. BATAYEV said that WEINSTOCK's material was not concrete enough, and asked CHILDS to go over it with WEINSTOCK. WEINSTOCK came to the hotel, and he and CHILDS edited the notes in the library of this hotel, which is restricted to Communist Party members. The library is equipped with Communist Party newspapers and publications from all over the world. After the material was re-written, it was given to BATAYEV, who took it to a meeting of the Editorial Board of the "World Marxist Review".

In Prague, WEINSTOCK also accompanied CHILDS on a visit to JOHN WAFIADES, former resident of the United States, who is currently with the World Federation of Trade Unions in Prague.

Arrangements for a Trip for LOUIS WEINSTOCK to Moscow, Russia

WEINSTOCK told CHILDS that he was still anxious to visit Moscow. He stated that his wife had left Europe for the United States, since WEINSTOCK had only planned to attend some trade union meetings in Prague. WEINSTOCK stated that he planned to leave Prague to return to East Berlin on November 9, 1959, but that he would like to visit Moscow and still return to the United States before Thanksgiving.

CHILDS told WEINSTOCK to call him before he left Prague. In the meantime, with the assistance of LADISLAV KOCHAN, CHILDS talked with the First Secretary of the Russian Embassy in Prague. CHILDS stated that he had told the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, through NIKOLAI KOSTOVETS and ALEKSEI GRECHUKHIN, that WEINSTOCK was in Europe, that he would probably want to visit Moscow, and that the Communist Party - USA would have no objections, especially if WEINSTOCK were invited to Russia as a guest of a trade union, since both the Communist Party - USA and WEINSTOCK would prefer that it be done in this manner.

The reply from the First Secretary of the Russian Embassy was that a visa would be available in Prague for WEINSTOCK on Wednesday or Thursday, November 11 or 12, 1959. CHILDS conveyed this information to WEINSTOCK and suggested that WEINSTOCK stay in Russia no longer than one week.

Miscellaneous Information Concerning LOUIS WEINSTOCK

During November, 1959, EUGENE DENNIS and GUS HALL asked

CHILDS to attempt to convey a message to LOUIS WEINSTOCK to the effect that the Communist Party - USA would like to have WEINSTOCK be a representative of the Communist Party - USA to the Congress of the Communist Party of Hungary. CHILDS told DENNIS and HALL that he would not be able to transmit such a message to WEINSTOCK in sufficient time for WEINSTOCK to get to Hungary for this purpose.

During conversations with LOUIS WEINSTOCK, he stated that he had met trade union leaders from all over the world.

WEINSTOCK also stated that he would not accept the job as Business Manager of "The Worker". Asked why he thought that he might be offered this position, WEINSTOCK replied that EUGENE DENNIS had been sounding him out regarding this job. WEINSTOCK commented that he has to do trade union and/or mass work.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/9/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

REC-19

CG 5824-S*, on December 3, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING and Stenographer [redacted] the information on the following page. This report pertains to a meeting with representatives of the Foreign Literature Department of the Soviet Union.

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2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637)(SOLO)(REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

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REC-19 100-428091-558

10 DEC 22 1959

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55 DEC 23 1959

MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FOREIGN LITERATURE DEPARTMENT OF THE SOVIET UNION

During the period between October 17, 1959, and November 5, 1959, MORRIS CHILDS participated in a meeting in Moscow, Russia, with representatives of the Foreign Literature Department. This meeting was held in the Foreign Office Building. Present were the following: Vice Deputy MAKAROV, CHISTAKOV, GRADOV, and TSAPENKO (all spellings phonetic). At one time, TSAPENKO was stationed in Washington as a literature representative.

MAKAROV did most of the talking at this meeting, and the chief problem concerned the finding of a replacement for Imported Publications and Products. MARGARET COWL KRUMBEIN has refused to sign a contract to handle Russian literature for 1960, since she claims that it is not a profitable business arrangement. CHILDS was shown a letter which was dated October 15, 1959, and was signed by MARGARET COWL. In this letter, she states that she was not making any money handling Russian literature.

MAKAROV stated that MARGARET COWL is in error in making this statement, since there is enough elasticity in the margin of profit. It was also pointed out that there is a growing interest in Russian printed material and literature. This applies not only to Communist writings, but also to publications dealing with technical matters.

CHILDS was asked to have the Communist Party - USA recommend someone as a replacement for MARGARET COWL. The Russians present at this meeting insisted that a good businessman could make money handling Russian literature, but they would like a person who is more loyal than MARGARET COWL and one who is not thinking only of the profit angle.

At this meeting, MAKAROV also indicated that the Russians are not satisfied with the operation of the Four Continent Book Store. CHILDS was also asked what type of facilities there are at the Crossroads Book Store in Chicago.

During discussions with the leadership of the Communist Party - USA, during November, 1959, it has been learned that HY LUMER has been working on the problems in connection with an outlet for the sale of Russian literature in the United States.

USA

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ENCLOSURE

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/9/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

REC-19

CG 5824-S*, on December 3, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING and Stenographer [redacted] the information on the following page, which concerns MANYA REISS.

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2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637)(SOLO)(REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

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REC-19 100-428091-559

62 DEC 28 1959

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INFORMATION PERTAINING TO MANYA REISS

On or about October 16, 1959, MANYA REISS was brought to the apartment in which MORRIS CHILDS was staying in Peking, China. MANYA REISS, who is highly regarded by the Communist Party of China, has cancer of the lung and underwent an operation for removal of a part of one lung. She has not worked for approximately ten months.

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STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum · UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: December 17, 1959

FROM : MR. F. J. BAUMGARDNER

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Branigan
1 - Mr. Donahoe
1 - Mr. Frohbose
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Decker

Tolson
Belmont
DeLoach
McGuire
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

My memorandum dated 12-14-59 advised that NY 694-S, the brother of CG 5824-S, would quite likely travel to Prague, Czechoslovakia, for contacts with Czechoslovakians and the Red Chinese representative on the international communist publication, "World Marxist Review," and would possibly travel to the Soviet Union between Christmas and New Years. My memorandum recommended and the Director approved that an assumed identity be established for informant for security reasons and that the Laboratory prepare certain documents to perfect this assumed identity.

New York by teletype 12-16-59 advised that Eugene Dennis, chairman, Communist Party (CP), USA, has authorized the above trip and has instructed the informant to accept the previous offer of financial support for the CPUSA by the Red Chinese. (While CG 5824-S was in China October, 1959, he was offered for the CPUSA $25,000 within two months and $100,000 within six months, the money to be delivered in Prague, Czechoslovakia.)

The outstanding success of the most recent Solo mission and the concrete data developed was based to a large extent on the specific targets prepared by the Domestic Intelligence Division for the informant's guidance. It is believed that the success of the forthcoming trip to Prague, Czechoslovakia, and possibly to Moscow, Russia, would be considerably enhanced if at this time we prepare specific targets for the informant to accomplish.

RECOMMENDATION:

1. That the Espionage Section, Domestic Intelligence Division, prepare specific concrete targets for the informant in connection with his contacts with Czechoslovakian officials in Prague, Czechoslovakia. In this regard, it should be kept in mind that informant will most likely confer with Gustav Soucek, head of the International Department, Central Committee, CP of Czechoslovakia. Also, specific targets should be prepared in connection with informant's possible travel to the Soviet Union.

Handled 12-21-59 LW

REC- 11 100-428091-560

EX-140

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AJD:med
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10 DEC 22 1959

55 DEC 23 1959

2. That the Nationalities Intelligence Section of the Domestic Intelligence Division prepare specific targets for the informant in connection with his contacts in Prague, Czechoslovakia, with the Red Chinese editor of the "World Marxist Review."

Handled by Ruehl 12-18-59

3. That the Internal Security Section, Domestic Intelligence Division, prepare specific targets for the informant in connection with the CPUSA international relations aspects of informant's contacts with foreign communist parties.

ACTION:

In view of the imminence of this mission, it is suggested that these specific targets be prepared no later than 12-21-59 so that the informant can be briefed in advance.

Mr. Decker

Legal Attache, Paris

December 17, 1959

Director, FBI (100-428091)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

For your confidential information and future guidance and not to be disseminated, the Bureau has learned of two recent instances where the Soviets have obtained information which has apparently been leaked from the French police agencies. You should keep this in mind in your future dealings with French agencies.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

CG 5824-S while in the Soviet Union engaged in conversation with Nikolai Mostevets of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and his assistant, Aleksei Grechukhin. They advised that the secret police of France had searched the luggage of John Pittman who is the Moscow correspondent for "The Worker" and had made copies of the documents in his possession. Letter from Legal Attache, Paris, dated 10-15-59 furnished material which Legat received from the French which they had obtained as a result of a clandestine search of Pittman's luggage.

REC 32

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

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14 DEC 22 1959

EX-117

17 JAN 11 1960

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MAIL ROOM ☑ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

1 - O. Decker

SAC, New York (100-134637)(415) December 23, 1959

Director, FBI (100-428091)

SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ReBulet 12-15-59 and urairtel 12-16-59.

In connection with the forthcoming trip of NY 694-S to Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he will establish contact with representatives of the Communist Parties of Czechoslovakia and Red China and his possible travel from Prague to Moscow, Russia, the Bureau feels that there are certain general objectives or targets which can be given to the informant involving matters of interest to the Bureau and to the United States Government. These objectives can be placed in two main categories; namely, (1) matters relating to international affairs and (2) matters relating to the Communist Party (CP), USA. The Bureau realizes that informant will most likely not be in a position to obtain information on all of the subjects set forth below; however, it is felt that some of the information might be obtainable through proper guidance and direction of discussions between the informant and representatives of the Communist Parties of Red China, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. It is not anticipated that informant will take any action whatsoever which might jeopardize his security which is, of course, of primary significance.

The following items are listed for your guidance in briefing the informant relative to matters of interest to the Bureau.

MATTERS RELATING TO INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS:

(1) The reaction of the Soviets, Red Chinese and Czechoslovakians to President Eisenhower's trip to Asia and Europe.

(2) The Soviet's current stand on the Berlin situation: What do they expect to gain in the forthcoming series of summit conferences? What concessions are they prepared to make?

(3) To what extent are the Soviets and Red Chinese active in Latin American countries?

REC-22 100-428091-563

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MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

(4) What are the plans of Red China concerning its current border dispute with India?

(5) What is the Red Chinese current policy concerning Formosa and other offshore islands held by the Chinese nationalists?

(6) Plans, intentions or capabilities of the Red Chinese to carry out intelligence, propaganda or subversive activities in the United States; identities of individuals or organizations being used or to be used to implement such activity; methods of channels of communications.

(7) Over-all political-military strategy, intentions and plans of the Chinese including their estimates of U.S. capabilities; major international political objectives, international political strengths and weaknesses of the Chinese communists; strengths and weaknesses of police control; extent of potential or actual disaffection or resistance by mainland Chinese; role or influence of USSR in Chinese communist policy; and any indications of strain in Sino-Soviet relations.

(8) Efforts of possible negotiations with the Chinese nationalists, now or in the future, and evidence of any successful infiltration of Chinese nationalist organizations on Formosa by the Chinese communists.

(9) Current Soviet bloc attitude toward Yugoslavia and toward the Polish Government.

(10) What tactics are the Soviets using to disrupt the NATO alliance?

(11) Indications of Soviet or Red Chinese plans for aggression against the United States or any other country in the world.

(12) Information regarding the internal situation in Russia, including such matters as the effectiveness of control of the CP of the Soviet Union (CPSU) of military forces and secret police and the effectiveness of Khrushchev's control over the CPSU. Also, any preparation of Soviet citizens by the Russian Government for nuclear warfare, such as civil defense training, shelter program and underground factories and facilities.

(13) CPSU relationship with communist parties in other Soviet bloc countries.

(14) Any details obtainable as to how the CPSU directs and controls communist parties in other countries, especially those in the Western Hemisphere.

MATTERS RELATING TO THE CPUSA:

(1) Soviet reaction to the CPUSA 17th National Convention including the various resolutions adopted and the leadership selected.

(2) Nature of future contacts in the United States between the CPUSA and the Soviets. In the event Vladimir Barkovsky is recalled, will a similar means of communication be utilized?

(3) Nature of future contacts between the CPUSA and the Czechoslovakians, both in the United States and abroad.

(4) How much supervision will the CPSU give to relations between the CP of Czechoslovakia and the CPUSA? How will this supervision be exercised?

(5) Nature of future contacts between the CPUSA and the Red Chinese. Is there a possibility that there can be future contacts in the United States? This proposal can be made by the informant from the standpoint that future contacts between the Chinese and CPUSA in Prague would be difficult and awkward for the CPUSA.

(6) Data concerning the relationship of the "World Marxist Review" to the international communist movement. Identities of principal editors and workers attached to this publication in Prague, as well as the contacts of this publication in countries outside of the Soviet bloc.

(7) What steps have the Czechoslovakians taken to maintain or renew contacts in the United States with American citizens of Czechoslovakian origin? How are these contacts accomplished?

(8) Any indications CP members in the United States are currently being utilized or are expected to be used by the Soviets or Red Chinese in espionage and sabotage activities.

The foregoing suggestions are not to be considered all inclusive but as a guide to the type of information in which we are particularly interested. Informant should not feel that his quest for information should be limited in any way to the suggested matters. It is emphasized that the informant should take no action to obtain the information not readily available, which action would in any way jeopardize his security or his position. Under no circumstances should he make any written notes of the objectives nor should he ask any direct questions which might place him under suspicion.

You are instructed to brief the informant thoroughly on the above matters immediately in view of the imminence of his trip abroad. The purpose of the briefing should be made unmistakably clear and the informant should be impressed with the fact that the Bureau considers his security of primary importance.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/18/59

FROM : JML/JJC SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(Sub F)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re Bulet dated June 12, 1959, instructing that details concerning disbursement of funds in the possession of CG 5824-S* be submitted to the Bureau each thirty days.

Balance in the possession of CG 5824-S* as of November 20, 1959	$ 60,700

Additions

On December 15, 1959, $2,500 from funds in possession of NY 694-S* were transferred to funds in the possession of CG 5824-S*	2,500

Disbursements

None.

Balance in the possession of CG 5824-S* as of December 18, 1959	$63,200

1 - Rm 1243 + 1 Detroit

3 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
~~(1, 100-3-102)(CP-USA, Funds)(Reserve Funds)~~
1 - Chicago

JEK/kws
(4)

REC-22 100-428091-564

EX-133

10 DEC 24 1959

#5 98

55 JAN 4 1960

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: December 21, 1959

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

PERSONAL ATTENTION:

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re Bureau letter, dated 12/14/59.

In compliance with instructions in referenced letter and in the absence of the SAC from the city on leave, ASAC JAMES L. HANDLEY personally exhibited the Director's letter to CG 5824-S* on December 18, 1959. At the same time, the cash award was delivered.

The letter could not be exhibited to the wife of CG 5824-S* inasmuch as she is confined completely to bed and her physical condition is seriously grave. CG 5824-S* was visibly moved by the expression of appreciation and the kind words of patriotism and loyalty was expressed by the Director. His immediate reaction was a desire that his wife should see the letter, as he indicated she, too, would be quite pleased with the kind expressions of the Director. However, he indicated that her physical condition would not allow same, but that he would indeed tell her about it in detail.

1 CONF. INFT. CHICAGO, ILL

CG 5824-S* was deeply appreciative of the cash award and particularly of its receipt at this time inasmuch as his wife's failing health has placed upon him an added financial burden. He expressed great praise for the Director and the FBI and indicated that although at the present time he has a serious problem confronting him due to his wife's physical condition, he expressed the hope that he could be of greater service in the future.

It is the personal feeling of ASAC HANDLEY that the thoughtfulness of the Director in sending this letter and cash award did much to improve the splendid relationship existing between the Bureau and CG 5824-S* and his wife, and indeed was a great source of comfort coming at the time it did when CG 5824-S* is emotionally upset due to the health of his wife.

REC-22 100-428091-5605

It is believed that this gesture created an impression on CG 5824-S* that will long be remembered.

The Director's letter has been placed in the office safe pursuant to instructions in referenced Bureau letter.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JLH:fes
(3)

cc Baumgardner

55 JAN 4 1960

#5

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

Date: 12/16/59

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(415)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 12/16/59, NY 694-S advised that as a result of learning from ELIZABETH MASCOLO, who has been in NYC, that TIM BUCK would leave for a vacation in Mexico before the end of this week, he and CG 5824-S decided that, through MASCOLO, BUCK should be furnished immediately with information to be relayed to the Czech CP and the CPSU concerning NY 694-S' contemplated trip abroad. MASCOLO, who left NYC on 12/14/59, was instructed to tell BUCK the following:

NY 694-S expects to arrive in Brussels between January 4 and January 7, 1960, and will go to the Czech Embassy there to pick up his floating visa to Prague.

MASCOLO was also furnished NY 694-S' "travelling name" and also his "biography", which is to be sent to Prague and Moscow, reflecting his CP, USA, activities since 1926.

With respect to why he plans to arrive in Brussels between January 4th and January 7th, NY 694-S advised as follows:

3 - BUREAU (100-428091)(RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)(RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv)(415)
1 - NY 100-134637 (415)

100-428091-566

REC-22

14 DEC 17 1959

EX-135

ACB:mfd (415)
(7)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

55 JAN 4 1960

He must travel to Europe by ship. Fearing irremediable damage to the informant's already perforated eardrums as a result of a flight to Europe, the informant's doctor has forbidden him to take such a flight. NY 694-S consequently plans to leave NYC on December 28, 1959, if possible on the "Liberte." According to NY 694-S, he must obtain a certificate of vaccination eight days before sailing.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum · UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/18/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re Bulet dated November 17, 1959; Chicago airtel dated November 21, 1959; Bulet dated November 27, 1959; Chicago letter dated December 7, 1959; and Bulet dated December 17, 1959, concerning the organizational structure of the Communist Party of China.

CG 5824-S* orally advised SA JOHN E. KEATING on December 15, 1959, that the only changes in the Government of China of which he is aware are those which are listed in referenced Chicago airtel dated November 21, 1959.

It is noted that the four persons mentioned in referenced Chicago airtel were not removed from their positions in the Party.

CG 5824-S* stated that the only other information he has about leading members of the Party and Government of China is the following list of speakers at the 8th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, held in 1956:

CHU Teh

PENG Teh-huai

PO I-po, Chairman of the National Economic Commission

ULANFU, First Secretary of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Regional Committee of the Communist Party of China.

TUNG Pi-wu

LO Jui-ching, Minister of Public Security

CHANG Kuo-hua, Deputy Secretary of the Tibetan Working Committee of the Communist Party of China.

REC 23 100-428091-567

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

EX-10

JFK/kws

62 JAN 11 1960

TO DEC 28 1959

INTSEC

CG 134-46 (Sub B)

KO Ching-shih, Secretary of the Shanghai Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. (It is noted that in Chicago letter dated December 10, 1959, KO Ching-shih is referred to as KHEN Cheng-chi (phonetic).").

SUNG Jen-chiung, Deputy Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

CHEN Yun

TENG Tse-hui, Director of the Department of Rural Work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

LIN Po-chu

LI Hsien-nien, Vice-Premier and Minister of Finance.

TENG Ying-chao, Vice-Chairman of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation.

LAI Jo-yu, Chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

LI Li-san, Deputy Director of the Department of Industrial and Communication Work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

TAN Cheng, Deputy Director of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

TSAI Chang, First Secretary of the Commission in Charge of Work Among Women, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

LI Fu-chun, Vice-Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Commission.

LI Hsueh-feng, Director of the Department of Industrial and Communication Work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China,

CG 134-46 (Sub B)

HU Yao-pang, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League of China.

CHEN Yi

LI Wei-han, Director of the United Front Work Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

SAIFUDIN, Secretary of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Regional Committee of the Communist Party of China.

SOONG Ching Ling, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Unless CG 5824-S* has inadvertently failed to recall some additional details, this communication is the last in regard to this third "SOLO" trip.

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

Date: 12/21/59

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(415)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

NY 694-S advised on 12/21/59, that he cannot perfect arrangements to leave NY on 12/28/59 as planned, and will have to revise his schedule to leave at a later, and as yet undetermined, date. Bureau and Chicago will be advised re revised plans.

1-CC Rm 1243 + Washington
3 - BUREAU (100-428091)(RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)(SOLO)(RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv)(415)
1 - NY 100-134637 (415)

ACB:mfd (415)
(7)

REC-23 100-428091-568
EX-133 10 DEC 22 1959

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

55 JAN 4 1960

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/10/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CG 5824-S*, on December 2, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING and Stenographer [redacted] the information on the following pages. This report concerns a trip to Nanking and Shanghai, and two meetings held in Shanghai.

b6
b7C

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED) 1-1243
1 - New York (100-134637)(SOLO)(REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kws
(4)

REC-23 100-428091-5569

ENCLOSURE

No additional dissemination

62 DEC 29 1959

10 DEC 24 1959

TRIP TO NANKING AND SHANGHAI, AND TWO MEETINGS HELD IN SHANGHAI

During the first few days of October, 1959, TANG Ming-chao, of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, asked MORRIS CHILDS how long he could stay in China. He explained that CHILDS could spend at least a month in China and could travel anywhere in China. He said that some of the delegates, including the Canadians and the British, were going on a trip to Shanghai. CHILDS replied that he could not spend more than three weeks in China. TANG Ming-chao suggested that CHILDS take a trip to Shanghai with a stop-over in Nanking. CHILDS agreed to this with the understanding that he would return to Peking in time to leave Peking for Moscow, Russia, on or about October 17, 1959.

Nanking, China

Delegates from the Communist Parties of Great Britain, Canada, Australia, the United States, and two unidentified delegates from the Communist Party of Portugal, made the trip from Peking to Shanghai during October, 1959.

The stop-over in Nanking was for approximately six hours. The delegates were greeted at the airport by the Mayor, the Secretary of the Communist Party, and a retinue of important people. Each of the delegations from the other Communist Parties was assigned a car and a host from the Provincial or Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China, while they were in Nanking. After the welcoming speeches and introductions at the airport, each delegation was taken on a tour of the city. Places of historical interest were pointed out. The delegation from the Communist Party - USA was taken to the famous Lotus Gardens and to the Mausoleum of Dr. SUN Yat-sen. The tour was climaxed with a banquet, which was held in the confiscated country villa of Madam CHIANG Kai-shek.

Shanghai, China

In Shanghai, the delegates from the other Communist Parties were met by the entire leadership of the Party in Shanghai, including the following:

KUEN Cheng-chi (phonetic), member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China, First

100-428091-569
ENCLOSURE

Secretary of the Municipal Committee of Shanghai, and the Mayor of Shanghai. (By way of comment, JOSEPH ALSOP stated in one of his articles that KUEN Cheng-chi had been removed from his post. This is not true. He was in Peking for the celebration of the 10th Anniversary and then returned to Shanghai).

CHANG Chun-chiao, member of the Standing Committee of the Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of Shanghai. He was assigned to LORRIS CHILDS and accompanied CHILDS wherever he went in Shanghai.

CHANG Chen-tsung, member of the Standing Committee of the Municipal Committee of Shanghai, and head of the entire textile industry in the Shanghai area. He acted as the host for LANCE LOUIS SHARKEY, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Australia.

CHANG Chi, member of the Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of Shanghai.

CHENG Kan, Vice Chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions in Shanghai. He had worked in an American-owned power plant in Shanghai.

CHENG Kung-chun, Vice Director of the Shanghai Power Company.

The head of the Shanghai garrison and his retinue of officers were also at the airport and were introduced to the delegates from the other Communist Parties. Soldiers were also lined up so that the delegates could view and inspect them.

The delegates from the Communist Party - USA and from the other Communist Parties were each given a suite of rooms in the Ching Chiang Hotel in Shanghai.

The delegates were permitted to take tours of any part of Shanghai. Among the places visited by LORRIS CHILDS were the Children's Palace of Shanghai, the Fu Teh University, a new industrial city which is called a satellite town and was allegedly built within five months. It is located about 25 miles from Shanghai. CHILDS also visited a couple of communes in the Shanghai area and the industrial exhibition in Shanghai.

At the Fu Toh University, CHILDS was introduced to HSU Chong-tai, who is one of the Secretaries of the Party Committee at the university. He was also introduced to CHOU Ching-cho, who is the Organization Secretary of the Party Committee at the university and also a member of the Standing Committee of the Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of Shanghai. CHILDS was also introduced to FU Nien-ling, Secretary of the Young Communist League at the Fu Toh University.

The name of one of the communes visited is Chi Bao, which means "Seven Treasures". Comrade FU is the Party Secretary of this commune, which is located about five miles closer to Shanghai than the new satellite city. It is believed that the new satellite city and this commune are under the same county organization. The Party Secretary for the new industrial city was present during the tour of the commune.

It was noted that the former American legation in Shanghai is presently being used for anti-American broadcasts.

Underground Operations of the Communist Party of China Prior to the Revolution

In Shanghai, the Communist Party leadership was anxious to relate how they had worked in the underground. They spent hours talking about the pre-revolutionary period. The purpose of these discussions was to convince the other Communist Parties that they should have an underground organization until the days of the revolution. Further, that Communist Parties in capitalist countries should have as few Party people as possible exposed to the world as Communist Party members.

The delegates from the other Communist Parties were shown a full length film dealing with a power plant in Shanghai. The film shows the underground struggle to take over the plant. It reflects that some Chinese were killed during this struggle and they have been made martyrs or heroes of the cause. There is also an exhibit dealing with this phase of the pre-revolutionary struggle. This exhibit is in the Trade Union Hall of Culture, which is the trade union headquarters in Shanghai.

The basis for these discussions was the thesis of MAO Tse-tung in regard to propaganda and organizational work by Communist Parties in cities which have long been occupied by the enemy and dominated by the forces of reaction. In this thesis, MAO states that in leading the people's struggle against the enemy,

Communist Parties must adopt techniques of advancing slowly, but surely, by making the fullest possible use of all forms of opportunity and legal activities permitted by laws, decrees, and customs. Further, that the Communist Parties in capitalist countries should base themselves upon justifiability, expediency, and restraint. Rash acts can never lead to success. This was the thesis taken from the selected works of MAO Tse-tung, Volume III, page 86, and was the basis for all discussions concerning the underground operations of the Communist Party of China.

Meeting Addressed by CHANG Chi

One of the meetings held in the Ching Chiang Hotel was addressed by CHANG Chi. Present at these meetings were LANCE LOUIS SHARKEY, MORRIS CHILDS, CHANG Chun-chiao, and CHANG Chen-tsung. Also present was a woman translator from the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. While she appears to be about twenty years of age, she has four children. While she understands English, she spoke very rarely.

CHANG Chi started with a discussion concerning work in the reactionary trade unions. He said, Almost every industry in Shanghai, including transportation, utilities, textile mills, etc., was in the hands of the imperialists. CHANG Chi stated that 300,000 workers were employed, although there were one million available. There was a lot of unemployment. A lot of workers were engaged in casual work and there was great insecurity. There was a lot of woman and child labor, with extreme exploitation. The workers were very often punished and even physically beaten at the will of foremen or overseers. There was virtual slave labor. The number one man, who actually was a labor contractor, would go to the village and contract little girls for a pittance for three to five years. These miserable conditions and this extreme exploitation made reformist illusions impossible in Shanghai and in all of China.

The organized working class movement started with the birth of the Chinese Communist Party. As a rule, strikes or other struggles would develop under the direct leadership of the Communist Party of China after 1921. These struggles came to a big climax on May 30, 1925, in Shanghai. By 1926, about 800,000 workers were in the trade unions.

In March, 1927, Comrade CHOU En-lai led an uprising in Shanghai. The Right opportunists in the Communist Party at that

time, working in the Koumintang, led to a betrayal by CHIANG Kai-shek. They were over-cautious in a united front with the national bourgeoisie. This resulted in the counter-revolution.

But the terror of the Koumintang had the opposite effect. The execution of Communist leaders in front of the workers only caused the workers to admire the bravery of the Communists, especially when the trade unions were prohibited and the cutting of wages took place after a lost strike. Because of this peculiar history and the type of struggles in China, the economic struggle could not be separated from the political struggle. Because of imperialist domination in China, every struggle eventually became a political struggle. The members of the Communist Party always understood that the aim of every struggle is to increase the influence of the Party among the masses. The Party membership was amongst the masses and this is why they were able to understand the grievances and sentiment of the masses. Participation in small struggles led to bigger ones; that is, from a shop to industry-wide, if it was possible to advance the struggle beyond the lower level.

The Communists looked with a microscope for contradictions in the ranks of the enemy. We learned how to take advantage of contradictions. This was especially true during the Japanese occupation and the problems created in China at that time; particularly in each concession, where the British and the French were the rivals of the Japanese.

We made use of all situations. For example, during the period of inflation, the Party put forth the demand for pay in kind instead of money. Since this was not a complete solution, we always demanded pay based upon a price index. We also put forth the demand to unfreeze the prices because of the false index. The task of the Party was always to make use of favorable opportunities, such as those in existence in March, 1947.

In March, 1947, there was large-scale starvation. The students were protesting, and the people were against the civil war. The corruption of the Koumintang was known to hundreds of thousands. The Koumintang's subordination to the United States was exposed. The Communist Party put forth the slogan, "Buy China, not USA, made products". We launched an offensive. We merged the various streams of struggle, such as the demand for the unfreezing of the price index, to the demands of the students, the workers, the merchants, etc.

During each struggle, the Communist Party had the task

of raising the consciousness of the workers. If this was not done, then the workers would win a concession but the level of the class consciousness would drop. But if the class consciousness was raised, then the workers would be convinced that their grievances could be eliminated by the abolition of capitalism.

The Communist Party members in the reactionary unions were disconnected from the Party organization. To prevent the corruption of such individual Communists, they were given constant attention and political education. When a Communist Party member became a suspect by the Koumintang, he would be asked to join the Koumintang. The Party would say, If you are forced to join, go ahead. But lay the cards on the table before the workers and tell them that you were asked to join and that you cannot do anything about it. The workers will understand. Some Communist Party workers were asked to take the oath of Buddha and, of course, we let them do that, too.

The Communist Party of China always had fronts and reserves of people. If one comrade was lost due to arrest, imprisonment, etc., #2 would step in and we always had a #3 assigned to step in as a substitute for #2, if arrested.

In the period after 1927, we took a sectarian attitude to the Koumintang unions. This was the period of Left adventurism. The workers would not join the red trade unions. If they would not join the red trade unions, we would smash the Koumintang unions. Later, the Koumintang formed the Chinese Federation of Labor, and we began to work in the trade unions, especially after we ousted our adventurist leadership.

During the Japanese war in 1937, we formed a whole number of organizations and societies -- not trade unions. We organized a front called "Relief for the Refugees", and we worked in the refugee camps. We worked among the refugees, found jobs for some of them. Once we influenced them and got them jobs, we had close ties with them. We formed the kind of organizations which corresponded to the period.

The form of the organization is unimportant. For example, when the Japanese were driven out of Shanghai, we filled a vacuum and we organized trade unions. We beat the Koumintang to it. Before the Koumintang could come in, we had organized trade unions. After the war, the Koumintang asked that the trade unions register. We registered the trade unions, but we retained a majority of the trade union leadership. They were under the influence of the Communist Party, especially the key unions. If

there was a union we could not control, such as the postal and telegraph workers, then we organized canteens, consumers co-operatives, evening schools, etc., all under the auspices of the Kuomintang union. But we used these devices as Communists to influence the workers. We also exploited the factional struggle in the Kuomintang, itself. We would usually attack the most reactionary officials.

The Communists penetrated everywhere in the trade union movement. We even got people into the Executive of the Shanghai Labor Council, which was the highest body of the trade unions. Side by side with this penetration, we continued to expose the Kuomintang unions, until they were forced to change their name to social centers. When we followed the wrong line, we just disrupted the Kuomintang union. No one gained anything; but later on, when we followed the correct line, we took over, penetrated the unions, and spread the influence of the Communist Party. We used every form of organization to be sure that we controlled and influenced, just in case the Kuomintang would try to destroy any trade unions.

We also organized skeleton organizations or skeleton councils. They actually existed in name only, but in some situations we used these for a call to action. In the name of these organizations, we put forth demands and slogans. We were able to raise the Left banners.

During the anti-Japanese war, we used the united front. Under the banner of the united front, we were able to engage in more legal activity. We even published a paper in Shanghai, but not in the name of the Communist Party. We also had illegal publications. We published the salvation journals. We published these in the British or French concessions. We did not register these with the British or the French. The masses considered these journals legal. But when things became uncomfortable or the authorities began to become too interested, we would change the name of the journal.

We organized all kinds of schools. These were used not only for education -- we did try to educate -- but also for organization, especially after liberation. During the Japanese occupation, the schools continued, even if the trade unions were dissolved. The schools became substitutes for the trade unions. We also used bourgeois institutions, such as the YMCA, YWCA, language schools, schools for philanthropists. Our people, who were teachers as a rule, supplied the textbooks to these schools.

These institutions became centers for recruitment of cadre all the while the Communist Party was underground. No matter what the brutality of the enemy, we found means to outwit them.

Meeting Addressed by CHANG Chen-tsung

CHANG Chen-tsung began his speech by citing some of the mistakes which were made in Shanghai by the Communist Party during the underground period. He stated he thought the delegates from the other Communist Parties could learn and benefit from these mistakes. CHANG Chen-tsung stated that the Communist Party of China made three types of mistakes: (1) It neglected the legal possibilities; (2) They were too dogmatic; and (3) During the period of this adventurist leadership, the united front for local demands was under-rated.

When MAO Tse-tung's line was adopted by the Communist Party of China in 1935, we began to work for a democratic national united front in order to build a socialist China. We know we could not build this socialist China without first having a national democratic united front.

How did we put this line of the democratic national united front into effect? First of all, the membership of the Party at that time was not too great. The masses were scared because the Leftists did a lot of damage to the Communist Party organization during their rule of the Party. Therefore, the first task we had was to re-establish the Communist Party. The first task of the Party after its re-organization was to win the masses. The job was, how to turn the program of the Communist Party into a program for the masses, or how to proceed to the level of the people.

In 1935, Japan invaded China. The masses of China demanded that the Japanese imperialists be driven out. At that time, there was still a struggle in the Communist Party of China between the Leftists and the Communist Party leadership led by MAO Tse-tung, which had the correct line. The Communist Party policy was to build a broad resistance movement which would include the Koumintang. The comrades who were influenced by the Leftists believed that the chief enemy was CHIANG Kai-shek, and not the Japanese. But the Communist Party followed the line which was sloganized in national salvation.

The Communist Party organized various salvation organizations amongst the workers, the students, the middle classes,

etc. 1935 was only the beginning of the anti-Japanese war, and CHIANG Kai-shek was not yet in the war against Japan. The people were still afraid. These salvation organizations were legal, but they were very much limited. The masses of the people had to be organized from the level of their economic interests and their daily demands. At that time, even the reactionary yellow trade unions were not allowed to exist. But there were other legal organizations, such as salvation groups, social aid groups, etc.

When the Communists were fighting for legality, this did not mean we fought for the legal status of the Party, as such. Only our top leaders of the Party, such as MAO Tse-tung, CHOU En-lai, and a few others, spoke openly as Communists. It took a long time for us to raise slogans to a political level. We did begin to raise local economic demands, but these, in our situation, were not enough.

With regard to the united fronts, the Communist Party never joined, in the formal sense of the word, or signed formal agreements. The Communist Party put forward a program against Japan. The Koumintang never agreed or endorsed this program. The small democratic parties which existed under the Koumintang regime were, in the main, organized by the Communist Party. They joined in the united fronts. Only in 1945 did we formally join in the united front, when we had to deal with CHIANG Kai-shek.

After the victory over Japan, the Koumintang was forced to negotiate with these various political parties. The Koumintang never fully agreed, but they did consent to a political consultative conference. Then the civil war broke out. We took over the consultative conference banner. Later, this conference set up a government and elected a chairman, and even now our official consultative people's conference is a united front.

When the Communist Party of China put forward the idea of a united front, the Leftist element resisted. They said, We cannot unite with CHIANG Kai-shek and the murderers of Communists. When we formed the united front, the red army became the 8th route army. They removed the red stars from their caps, but in actuality they were still influenced by the Party. Some Communists did not realize that a united front with other classes might develop capitulatory tendencies.

The class line, therefore, is important at all times. One MING (now living in Moscow) capitulated. He said both the

Communist Party and the Koumintang have the best youth. He made no distinction between the Communists and the others. He preached that everything has to be subjected to the united front and that everything must go through the united front. If this policy was carried through, this would mean that in China, CHIANG Kai-shek would have dominated everything. WANG forgot the need to develop the progressive forces and the need to develop our own strength. If we did everything through the united front, we would give up the leadership of the proletariat.

WANG's policy caused great damage to our Party. The new 4th army was under WANG's influence and they carried out his erroneous line. As a result, they were trapped and destroyed by CHIANG Kai-shek.

We also had examples of sectarianism in the history of our Party. In 1935, we organized red trade unions. We put forward excessive demands. We refused to negotiate and refused to work in the Koumintang organization. Sometimes we would conduct strikes for almost two months. We would be satisfied in issuing leaflets. This resulted in many workers leaving us. Our organization was smashed. In one strike, 100 workers lost their jobs. This infantiled Leftism and resulted in the weakening of the Party. This Leftism could not see the needs and the desires of the masses. If the Party would have pursued a correct policy at that time instead of a Leftist policy, and would have placed demands to resist wage cuts, these local demands could have been won and would have enhanced the prestige of the Party. At that time, the Leftists did not appreciate the political situation in China.

Japan invaded Northeast China and also attacked Shanghai in 1932. The national industries were suffering at that time. Because of the Leftism in the leadership of the Communist Party in Shanghai at that time, the Party organization was almost totally destroyed. But after we adopted the correct line of MAO Tse-tung, during the 1937 invasion of Shanghai, all kinds of organizations flourished. We used various forms, including study circles, fraternal societies, etc., but we never said who led these salvation societies. This movement compelled CHIANG Kai-shek's armies to resist the Japanese for three months. Then CHIANG Kai-shek withdrew his armies. We ordered the workers back to the factories. We told them to work. The Communists were active amongst the workers, but they were active among them merely as progressive young men -- not as Communists. Even in the power plant, where the United States ruled and where the salvation

organization was prohibited, we organized table tennis groups and other activities and made contact with the workers. We found many ways and forms to hold the political banner of national salvation.

Even after Pearl Harbor and after the Japanese troops took over all of Shanghai, including the power plant belonging to the United States, we still managed to lead the workers in this power plant. The idea was to transmit decisions to the veteran workers. These veteran workers became the active for the Party and a few of these were even educated in Marxism-Leninism. But the Party organization was always small. The Party carried on political education through propaganda. We based ourselves on MAO Tse-tung's thesis of protracted war. We constantly pointed to the inevitability of victory.

After the Japanese war, there were some organizational changes in the Communist Party of China. The Communist Party was disorganized and this disorganization was caused by the Leftists. There were many secret agents in the Party. They knew where the organization was located and even where the headquarters was located. The Left did not move away, even though they were aware of this situation. We established a new form of Party organization. We separated the Party membership. We formed different kinds of organizations among the workers, students, office workers, etc. Our leading body never consisted of more than three to five people. We had a leading working committee in each industry. The decisive industries received special attention. Most of the time, their core was made up of veteran workers in the particular industry. Sometimes we sent in colonizers. We used family connections to get people jobs. As you know, these family societies are strong in China. Later, many of these people who became colonizers were even elected to leadership, but not as Communists. If they were suspected of being Communists, we would transfer them, give them a new disguise, send them to another industry or to the liberated areas. We never had any written documents in this period. Whatever instructions were given were oral instructions.

In concluding, CHANG Chen-tsung explained that during the underground period, instructions were passed by word of mouth. There was little contact between individuals; however, a member would occasionally be sent into liberated areas under some disguise for instructions. Leaflets were distributed in many instances by postal clerks, who were also members of the Communist Party.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/8/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CG 5824-S*, on December 2, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following pages. This report contains the remarks of PO I-po, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China and Director of State Economy in China, to a meeting of delegates from other Communist Parties who were in Peking, China, for the 10th Anniversary celebration of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

1 - Rm 1243
2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637)(SOLO)(REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kws
(4)

ENCLOSURE

REC-23 100-428091 570

EX-135

10 DEC 24 1959

30 DEC 29 1959

No additional dissemination

REC'D BELMONT JUSTICE

REMARKS OF PO I-PO, ALTERNATE MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA AND DIRECTOR OF STATE ECONOMY IN CHINA, TO A MEETING OF DELEGATES FROM OTHER COMMUNIST PARTIES WHO WERE IN PEKING FOR THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

One of three meetings held in Peking, China, for delegates from other Communist Parties who were in Peking for the 10th Anniversary celebration of the founding of the People's Republic of China, was chaired by LIU Ning-yi, who is in charge of trade unions in China. The meeting was addressed by PO I-po, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China and Director of State Economy in China. This meeting was held during the week of September 27, 1959, in the old Hall of the People's Congress in Peking.

For the most part, these three meetings were attended by leaders of the delegations. However, the head of a delegation from another Communist Party could invite someone else provided that this person was a leading member of the Party. In any case, there were no more than 75 people at any one of these meetings. This figure includes the Chinese who were in attendance.

PO I-po stated, Today we will speak about industry and agriculture. We will speak on the great leap forward in our country. We will not give details for the past ten years, but we will speak mainly about the last two years.

During the past two years, there have been great achievements. The situation is very good and the prospects for the future are very bright. Socialist construction is speedily developing. As far back as the end of the first Five-Year Plan, Comrade MAO Tse-tung raised the question: Can the speed of development be increased? This meant, Could we proceed at a greater speed than our big brother, the USSR?

China is a big country with a big population, but we have help from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The road of the great leap forward was finally found in 1958. There were quite a few problems in the leap forward. For instance, at the beginning of last year there was tension in the use of labor power. Therefore, there was a lot of waste. Last year,

100-428091-578

ENCLOSURE

19 million people were participating in this campaign, but there was waste. The deployment of manpower was not good, and the gathering of the harvest was not done very well. Moreover, shortages in pigs and poultry caused tensions because of the lack of supply of these non-staples. However, most of these problems have been solved and no longer exist.

Continuing, PO I-po stated, The imperialists and reactionaries used this opportunity to spread lies within the Communist Party of China. These were echoed by the few Rightists in the Party. They showed doubts about the general line of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the communes, and the great leaps forward. Also, some personal ambitions were used to attack the general line of the Party. The reason for the shortcomings was a lack of experience; however, the problem was not very serious.

The 8th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was held from the end of July to the beginning of August. The theme was to defend the general line of the Party. We summed up the general line of the Party as follows: Going all-out, aiming higher, to get there faster, quicker, economically. To give play to the full revolutionary aims of 650 million people. To do it with a higher aim means quicker and better results, more, better, faster, and more economically, as opposed to "less, slower, and more expensive methods."

Continuing, PO I-po stated, The general line of the Party was formed as a result of nine to ten years of work. During the period from 1949 through 1952, economic rehabilitations were accomplished. By 1952, the economy had recovered. Then MAO Tse-tung put forward the general line of the transitional period. At that time, the task by which we would realize the socialist transformation in agriculture, industry and commerce, was set out in three Five-Year Plans. In 1953, the first Five-Year Plan was launched. At that time, we started to learn, from the USSR, how to industrialize our country. We learned from our Soviet comrades and gave priority to heavy industry according to plan and in proportion.

Since China is a big country, Comrade MAO Tse-tung, even at this time, began to consider how to harmonize industry and agriculture. As was stated previously, the first Five-Year Plan was launched in 1953. A lot of attention was paid to the socialist transformation of agriculture during the period from 1954 through 1956. In 1955, 40 points were put forward for the

development of agriculture. During this process, we met some resistance even within the Party. Some were skeptical. We criticized the Right opportunists, who opposed transformation in agriculture. When the 40-point program was put forward, Comrade MAO Tse-tung gave attention to proportions, with emphasis on heavy industry and agriculture simultaneously.

The great leap forward in industry and agriculture came in 1956. Certain people were unconsciously opposed to this leap. We called this "sentiment against reckless advances". After the struggle against the Rightists on the political and ideological front in 1957, we began criticizing those who were against the "reckless advances". Big advances were made in 1957. At the second session of the 8th Congress, the program of the leap forward was formed. This general line was exemplified in five simultaneous developments: (1) Priority to heavy industry; (2) Simultaneous developments in industry and in agriculture; (3) Industry managed by central authority; (4) Industry managed by local authority; and (5) Production by modern methods and also by indigenous methods.

These so-called five simultaneous methods enabled us to mobilize masses for the line of the Party. If we only stressed the priority of heavy industry, we could only mobilize workers. However, with a simultaneous development in industry and agriculture, 550 million peasants were mobilized.

With development in agriculture, light industries, local industries, and indigenous methods, the mass line was developed. If we stressed only one of these, we would walk on only "one leg" and we want to walk on "two legs". The realization of our general line depends upon the five simultaneous developments. The leap forward also depends on this.

In regard to the inner Party struggle, we stated at the Loshan meeting that we could see three kinds of people in the struggle: (1) There were a few who favored a restoration of the bourgeoisie; (2) The second group, also small, thought that the revolution was almost at an end. These are bourgeois revolutionists and "fellow travellers"; and (3) The third group makes up 90% of the membership. They want to carry through to a successful conclusion not only the democratic revolution, but also the socialist revolution. This last line was victorious.

We defend the general line, protect the revolution, and guarantee the great leap forward. The Plenum at Loshan called on

the nation to fight the Rightists, make a great leap forward, and insure the surge forward.

There was a good response by the masses and a resulting upsurge in production. In May, June, and July, there had been a kind of stagnation in production. This was due to certain "re-adjustments", some changes in plans, and a "pouring on of cold water" by the Rightists. The term "re-adjustments" needs to be explained. We lacked experience in the "leap forward". Sometimes we set goals in industry and in agriculture which are a bit too high.

Due to "re-adjustments" in steel production in May and June, it was decided that the goal for 1959 should be 12 million tons instead of 18 million tons. This figure does not include steel produced by indigenous methods. After the May, June, and July stagnation was over, steel production was increased 14% over the previous month in August. September was even better, with a 20% or 25% increase over August. For example, the average daily output of steel in July was 31,300 tons. In August, the average daily output was 35,000 tons. It is estimated that in September, the daily average output was 44,000 tons. The daily average output of pig iron was as follows: July, 50,000 tons; August, 55,000 tons; September, estimated 63,000 tons.

Without going into details, it can be said that the percentage of increase in the output of electricity and coal was roughly the same as that for steel for the past two months.

In the field of agriculture, there is a big leap forward. Despite natural calamities, it is estimated there will be an increase of 10% in 1959 over the figures for 1958. In regard to the situation in the market, there is an improved, ample supply and reserve of commodities.

Concerning the people's communes, 99% of the peasant population supports the people's communes and state that they cannot be disbursed even by storm. MAO Tse-tung often says that 650 million people are anxious to change the stage of poverty. The general line is correct and has already brought about great achievements.

The first question we argued over with the Right opportunists was that of speed. The Right opportunists are against mass movements in industrial production, especially in iron and

steel. The Rightists claim that speed means great expense and little gain. The Right opportunists concentrated their attacks on these points. The result of this struggle was a defeat of the Right opportunists. In the first one-half of this year, the total output value of industry increased by 65%.

Then PO I-po stated, A word of explanation should be given on the meaning of "verification". Last year we said that grain production would be 750,000 million catties, and that cotton production would be 03 million tan. These figures were too high. We used spot-check methods and this was bad. The harvesting was also bad. This was the reason for the discrepancy in the figures for actual output. The verified figures show that last year (1958) the production of grain gathered was 500,000 million catties (250 million tons), an increase of 35% over the production for 1957. The actual amount of cotton gathered was 42 million tan (2.1 million tons), an increase of 20% over that of 1957. This was obviously a great leap forward. This is a high speed increase and is unimaginable in capitalist countries. This year's target for steel is 12 million tons. This does not include steel produced by indigenous methods. This is an increase of four million tons over last year or an increase of 50%. This cannot be done in capitalist countries. In the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and Japan, it would take four years to increase production by this percentage. So, it is still a great leap forward.

Then PO I-po asked, How was the great leap possible? He replied, First there is the Party's general line of five simultaneous developments. Second is the launching of mass movements in a big way. It is possible to launch mass movements not only in revolutions, but also in construction. In order to launch mass movements in a big way, we have to begin in the factories. We have to involve the peasantry and all laboring people. For example, in metallurgy we set up small blast furnaces by mass movements. The Right opportunists said that the result of these were more loss than gain. They could not see that these blast furnaces will be turning out ten million tons this year, and that in years to come 55 million tons of iron will be produced in small blast furnaces. To replace these small blast furnaces with big furnaces would take three to five years and would be more expensive. So we are achieving quicker and more economic results.

Then PO I-po stated that in the initial stages, the small blast furnaces were not sufficiently productive, the costs were high, there was more coal used, etc. However, this was due to a lack of experience. In the last few months, the situation

has changed for the better. The Right opportunists do not understand that in all things there is a process of development. New things have shortcomings, but can be overcome. All are being overcome.

When the Right opportunists saw certain tensions in the market, they talked of disruption. Yet, the statistics show increases, no disproportions, and better harmony. However, by way of explanation, at one point there was a strain in some demand for commodities. This was due to a bigger demand by the people and was not due to smaller production.

There are disproportions here and there, but they are scattered and are not due to the leap. There are some weak links in heavy industry, oil, and rubber. These will not be solved for several years, but there was growth last year. For example, oil production increased 50%. There was also a short supply of meat and vegetables last year. The labor power for the production of these items was not well organized and the peasants also ate better. The pork and poultry supply is changing for the better, but it will take time. Vegetables are no longer a problem.

PO I-po stated that there was another point of contest. The Rightists said that we did not follow a plan of proportions. They said that because we are too speedy, there are disproportions. The speed of our development cannot be decided by the things which we produce in smallest quantities, such as oil. We should base ourselves on those things we can develop faster. We may have to import some things. This has also been a point of controversy with the Right.

This so-called "disproportion" is actually a temporary problem. The Right opportunists said that the people's communes were set up too early and were badly run. Yet, the masses set up the communes. The Party gives leadership to the communes. The communes are composed 70% of people who were originally poor peasants. They actively support the communes. In the rural areas, only 10% of the population comprises the landlord class or the rich peasant class, and they have no right to speak up. The most important point is that of the 20% of the rural population comprising the middle peasants, some support while others oppose the communes. The problem is how to unite, through criticism and education, those middle peasants who misunderstand or oppose the communes and those middle peasants who support the communes.

Next, PO I-po stated that in the initial stage the development of the communes was very fast. We lacked experience.

There was too much waste, equalitarianism, etc. Comrade MAO Tse-tung studied the communes in person and these problems are now solved. Now there is at various management levels a business accounting and a measuring of how much work is done so that people are paid by the amount of work done. There is a three-level ownership. That is, ownership by the production brigade, ownership by the commune, and partial ownership by all of the people. The Rightists say that this is retrogression as compared to the agricultural co-operatives. They do not understand and are grossly wrong. Ownership by the communes is partial, but has a great future. The people's communes are marching forward consolidated.

Then PO I-po stated, There are slanders abroad that the communes are "forced labor". Could we compel hundreds of millions to work at forced labor? Could we force a 20% increase in production? The Right opportunists who are opposed to the general line call the leadership of the Communist Party of China petty bourgeois fanatics. Some of these Rightists joined the revolution during the bourgeois democratic revolution. They are still not proletarian revolutionaries. What distinguishes the bourgeois revolutionaries from proletarian revolutionaries is the attitude toward the masses. That is, how to actively lead the masses instead of waiting and merely pointing fingers. The bourgeois revolutionists would favor only those mass movements they could control and they would limit these movements. We know that if there are no enthusiastic mass movements, then we could not build at a high speed.

In conclusion, PO I-po stated, We believe we can defeat capitalism and can successfully build socialism. It depends on the creativeness and the drive of the masses. When production develops, we will have the basis for even greater development of production and material development. We have given everything to you without a white-wash. It is between ourselves, so let us talk things over from the heart.

December 23, 1959

Airtel

To: SAC, New York (100-134637) (415)

From: Director, FBI (100-428091) — 5711

Re: SOLO; IS - C

Re New York airtel of 12-11-59, requesting:

EX-117

1. That a New York Driver's License furnished by the New York Office be stamped in two places with a serial number, a date in October, 1959, and the seal of the State of New York.

2. That a certificate of birth for Jack Childs, Cook County, Chicago, Illinois, be altered to reflect the name Jack Brooks.

   Name of father -- Joseph Brooks
   Birthplace of father -- Philadelphia
   Signature of father -- Joseph Brooks

3. That an affidavit attached to the certificate of birth be changed to reflect the name of Jack Brooks and name of father as Joseph Brooks, in printed and signature form.

The items described above, including the two fictitious New York State Driver's Licenses, original New York State Driver's License, original photocopy of birth certificate, original photocopy of affidavit, and altered photocopy of affidavit are attached. Also attached is altered photocopy of birth certificate.

Enclosures (7)

1 - Mr. Decker - Room 1243 (sent direct)

JME:lcd;vpp
(5)

Tolson
Belmont
DeLoach
McGuire
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ✓ TELETYPE UNIT

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

Date: 12/11/59

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637) (415)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Re Chicago airtel November 21, 1959, setting forth information from CG 5824-S* in regard to a possible contact between a representative of the CP,USA and CHAO YI-MIN, representative of the CP of China on the "World Marxist Review" at Prague, Czechoslovakia.

CG 5824-S* has advised that EUGENE DENNIS did not consent that the CP,USA should send a representative to obtain funds from the CP of China. DENNIS remained silent when this information was presented to him. It is also noted that currently DENNIS is in bed with a heart condition. If CG 5824-S* cannot rediscuss this matter with DENNIS, he will ask the consent of GUS HALL to send NY 694-S* to Prague to make contact with CHAO YI-MIN. Whether or not the leadership of the CP,USA grants this permission, CG 5824-S* is of the opinion that NY 694-S* should be prepared to make the trip.

It will be recalled that while in Moscow and in Prague, CG 5824-S* indicated that a representative of the CP,USA might make a trip to Prague and would deliver documents from the 17th National Convention of the CP,USA to the CP of Czechoslovakia, the CP,SU and the CP of China. CG 5824-S* believes that NY 694-S*

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (Encl. 4) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (AMRM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (415)

JEK:ACB;msb (415) (6)

4 ENCLOSURES

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

55 JAN 4 1960

should be prepared to do this before too long a time has elapsed after the conclusion of the 17th National Convention, which is now in session. CG 5824-S* also told the International Liaison Department of the CP of China that if a representative of the CP,USA makes a trip to Prague, it would probably be sometime between Christmas and New Years.

CG 5824-S* feels that if NY 694-S* can make this trip, it will establish a courier system between the CP,USA and the CP of China, and therefore the Bureau would have control over this courier system. Further, it may establish a courier system between the CP,USA and the CP of Czechoslovakia, since the Czechoslovakians will be anxious to change contacts with the CP,USA as a result of the recent defection in the Czechoslovakian Diplomatic Corps in the U. S. Thus the Bureau would have control over a courier system between CP,USA and the CP of Czechoslovakia. CG 5824-S* is also of the opinion that if NY 694-S* gets as far as Prague with documents from the 17th National Convention of the CP,USA, that arrangements can be made for him to actually deliver these documents in Moscow.

CG 5824-S* believes that NY 694-S* should not make such a trip in his own name for the following reasons:

1) The fact that several in the leadership of the CP,USA, in particular PHIL BART, know that NY 694-S* was involved in the past with the U. S. State Department in regard to passport irregularities. Thus the leadership of the CP,USA might become suspicious if NY 694-S* obtained a passport in his own name without any difficulties or publicity.

2) If this trip should establish a courier system between CP,USA and the CP of China; CP,USA and the CP of Czechoslovakia, and possibly the CP,USA and the CP,SU, all Parties involved would feel better and more secure if NY 694-S* was not using his own name in an apparatus, since he is well known to intelligence agencies for past Party activities.

3) All Communist Parties involved might feel that since CG 5824-S* used his own name for the last two Solo trips, that the curiosity of intelligence agencies in the United States and Western Europe might be aroused if NY 694-S* made a trip to Europe and used his own name.

Thus, if NY 694-S* is to make such a trip, time is of the essence and a new identity will have to be created for him and he will need the following items:

1) For identification purposes, a current New York State Operator's License. There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau two applications made out in the name of JACK BROOKS, the identity NY 694-S* will assume. There is also enclosed a current Operator's License of SA [redacted] of the New York Division. It is suggested that the FBI Laboratory be asked to duplicate on one application a serial number, a date in October, 1959, and the seal of New York State in the blanks which have been the heading "License No. - Date of Issuance." It is noted that the wording along the side the seal of the State of New York is "Issued by the N. Y. State Bureau of Motor Vehicles."

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2) For a passport application, a birth certificate for JACK BROOKS. There is enclosed herewith a certificate of birth for JACK CHILDS, which NY 694-S* "planted" in the Cook County Bureau of Vital Statistics, Chicago, Illinois, several years ago. It is suggested that the FBI Laboratory be asked to duplicate the certificate of birth with the following changes:

Item 1) Full name of child: JACK BROOKS

Item 9) Full name of father: JOSEPH BROOKS

Item 13) Birthplace of Father: Philadelphia

Item 29) Signature of father: JOSEPH BROOKS.

NY 100-134637

On the affidavit attached to the certificate of birth, the printed name of the child should be changed to JACK BROOKS in three places. The printed name of the father should be changed to JOSEPH BROOKS and the signature of the father should be changed to JOSEPH BROOKS.

Bureau authority is requested for the following:

1) To use the residence address of [redacted] 84 Lipton Lane, Williston Park, Long Island, New York City, as the residence address for JACK BROOKS. The passport can be sent to this address and the New York Division will start to mail dummy letters to this address so as not to arouse the curiosity of the Post Office Department. [redacted] is a brother of SA [redacted] and has rendered assistance to the Bureau previously. He would be willing to have mail delivered to his address for JACK BROOKS and this mail would be turned over to SA [redacted] would not be given any information concerning the purpose for this arrangement, nor the true identity of JACK BROOKS. If any questions were asked of [redacted], he would say that JACK BROOKS is a relative who is a travelling salesman and that he will be working in the New York area for several weeks and will get his mail at this address. If any questions are asked of NY 694-S* by any Communist, he will say that he rented a room through an advertisement in a suburban newspaper in order to establish a new identity.

2) To establish a bank account in the Chemical Bank - New York Trust Company, Main Branch, 30 Broad Street, New York City. [redacted] previously mentioned, is an Assistant Vice President in this bank. He can personally open such an account. This bank has rendered assistance to the Bureau previously. NY 694-S* would use $3,000.00 from Solo funds in his possession merely to open such an account.

Once this account is established, NY 694-S* would use this bank as a reference to obtain a couple of credit cards to

further "legitimatize" the new identity. Since it is normal procedure for banks to run a credit check, Bureau authority is requested to permit [redacted] to tell the responsible bank official merely that the FBI has an interest in this account and that any requests in regard to this account should be answered to the effect that BROOKS has an account at the bank and that his credit rating is good. b6 b7C

3) It is believed that if NY 694-S* has a New York Driver's License for identification when he applies for a passport, that he will not need a witness for identification. However, in the event that he does need a witness, Bureau authority is requested to use an agent of the New York Office, preferably a native of New York City, who would give his correct name and address, but would indicate employment other than as an FBI agent.

If Bureau authority is granted to proceed along the lines indicated above, the Bureau would be notified as soon as NY 694-S* makes application for a passport in New York City.

FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERN

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/3/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CG 5824-S*, on November 29, 1959, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING the following items, all of which were printed in the English language in China:

(1) A special anniversary presentation copy of the "Peking Review". This item contains issues No. 35 through 40, dated September 1, 1959, through October 6, 1959.

(2) A pamphlet entitled, "The Rise of the Chinese People's Communes", listing ANNA LOUISE STRONG as the author.

(3) A 275-page, paper-bound booklet entitled, "Concerning the Question of Tibet", issued by the Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1959.

(4) A booklet entitled "Tibetan Interviews", and listing ANNA LOUISE STRONG as the author.

(5) A book from the China Knowledge Series, by WANG Chun-heng, and entitled, "A Simple Geography of China".

(6) A booklet containing a report by CHOU En-lai entitled, "Report on Adjusting the Major Targets of the 1959 National Economic Plan and Further Developing the Campaign for Increasing Production and Practicing Economy".

(7) A booklet containing information on the 6th Plenary session of the 8th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago
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18 DEC 29 1959

55 JAN 4 1960

(8) A booklet containing information on the 8th Plenary session of the 8th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

The Bureau is requested to advise if it has an interest in any of the items listed above. If not, they will be returned to CG 5824-S*.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/18/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CG 5824-S*, on December 15, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following page. This report pertains primarily to messages received from and given to ELIZABETH MASCOLO.

1-Rm-1243

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637)(SOLO)(REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kws
(4)

REC-34

100-428091-593

EX-135

19 DEC 29 1959

ENCLOSURE

55 JAN 4 1960

MESSAGES GIVEN TO ELIZABETH MASCOLO FOR DELIVERY TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

On December 14, 1959, ESSE MASCOLO, common-law wife of TIM BUCK, head of the Communist Party of Canada, was in New York City after having delivered $10,000 from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Communist Party - USA. MASCOLO indicated that additional funds for the Communist Party - USA from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are available in Canada. She stated, however, that she did not know the amount still to be transported from Canada to the United States. MORRIS CHILDS gave to MASCOLO for delivery to the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, through the Communist Party of Canada, the identities of the new national officers and the Secretariat of the Communist Party - USA. CHILDS also gave MASCOLO a partial list of the members of the new National Committee of the Communist Party - USA for delivery to the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

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b7C

CHILDS also gave a message to MASCOLO for delivery to the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia that toward the first part of 1960 it may be possible for JACK CHILDS to travel to Prague, Czechoslovakia.

One further message was that toward the end of 1960, WILLIAM and [redacted] PATTERSON plan to take a trip to Czechoslovakia. This message indicated that PATTERSON is not a spokesman for the Communist Party - USA and is only to officially discuss with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia possible visits to Czechoslovakia by Negroes in the United States.

100-425271-573

- 1 - ENCLOSURE

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont DATE: 12-23-59

FROM : Mr. F. A. Frohbose

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson
Belmont
DeLoach
McGuire
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

On December 21, 1959, Mr. James P. McDonnell of State referred to our top secret letter of December 11, 1959, enclosing a photographic copy of a book in Chinese language obtained by our informant in Communist China. McDonnell pointed out according to the letter the book enclosed is also to be considered classified ~~top secret~~. McDonnell said that State realizes that the reason for the classification is undoubtedly the need to protect the source. However, State wondered whether it would be possible to have the classification of the book downgraded as far as possible when detached from the letter. In this regard McDonnell said that it appears to State that this book is published in Communist China by a government office similar to our government printing office, and that the existence of the book is therefore public knowledge.

In discussing this with McDonnell, the Liaison representative pointed out that while State's observation about this book being public knowledge may be correct the fact remains that neither State nor the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has obtained copies of this same book from any other source. It was further pointed out to McDonnell that in view of this circumstance we do not feel that the classification can be reduced until such time as we have assurance that the book has been obtained from other sources available to State or CIA. McDonnell requested that we give further consideration to the classification of the book inasmuch as it would greatly facilitate State's handling of it if it could be downgraded at least one step.

This matter has been discussed with the Internal Security Section, and it is felt that we must continue to protect our valuable informant in this instance until such time that we have assurance that the book is in fact publicly available. It is noted that our informant received his copy of the book from an official of the Chinese Communist Government, and the informant and heads of various other communist delegations visiting in China are the only ones known to have received it.

JMF:bas
(4)

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Fitzgerald
1 - Liaison

EX-135

REC-34 60-12809-574

10 DEC 29 1959

55 JAN 4 1960

Memorandum Frohbose to Belmont
Re: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

RECOMMENDATION:

That we reiterate to State via Liaison that while we appreciate their handling of this book would be facilitated by downgrading its classification, we will not downgrade it until we have received assurance that it is in fact publicly available.

12/28/59 McDonnell, State advised per recommendation. OK HK

FBI

Date: 12/18/59

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL RM
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-364447)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-96778)

SUBJECT: VIRGINIUS FRANK COE
IS-R

7 - Bureau (100-364447) (RM)
(1-100-310736) [redacted] (INFO)
(1-100-333343) [redacted] (INFO)
(1-100-3-81) (CPUSA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (INFO)
(1-100-428091) (SOLO) (INFO)
1 - Chicago (134-46 Sub B) (SOLO) (INFO) (RM)
1 - Newark (100-19491) [redacted] (INFO) (RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (415)
1 - NY 100-85051 [redacted] (33)
1 - NY 100-66938 [redacted] (41)
1 - NY 100-54190 [redacted] (33)
1 - NY 65-15257 (SOLOMON ADLER) (33)
1 - NY 100-10989 (NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS) (415)
1 - [redacted] (41)
1 - NY 100-86624 (CPUSA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (415)
1 - NY 100-134637 (SOLO) (415)
1 - NY 100- (TWO CONTINENT COMMODITY CORPORATION) (33)
1 - NY 100-96778 (33)

ACB:mml
(20)

100-428091-
NOT RECORDED
FEB 1960

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-364447-636

b6
b7C
b7D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
(Special Agent in Charge)

52 FEB 25 19

Utmost caution must be exercised with respect to dissemination of information herein inasmuch as said information, by its nature, tends to identify NY 694-S, a valuable informant, as the source thereof.

It should be noted that the following concerns "The Two Continent Commodity Corporation" and the so-called "China Trade Operation", information concerning which has been reported under the caption of instant case.

b6
b7C

On 12/17/59, NY 694-S advised SA [redacted] that he conferred on 12/16/59, with [redacted] brother of VIRGINIUS FRANK COE. [redacted] furnished the following information:

He (COE) had just returned from Montreal, where he had conferred with "JACK from London", (not otherwise identified). "JACK" mentioned that SOLOMON ADLER was now in India (SOLOMON ADLER had represented the China Trade Operation in London). "JACK" told COE that orders from China were to the effect that "The Two Continent Commodity Corporation" should be reorganized and placed under the direct control of the CPUSA. "JACK" further stated that COE would receive these same instructions in the USA from an individual whom he declined to identify fully, stating that this person could be identified through EUGENE DENNIS. (For the information of the Bureau and Chicago, "JACK" mentioned the first name of an individual identified with the "SOLO; IS-C" case, and NY 694-S is certain that "JACK" had referred to this person.)

"JACK" told COE that the New York and London offices of the "China Trade Operation" are doing "a useful job", and that after the reorganization of "The Two Continent Commodity Corporation" preparations for expansion should be made. COE was also told by "JACK" that he "need not worry about business nor about the 'New Century' people's complaints."

JACK further told COE that instead of having a board of directors as it has now, the reorganized company should operate through "a corps of competent people". He also said that in the event the company should need help or advice, he would be willing to go from London to Canada to confer there with COE or the latter's emissary.

COE told NY 694-S that he agreed with "JACK" that "The Two Continent Commodity Corporation" should be reorganized and controlled directly by the CPUSA. He said that PAT TOOHEY (chairman of the New Jersey CP) would be the CPUSA representative who would operate the reorganized company.

COE further mentioned that [redacted] an attorney who is active in the operation of "The Two Continent Commodity Corporation", was currently conferring with "JACK" in Montreal.

According to COE, three people are now employed as part time workers at the company's New York Office. He mentioned them as "Black" (believed to be [redacted] Bufile 100-306701), "a girl", and "a shipping clerk".

It should be noted that there must be no dissemination of information herein referring to the fact that COE's instructions from "JACK" are to be furnished to him again by an individual in the USA (mentioned herein as identified with the case entitled "SOLO; IS-C"). To do so would be to jeopardize the security of an extremely valuable informant.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/21/59

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637 Sub A)(415)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

ReNYlet, 11/20/59, furnishing an accounting of "SOLO; IS-C" funds in the possession of NY 694-S*.

On 12/21/59, NY 694-S* advised that from funds for which he is depository he gave to ISADORE WOFSY, for transmittal to EUGENE DENNIS, $5,000 on 11/23/59, $10,000 on 11/27/59, and $10,000 on 12/17/59.

On 12/9/59, NY 694-S* received from a foreign source $10,000. According to the informant, he is currently depository for $33,500 in Soviet funds.

3 - Bureau (100-428091)(RM)
~~(1 - 100-3-102)(CP, USA, Funds, Reserve Fund)(RM)~~
1 - Chicago (134-46 Sub F)(Info)(RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv)(415)
1 - NY 100-128861 (CP, USA, Funds, Reserve Fund)(415)
1 - NY 100-134637 Sub A (415)

ACB:mfd
(7)

REC-8 100-428091-576

20 DEC 22 1959

55 JAN 4 1960

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

Date: 12/28/59

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED (Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. [illegible]
Mr. [illegible]
Mr. [illegible]
Mr. W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(415)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C - *INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST*

On 12/28/59, NY 694-S*, who has furnished reliable info in the past, made available to SA DAVID RYAN $12,000 in $20 bills, which money informant received from ELIZABETH MASCOLO on 12/26/59. According to informant, this money had been forwarded by TIM BUCK, who in turn had received it from Soviet sources in Canada for transmittal to the CP, USA.

The serial numbers on the above bills will be checked against the list of known currency issued to Soviet establishments in NYC and Washington, D.C. and the Bureau will be advised of any positive results of this check.

cc 1 w/3 pwd

(3) - BUREAU (100-428091)(RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)(Info)(RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv)(415)
1 - NY 100-134637 Sub A (SOLO - Funds)(415)
1 - NY 100-128861 (CP, USA, Funds, Reserve Fund)(415)
1 - NY 100-134637 (415)

EX 109

REC-8 100-428091-577

DR:mfd (41)
(9)

10 30 DEC 23 1959

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

55 JAN 4 1960

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 12/4/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

b6
b7C

CG 5824-S*, on December 2, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING and Stenographer [redacted] the information on the following pages. This report pertains to a meeting of delegates from other Communist Parties who were in Peking, China, for the celebration of the 10th Anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. This meeting was addressed by TAN Chen-lin, member of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the Communist Party of China, and by LIAO Lu-yen, Minister of Agriculture, and dealt with the Chinese communes.

cc + encl.
1-1242

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637)(SOLO)(REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kws
(4)

ENCLOSURE

NA

REC-11 100-428091

EX 109

DEC 1959

55 JAN 4 1960

No additional dissemination

INT/SEC.

MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTY DELEGATES TO THE CELEBRATION OF THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, ADDRESSED BY TAN CHEN-LIN AND LIAO LU-YEN

On September 30, 1959, heads of delegations from other Communist Parties attended a meeting in the old hall of the People's Congress in Peking, China. This meeting was addressed by LI Fu-chun, Vice Premier and Director of State Planning in China. After the remarks of LI Fu-chun, the delegates from the other Communist Parties indicated an extreme interest in information concerning the commune system in China. Because of this, another meeting for the heads of the delegations from other Communist Parties was held at the same place and on the same date. The second meeting on September 30, 1959, was chaired by LIU Ning-yi, head of the trade unions in China. The speakers for this meeting were TAN Chen-lin, member of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Communist Party of China, and LIAO Lu-yen, Chinese Minister of Agriculture. The following is a composite of the remarks of TAN Chen-lin and LIAO Lu-yen:

It is one year since the people's communes were established, but our experience is limited. Therefore, we are giving you only information. Regarding the general situation and concerning the establishment of the communes, we refer you to LIU Shao-chi's article which will be published in the October 1, 1959, issue of the "Peking Review". This article, by a head of our government and a leader of our Party, tells how the Chinese Communist Party solved the peasant question through the establishment of co-operatives and the people's communes. LIU Shao-chi's article is a Marxist-Leninist, systematic analysis of the development of democracy and socialism in China.

We will deal with the peasant question in stages -- land reform, agricultural co-operatives, and people's communes.

The first question is that of our basic policy on the peasant question. Again, we would remind you that this policy is contained in LIU Shao-chi's article. China was a backward country. 80% of the population lived in the rural areas. 70% of the rural population was made up of poor peasants and farm laborers. Therefore, the peasant question is basic in carrying through the democratic revolution.

Comrade LIU Shao-chi is correct when he states that

100-428091-578

ENCLOSURE

the peasant question is the central question in the Chinese revolution. The workers' revolution would be impossible in China without the solution of the peasant question. Ten years ago, Comrade MAO Tse-tung presented this question in a famous article, in which he placed the peasant question as the central question in our revolution. MAO Tse-tung pointed out that the peasant needs to be educated.

The experience of the Soviet Union shows that a long time will have to pass to bring together the scattered peasant economies and that without uniting these economies, it would be difficult to establish Socialism. The Party's attitude in dealing with the peasant question is basically different than that of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie either gives orders or gives "charity". Our Party and government mobilized the peasants and led the peasants to overthrow the landlord class. That is what we call the mass line of the Party. The bourgeois method of so-called "charity" dulls the militancy of the peasantry and hampers their education. Our method tempers the masses in struggle and educates them -- namely, the peasant masses.

During the struggle to take the land from the landlords, where does the peasantry find leadership? This leadership either emerges and there develops a corps of militants. Some are members of the Communist Party and some are brought into the Communist Party. We accumulated experiences in dealing with this question for twenty years prior to liberation. The Communist Party of China established close relations with the peasantry. Our bases could be found in the villages, and these villages surrounded the enemy-held cities.

In regard to the methods of agrarian reform, we will not go into detail. But we do want to go into the question of producers' co-operatives. Immediately after the completion of the agrarian reform, we carried through a socialist transformation in agriculture. The agrarian reform was completed by 1952, but the socialist transformation in the villages started even before 1952 -- even before the completion of the agricultural reform. As pointed out by LIU Shao-chi, the socialist transformation of agriculture was developed in three stages, but they are inter-related:

(1) After the land reform, we organized on a broad scale what we would call mutual aid or collective labor. But this was still based on an individual economy. This form of mutual aid and labor contained the rudiments of socialism. (2) On the basis of the mutual aid movement, we organized the agricultural producers' co-operatives. Here, the peasants pooled the land and

means of production, but their land and tools were still privately owned. This we might call a semi-socialist form or a lower form of producers' co-operatives. (3) There next developed agricultural producers' co-operatives of a higher form, which we characterize as fully socialist in nature. The land and the tools were collectively owned. This was a higher form of co-operative and we refer you to LIU Shao-chi's article where he explains this in greater detail. The socialist transformation in agriculture was carried out step by step, each on a higher stage and carried through faster than the previous stage. During the mutual aid group period, there were variations. Some were organized only for a season. Even while some disbanded, producers' co-operatives on an experimental basis began to be established. These showed their superiority over the other forms. The peasantry watched and learned.

Between 1955 and 1958, there was a big development of agricultural producers' co-operatives in all the villages. These were all the same, but they varied somewhat from place to place. In some places, the income was based upon the amount of land pooled. In other places, 70% of the income came from work. In some places, they reversed this division, where 30% of the income was based on work and 70% was based on how much land one had in the pool.

These proportions were fixed by the peasantry in a particular area. We must also say it depended to a large extent on the political consciousness of the peasantry in a given area. While these lower forms were coming into being, the Party in some areas introduced higher forms by 1956. In four months time, between December, 1955, and March, 1956, the higher form of producers' co-operatives were organized and completed. Can we speak of differences in the forms of co-operation? Yes. In the higher form of producers' co-operatives, the land and the big farm implements, as well as the work animals, are collectively owned by the peasants. They draw no income from these land implements and animals, but they do get an income for their work.

During the period of socialist construction in 1956, we were already on the path of the great leap forward. While we were organizing the agricultural producers' co-operatives, a new co-operative form emerged. This was an integration of the agricultural co-operative, with the credit co-operative, and with the market and supply. This was the beginning of the commune. In some places, in addition to these integrations, transport and handicraft co-operatives

integrated themselves with the local people's government. These agricultural producers' co-operatives emerged in 1956. By the spring of 1958, there were 3,800 co-operatives, which were actually communes. By August, 1958, there were 8,700 communes. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China adopted a resolution in September, 1958, on the organization of the people's communes. The organization of the communes was completed by the end of September, 1958.

We had some differences on the question of co-operatives and communes, and again we refer you to LIU Shao-chi's article, since he deals with these differences. The first question which showed differences of opinion was, Will agricultural production develop or will this new form retard it? The Communist Party was of the opinion that how we handle this question will decide whether there will be progress or retardation. Ours was a policy of step by step, depending on the level of consciousness amongst the peasantry. Here, we refer you to page #104 of the Chinese book on statistics. As he referred to this, he said, You will see an increase year by year. It shows an increase in each form -- the lower, the higher, and the people's commune -- and each form was better for agricultural production.

In the development of agricultural production, the more collectivization, the higher the form; the greater the production, the greater the income. The peasants see more advantages in the higher form and the peasants realize this. We see that objective reality is reflected in the subjective reaction of the peasantry.

The second question on which we had some differences was how to deal with the middle peasants. Our policy towards the middle peasants is to unite them. During the process of collectivization, the middle peasant had a better quality of land, better tools, and better animals. Our policy is to pay them so that they will not lose by joining a co-operative. These middle peasants are skeptical. They watch. They also show a lot of resentment until they see if they are going to gain something. They want to see how the commune will work. Then if they see that they work and they gain something, they join. The well-to-do section of the middle peasantry likes the free market. They lose this market when they join the co-operative. Some of them carry on a struggle against the co-operatives. Our aim is to struggle with them in order to bring about unity. We base ourselves on MAO Tse-tung's slogan: Unity - Contradiction - Unity.

In 1957, the Rightists launched a frenzied attack on

the Party. You will recall the rectification campaign. This struggle found reflection in the rural areas. The well-to-do middle peasants also launched an attack on the Communist Party. The Communist Party of China carried on a campaign of education amongst the peasantry in order to expose the capitalist nature of the middle well-to-do peasants. It was during this campaign that the political foundation for the people's commune was laid. The communes are a result of the economic and political situation in China.

The third question on which we had some differences of opinion on how to solve the peasant question was the following: Should we pause at each step, or should we go step by step or do it all at once? We believe that one stage follows another, and that not all stages develop at once. But each stage is used as an example, where the conditions are prepared for the next stage. This is the method of the integrated theory of revolution by stages. The theory of uninterrupted revolution is the best Marxist method.

The people's communes developed. They did not happen accidentally. They developed on the basis of co-operation and on the basis of the great leap forward in 1958. The people's communes were the creation of the masses. They are based on the integration of forms -- integration of a greater scope.

The agricultural co-operative was limited to farming, forestry, fishing, animal husbandry, etc. But when marketing, credit, handicrafts, and transport were included, then we already had, we may say, industry included. When these are integrated with the local government, then culture, education, health, administration, etc., co-operatives were no longer mere co-operatives. We needed a new name. For a time these were called big co-operatives or collectives. The Communist Party considered this situation and decided that these integrated forms could be called people's communes. The people's communes have in them a great flexibility. They are socialist in nature. The ownership is by the work brigades and also by all of the people. This type of ownership will serve for the future, when we go to a higher transition. The word "kung shu" (phonetic) means "commune".

In the 18th Century, there were societies in China called communes. But we also know that there was a Paris commune in 1871. These communes were not Communist in nature; yet, they were called communes. We adopted the name "commune" because we also like to use words which the people like in People's China.

(Parenthetically speaking, this explanation is somewhat in the nature of a retreat before the Marxists of the world who were gathered in Peking. They were not ready to put some of these agricultural co-operatives in the category of communes, which is supposed to be the highest stage of Communism. So, the Chinese Communists want to point out that while there are elements of socialism in this stage, actually the word was taken from the lexicon of the Chinese language and history, even if they are not exactly what the word is supposed to mean in Marxist-Leninist terminology. The Russians are saying that they are on the road to Communism, but they have no communes. The Chinese have no large-scale industry yet, but they have communes. This is why they backtrack a little bit and give the word "commune" a broader meaning).

The Commune

The first characteristic of a commune is its size. It includes thousands and even tens of thousands of families. Also, thousands of mous of land. It includes agriculture, industry, trade, education, administration and military affairs on a county basis. However, it exceeds the county level to some extent.

Integration of local government into the commune came quite naturally. Because of the scope of the people's communes, it is easier to have over-all planning. It is easier to plan the use of the land for the best crops. The commune can also plan the best deployment of labor, tools, animals, etc.

The communes lay the basis for the electrification and mechanization of agriculture. The scope of the people's commune makes it possible to set up industries. It also makes it possible to mechanize the handicrafts. Since the communes have their industry, they can use the local resources more economically. For example, they can engage in local mining, etc. The commune-run industries will have a great future. We refer you to page #37 of the Chinese book on statistics.

We now have over 700,000 industrial units run by the communes. This figure does not include industries which are run by the brigades. Last year, the industries of the communes produced seven billion yen worth of products.

The running of industry by the communes is very favorable for the development of Communism. This will urbanize the countryside. This development will eliminate classes. It will help the

over-all integration of industry and agriculture and will eliminate the differences between the peasantry and the workers. The imperialists and their lackeys lie about the separation of families, about the so-called big agricultural prisons, concentration camps, etc. All these descriptions of the communes are nothing but lies and slanders. We sometimes organize co-operation for the carrying through of certain projects involving many thousands of people. We organize along military lines, but not really militarily. When we organize these many thousands, it is sometimes not convenient for men and women to work or live together. But we cite these examples only to expose some slanders. We repeat, we sometimes do organize along these lines to carry through big projects far away from home. The family is still the basic unit of our society, although men and women work together on the farm and in industry.

During the big leap forward, we carried through large-scale co-ordination or co-operation of labor on projects, especially during the drought, when we worked on a large scale on water conservation. This is traditional with us in China. Large-scale co-ordination is the Communist style of co-operation.

The second characteristic of the people's commune is socialist. MAO Tse-tung states that the commune is big and socialist in character. The communes are better able to take care of the public welfare, such as schools, hospitals, dining rooms, etc. These institutions we have just mentioned have increased three and four times, as compared to the recent past. For example, lying-in hospitals have increased eight times. We do have communal dining rooms. Yet, we still have the traditional family unit and traditional family dining. The commune dining rooms are run in many ways. Some are open only during the farming season. Some are open all year around. Some of these dining rooms are open for only certain people. We also have special dining rooms for children and old people. When a member of the commune eats in the communal dining room, he surrenders his meal ticket. The meals and the quality vary. Some of these communal dining rooms are well run and some are not so good. But the dining rooms have some advantages for women. They do not have to be so dependent upon their husband's labor. They can now take part in production. This participation in production by women means economic and political equality. Others who benefit by this communal dining system are the young people. They can participate in production and save time. This liberates labor forces from the menial tasks of the kitchen. These dining rooms make possible a better use of their labor.

Accumulation in the people's commune comes from three sources: (1) Enterprises which are run at the commune level, formerly run by the county; (2) Commune management can draw reserve funds from production brigades. This year, three billion yen was added to these reserve funds, and this was a 5% total increase for all communes; and (3) The government gives the communes a certain amount of yen. At the present time, this may not seem like a lot, but this will greatly increase in the future. The reserve funds owned on the commune level are used for extended reproduction. Only a portion of these reserve funds are used for public welfare. Production develops because of the use of the main funds for re-investments. A total of 9.7 billion yen is now in the reserve of the communes. In a few years, this will exceed the reserves and the ownership at the brigade level. The ownership of all this property is supposed to belong to the brigade within the commune. The commune receives a certain percentage.

The third characteristic of the people's commune is integration of government administration with commune management. The Communist Party is able to exercise direct leadership and bring Socialist planning into agriculture through this integration. By integrating government administration with commune management, this facilitates the dictatorship over the following elements: the landlords, the counter-revolutionaries, and the bad elements. In the past, our dictatorship was not so direct over these elements. Now it will be easier to reform them through labor. Some of these elements will change their ideology and some will just naturally die off. But the dictatorship will also whither away in years to come.

The ownership system in the people's commune is socialist in nature; it is socialist collective ownership. The principle is: To each according to his work. We want to quote from the resolution of the Communist Party of China adopted at the Plenum on December 10, 1958:

> "Even after the transition from collective ownership to ownership of the whole people, the people's communes will, during a necessary period of time, retain the system of 'to each according to his work,' owing to the fact that there is not as yet an abundant enough supply of social products to realize communism. Any premature attempt to negate the principle of 'to each according to his work' and replace it with the principle of 'to each according to his needs,' that is, any attempt to enter communism by over-reaching ourselves

when conditions are not mature -- is undoubtedly a Utopian concept that cannot possibly succeed."

After this resolution was adopted, the people's communes developed so rapidly that we did not have enough cadres. Whatever few cadres we had lacked experience. In some counties, they skipped the transitional forms. Instead of collective ownership, it went over to people's ownership. One county even worked out a system of Communism.

Chairman MAO Tse-tung made a trip last fall. He went into the countryside, had numerous meetings with the peasants and saw how things were working -- the good and the bad. At the December, 1958, meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, there was an examination and a review of the working of the people's communes. The Party, basing itself upon MAO Tse-tung's analysis, explained the differences between collective ownership, which is Socialism, and ownership by all of the people, which is Communism. The Central Committee at that Plenum decided to consolidate the people's communes. The check-up on the people's communes started in December, 1958, and continued to the end of February, 1959. We found many problems, but the main question was the adjustment of ownership.

The February 7, 1959, Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China re-affirmed the previous resolution and laid down three principles of ownership: (1) Commune level; (2) Brigade level; and (3) Work team level, and a system of business accounting at different levels. The production brigade level is considered the basic one, with a part ownership at the commune level and part ownership at the production team level, which is the lowest level. The production brigade is under the commune. The production brigade is like the former co-operative. At the production brigade level (which is the basic level), the utilizations of land, implements, draft animals, etc., are at the disposal of the brigade. At the commune level, ownership consists of their own industries, water conservation, etc., and they have their own machinery. Each year, the commune draws a certain fund from the production brigade. The commune does the planning.

What is meant by partial ownership by production teams? Who makes up the production brigade? There are three million such production teams. It is the smallest or lowest unit. The production team has a contract with the production brigade. They decide how much manpower they supply, what are the targets, the costs, etc. What the team says will, in the main, belong to the team.

The over-fulfillment of the plan is theirs, too. The production teams can use leisure time to farm for themselves or carry on individual production. The income goes to the team. Every family can also engage in sidelines. They can grow some vegetables on the land surrounding the house.

Why the ownership at the brigade level, rather than the commune level? This is because of the unevenness of the development. 30% of the brigades lag behind; and if the ownership was on a commune level, it would result in equalitarianism. It would also result in an over-concentration. By having the basic ownership at the brigade level, the commune can concentrate and get the 30% of the brigades which lag behind to catch up and achieve evenness in development. By that time, it may be possible to have ownership at the commune level and the brigades will become management organs. The communes will then develop at a level where the ownership can then become ownership by all the people.

What is the principle of distribution in the people's commune? From each according to his ability, to each according to his work. You have a combination of wage system with a free supply system. 70% is paid out in wages. 30% is given out in free supplies, which consists chiefly of food. In some places, only food grains are given to the people and they have to buy their own oils, fats, etc.

The free supply system developed in the producers' cooperative. Some families needed help in order to exist. In fact, 20% of the families at that time needed some help. For example, they did not have enough workers in the family because of the aged or a large number of small children. This question could not be solved until the commune came into being. So, all members of the family ate without pay. The over-whelming majority of the peasantry supports this principle. Even those who have small families, but who are made up of workers, support this free supply or free food system to those families which have fewer workers for whatever reasons. This free supply system already is the rudiment of the Communist principle -- to each according to his needs -- but only a rudiment, since this is only a small percentage of the income. Yet, these small shoots have great possibilities for growth, and in the communes we see the great possibilities for the future.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: December 23, 1959

FROM : MR. F. J. BAUMGARDNER

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson
Belmont
DeLoach
McGuire
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Gandy

Reference is made to my memorandum 10-30-59 which sets forth in detail the receipts and disbursements of funds received from the Communist Party (CP) of the Soviet Union by the CPUSA from 9-23-59 through 10-26-59.

The following schedules show the present status of the funds received from the Soviets together with the receipts and disbursements subsequent to 10-26-59.

TOTAL RECEIVED TO 10-26-59		$253,500	
TOTAL DISBURSED (See previous memorandum)		124,000	
BALANCE OF FUND 10-26-59			$129,500
RECEIPTS FROM 10-26-59 to 12-21-59			
12-9-59*	$10,000		10,000
			$139,500
LESS DISBURSEMENTS 10-26-59 to 12-21-59			
11-2-59 to Eugene Dennis for "The Worker"	$10,000		
11-4-59 to Eugene Dennis for "The Worker"	10,000		
11-20-59 to Claude Lightfoot, chairman, CP of Illinois	300		
11-23-59 to Isadore Wofsy for transmittal to Eugene Dennis	5,000		
11-23-59 to Isadore Wofsy for transmittal to Eugene Dennis	10,000		
11-27-59 to Isadore Wofsy for transmittal to Eugene Dennis	10,000		
	$45,300		$ 45,300
BALANCE IN FUND 12-21-59			$ 94,200

SUMMARY

Total receipts to 12-21-59	$263,500
Less disbursements to 12-21-59	169,300
Balance	$ 94,200**

REC-94
100-428091-59

EX-102
let to Chicago
12-29-59
PWD:djw

25 JAN 4 1960

100-428091
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Donohue
1 - Mr. Decker
AJD:med
(5)

#5

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
RE: SOLO
100-428091

*From Soviet Embassy, Ottawa, Canada, delivered by Elizabeth Mascolo, courier, Canadian CP, to NY 694-S, New York City.

**$63,200 maintained by CG 5824-S in safe deposit box, Michigan Avenue National Bank, Chicago, Illinois; $31,000 maintained by NY 694-S in safe deposit box, Amalgamated Bank, New York, New York.

ACTION:

None. This is submitted for your information. You will be kept apprised of all pertinent developments in this matter.

1 - Liaison Section
1 - [redacted] Laboratory
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Decker

SAC, [redacted] (105) December 15, 1959

Director, FBI (100-[redacted])

SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re Airtel dated December 11, 1959.

The Bureau concurs with the recommendations set forth in reairtel and you are instructed to perfect the necessary arrangements with George B. Carlinson to U.S.A. establish an assumed identity for MI 694-S.

Informant should be instructed that it would be most undesirable to obtain any funds from the Chinese while in Prague, Czechoslovakia. He should be instructed that U.S.A. in discussing this matter with Eugene Dennis and/or Gus Hall they should be advised that the acceptance of money from the Communist Party (CP) of China could incense the Russians and could lead to a rupture in the relations between the CP, USA, and the CP of the Soviet Union. He should point out that the CP, USA, has not committed itself to accept this money and it could be graciously declined without affecting future contacts between the CP, USA, and the CP of China.

The Bureau should be kept apprised of developments and immediately advised of the date and place where informant makes his application for passport so this matter can be followed with the Passport Office of the Department of State to insure that the passport is issued promptly and without risk to the informant's security.

The New York State operator's license and the Illinois birth certificate will be prepared by the Laboratory and forwarded to you as soon as possible.

2 - Chicago (134-46 Sub B) REC-94 100-428071-580

NOTE: See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 12-14-59 captioned as above, AJD:ssh:pwf.

12-23-59

Tolson
Belmont
DeLoach
McGuire
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

AJD:ssh:mar (10)

57 JAN 7

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

1 - Mr. Boise

SAC, Chicago

December 29, 1959

REC- 94

Director, FBI (100-428091) -579

SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

You are requested to submit to the Bureau a detailed accounting of the expenses of CG 5824-S in connection with his last trip abroad. This accounting should disclose the source of all funds used by the informant to pay for expenses, together with an accounting of the expenses incurred. A specific statement should be made as to the amount of money used by the informant in connection with his trip, which money was taken from the funds previously transmitted to the Communist Party, USA, by the Soviet Union and which are in the custody of CG 5824-S.

The Bureau desires that this data be submitted no later than January 8, 1960. If there is any reason why this deadline cannot be met, the Bureau should be advised by return mail.

MAILED 8
DEC 29 1959
COMM-FBI

Tolson
Belmont
DeLoach
McGuire
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

PWD:djw
(4)

MAIL ROOM ☑ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

4-41 (Rev. 2-8-59)

DECODED COPY

[XX] Radio [ ] Teletype

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Trotter
Mr. W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

DEFERRED 12-30-59

TO DIRECTOR

FROM SAC, NEW YORK 300830

SOLO IS-C. NY 694-S* ORALLY ADVISED HE RECEIVED HIS PASSPORT, UNDER THE NAME OF JACK BROOKS, AT RADIO CITY, NEW YORK CITY, PASSPORT OFFICE, AT 4:15 PM, THIS DATE.

RECEIVED: 9:07 AM RADIO

10:06 AM CODING UNIT JW

REC-96 100-428091-5981

25 JAN 4 1960

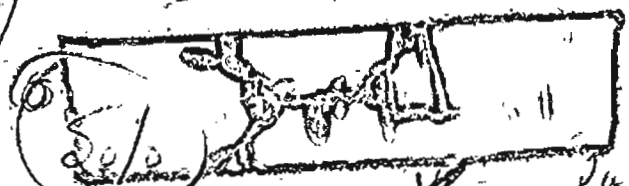
Mr. Belmont

55 JAN 8 1960

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

[redacted]

1 - [redacted]ont
1 - [redacted]rative Division
1 - [redacted]gardner
1 - [redacted]ker



December 14, 1959

Mr. and Mrs. Morris Childs
7949 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Russia
Red Chaser

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Childs:

I want you to know how well pleased I am with the successful conclusion of your recent mission on behalf of our country and of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I have personally reviewed the highly valuable results of your efforts which certainly indicate a devotion to the cause of our country far beyond the contributions expected of the most patriotic Americans.

I also wish to express my deep appreciation for the personal sacrifices and hardships which both of you encountered in this latest mission. I am aware that this mission occurred during a time of most serious illness on the part of Mrs. Childs, and I personally want to thank her for the services which she has rendered. I certainly hope that her physical condition has improved since her return.

You can be assured that the material resulting from your recent mission has been carefully analyzed and will be fully utilized to the best advantage of this country.

100-428891-582

EX 101 REC 22

JAN 4 1960

I am taking this occasion to express my sincere admiration for the outstanding service you have rendered and I have instructed my personal representative to present you the sum of $1,000 which reflects in some small way my appreciation for the meritorious manner in which you carried out your assignment.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Tolson
Belmont
DeLoach
McGuire
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

NOTE ON YELLOW:

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 12-9-59, same caption, AJD:med.

AJD:med
(6)

Belmont
Administrative Division
Baumgardner
Decker

SAC, Chicago (134-46-Sub B) December 14, 1959

Director, FBI (100-428091) PERSONAL ATTENTION

(11) SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

In connection with the captioned operation, the Bureau feels that the outstanding contribution afforded to the success of this matter by CG 5824-S is deserving of special recognition.

In this regard, there is attached an appropriate letter addressed to CG 5824-S and his wife under their true identities. You are to personally deliver this letter to the informant and afford him the opportunity to read it. This letter should then be brought back by you to the Chicago Office where it is to be retained in the safe. Under no circumstances are you to relinquish control of this letter at any time.

In addition to the above, the Bureau feels that the manner in which the informant discharged his duties in connection with the Solo operation is deserving of recognition in the form of a cash award over and above his authorized reimbursement. At the time the above letter is delivered to the informant, authority is granted herewith to furnish him a cash award in the amount of $1,000.

Any pertinent observations which you may have relative to the reaction of our informant to this letter and cash award should be made available to the Bureau.

Enclosure

REC-22 100-428091-583

NOTE ON YELLOW:

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 12-9-59, same caption, AJD:med.

25 JAN 4 1960

AJD:med
(7)

58 JAN

Tolson
Belmont
DeLoach
McGuire
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum · UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-248091) DATE: December 31, 1959

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

ReBulet 12/29/59.

The agent assigned to the captioned case is on Annual Leave until January 6, 1960. He has received some figures from CG 5824-S*, however, additional data is required.

For the Bureau's information, CG 5824-S* advised on December 31, 1959, that his wife's physical condition has taken a turn for the worse, and it was necessary to return her to the hospital on December 25, 1959. He is required to be almost continuously with her because of the blood transfusions necessary, and because her morale has now completely broken. It is most difficult to see CG 5824-S* at this time and it is not possible to predict what the ~~advance~~ events of the next two to four weeks will bring with regard to his wife.

In view of the above, it will not be possible to meet the Bureau's deadline of January 8, 1960. Every effort will be made to furnish the Bureau with the required information no later than January 15, 1960.

EX 100

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago

CNF:ntb
(3)

REC-67

100-428091-584

18 JAN 8 1960

INT/SEC.

5 JAN 8 1960

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: December 28, 1959

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46- Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO

ATTN: A. H. BELMONT
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

There are forwarded under separate cover three books in Russian received in Chicago through the confidential drop arranged by CG 5824-S* for the transmittal of literature and messages from the USSR.

According to CG 5824-S*, the book bearing a gray cover is the new text book called "Foundations of Marxism-Leninism", edited by OTTO KUSSINAN and published in Moscow in 1959. This book, according to CG 5824-S*, is the one referred to in the informant's discussions with the Russians when they instructed him to read the chapters on "united front" where as was indicated by them the Communist Party (CP), USA could get some answers to its questions.

The enclosed blue covered book is the new history of the CP of the Soviet Union. Its chief author is BORIS PONOMAREV and his chief assistant was Professor MINTZ.

The third book portrays a photograph of KHRUSHCHEV and President EISENHOWER.

The above are being submitted to the Bureau for possible translation or perusal; however, the informant must utilize these books and transmit them to the CP, USA as expeditiously as possible. The Bureau is, therefore, requested to examine these books, take appropriate action and return them to the Chicago Office as soon as possible.

Pkg. returned by s/s 1-4-59

(2)- Bureau (REGISTERED)
1- Package (REGISTERED)
1- Chicago
CNF/njb
(4)

REC-57 100-428091-585

3 ENCLOSURE

55 JAN 11 1960

TRANSLATION FROM RUSSIAN

"FOUNDATIONS OF MARXISM-LENINISM"

CHAPTER 14

A POLICY OF UNITY OF ACTIONS OF THE WORKING CLASS AND OF ALL THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES OF THE PEOPLE.

The working class has to carry on a struggle in difficult conditions. Its oppressor is the wealthiest and most organized class of society - the capitalist class. In the hands of the dominant bourgeoisie is the powerful apparatus of physical coercion (the army, police, court, prisons) and ideological influence upon the masses (the church, school, radio, television, motion pictures, etc.). On its side likewise are the force of habit and the force of traditions of the exploiting society.

In these conditions, the working class particularly needs unity and organization of its ranks, as well as close alliance with other contingents of the working people. Creation of such a unity and alliance has an immense importance for its future and for the future of all people.

The unity of workers has a stable objective foundation - community of class interests. Nevertheless, it does not develop spontaneously, without particular efforts of a class-conscious vanguard of the working class. The matter of fact is that bouregoisie utilizes all the opportunities for bringing dissent into the ranks of labor and of all the working people, so as to weaken and paralyze their class enemies. Unfortunately, this policy has produced and continues to produce its fruits. It is precisely the dissent in the labor movement which is a principal cause of many serious defeats of workers and the basic prerequisite for a success of reaction. "Not a few misfortunes of the modern world," justifiably stated N. S. KHRUSHCHEV at the 20th Congress of the C. P., SU, "are rooted in the fact that, for many years, in many

TRANSLATED BY:
TATIANA NIKONISHIN:sls
January 19, 1960

100-428091-585

100-428091-585

ENCLOSURE

countries, the working class has remained split and its various contingents do not come out as a united front, which plays into the hands of the forces of reaction."

That is why the communist parties and all Marxists-Leninists consider as their most important task the overcoming of the split in the labor movement, securing of the unity of its ranks and a close alliance with all the workers, with all the progressive and democratic forces of the people.

1. The Necessity for the Unity of Actions of the Working Class in Modern Conditions.

In spite of the depth of differences dividing the revolutionary and reformist trends, communist parties of capitalist countries, even in the first period of their activity, strove to establish the unity of actions with social-democratic organizations.

The communists issued and are still issuing from the fact that (industrial) workers, as well as all the working people, no matter what they are - communists, social-democrats, or members of organizations influenced by the church - they all have common interests. This issues from the very situation of the working class and of all the working people as the exploited part of society.

What is the policy of the unity of actions? - In the struggle for the common interests of the working people, the communist parties strive for cooperation with all the workers' organizations, regardless of political or religious views of their members. Activity of the communist parties directed toward securing of this cooperation is called the policy of the unity of actions.

In the history of the international labor movement, there are quite a few outstanding examples of such unity. When a serious danger was threatening the interests of the working people, a trend toward unity increased among them and labor organizations acted jointly, as a rule.

It was this way in the thirties, when fascism strained toward power in many countries of Europe. At that time, a strong movement for labor unity developed in France, Spain, and Austria, and this influenced positions of leadership of the socialist parties which previously opposed in every possible way the collaboration with communist parties. In 1934-1936, between the communists and socialists of these countries, agreements on unity of actions against fascism were concluded. The People's Front governments were formed in France and Spain.

During the World War II, the unity of the working people again progressed considerably. Communists, many rank and file members and leaders of socialist parties, and many supporters of bourgeois parties - democrats, radicals, and Catholics - fought side by side in the ranks of the resistance movement. It is generally acknowledged that communists formed the nucleus of this movement.

After the victory over fascism, the broad masses demonstrated an unusual trend toward unification. In people's democracies, united parties of the working class were created which built their activity on the basis of principles of Marxism-Leninism. In this way, in a considerable part of Europe, the ideological and organizational split of the labor movement had been overcome.

Various trends within the labor movement drew closer after the war in many capitalist countries, as well. For some time, agreements on unity of action continued to exist between communists and socialists, and labor unions included the working people of all political convictions. In October, 1945, the World Federation of Trade-Unions (WFT) was formed, where trade-unions of the USSR united for the first time with trade-unions of capitalistic Europe, USA, Latin America, and countries of the East. The international labor movement has never yet been so close to unity as during those years.

However, the international reaction adopted all possible measures in order to frustrate this turn toward unity. This time, the role of an inspirer and organizer of the split was undertaken by US monopolies. The pretext was the demonstration of the European communist parties against the enslaving terms of the "Marshall Plan." A furious campaign of slander and persecution started against communists, and their representatives were removed from governments.

Taking advantage of the differences arising in the WFT in connection with the evaluation of the "Marshall Plan," the reactionary leadership of American trade-unions split this association. In 1949, British trade-unions, Congress of Industrial Organizations of the USA, federations of trade-unions of Belgium, Holland, and of a number of other countries, left the WFT. Somewhat later, they created their own parallel center - the so-called International Confederation of Free Trade-Unions.

Contrary to the true aspirations of the masses, the labor movement again became split and the struggle among its various trends flared up with a new force.

What would produce the unity of actions? - At the present time, the dangers threatening the workers, are far more serious than on the eve, or even during the years of World War II. The threat of atomic war, an open striving of monopoly capital to establish its dictatorship everywhere, all this makes particularly obvious the necessity for the unity of actions of the working class. Responsibility of the labor parties has increased immeasurably; the situation urgently demands united efforts from them; otherwise reaction in capitalistic countries will open for itself a road to a ferocious dictatorship and the new military adventures.

Turning the unity of actions into an acute necessity, the struggle for peace and democracy, at the same time makes easier the achievement of agreement between the labor parties. It is easier to come to an agreement for them on the problems of common democratic order, for not a single labor party can advocate an aggressive war or fascism. Consequently, the sphere of questions in which cooperation of the working organizations could and should be reached now, has considerably broadened. In addition to traditional demands - increase of wages, reduction of the length of the working day, etc. - there is one more platform for the unity of actions: the struggle for the common democratic demands.

The unity of actions of the working class would exert immense influence upon decision of problems involving the fate of the entire mankind. There are 83 communist parties throughout the world, to the ranks of which belong over 33 million people at present. There are 70 communist parties in the capitalist world, uniting 4.5 million members. In the Socialist International,

according to an official data, are united 39 socialist parties and groups, numbering approximately 10 million members (of them 6 million are members of the English Labor Party). In the ranks of the World Federation of Trade-Unions and in the International Federation (sic) of Free Trade-Unions, there is a total of over 160 million people. It is not difficult to imagine what importance for the cause of peace and democracy would have the unity of actions and cooperation of all these parties and organizations. If, for example, the English Labor Party, the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, the French, Belgian, and Austrian Socialist Parties, and the social-democratic parties of the Scandinavian countries would come to an agreement on the unity of actions with the communist parties of the Soviet Union, China, of all people's democracies, the communist parties of Italy, France, Finland, India, Indonesia, Brazil, and other capitalist countries, we may have no doubt that the forces of reaction and war would become more docile and guarantees of the preservation of universal peace would increase many times.

The cooperation of the labor parties would facilitate the unification of all the peace-loving and democratic forces. Labor unity would form the foundation of the unity of actions of all democracy.

TRANSLATION FROM RUSSIAN

CHAPTER 14 of the

"FOUNDATIONS OF MARXISM-LENINISM"

(Continued)

2. Who Prevents the Establishment of the Unity of Actions of the Working Class

In reply to convincing arguments of communists in favor of the unity of actions, official leadership of the social-democratic parties brings out a number of arguments in which many socialists still believe.

Excuses of the Opponents of Unity. Proposals of communists on the united front, state the leaders of social-democracy, are nothing more than a maneuver, trick; actually, communists care not at all about interests of the working class, but about their own narrow party interests; they wish to draw as many workers as possible into their ranks.

This is the most complete distortion of motives directing communists. Actually, in struggling for unity, communists proceed from the interests of the working people themselves, including those who belong to the socialist parties or support them. For when the workers act in harmony and unity, they all gain from it together and everyone individually. This is clear even for the most class-conscious proletarian.

It is high time for social-democrats to become convinced that the policy of unity of actions is proposed by the communists with absolutely honest intentions, in all sincerity and seriousness inherent in the party of the working class. Communists, in carrying out this policy, are in no way directed by considerations of the moment. They are sure that unity is necessary to the working people today, when the labor movement and all progressive humanity are carrying on a struggle for peace and democracy, and that it

TRANSLATED BY:
TATIANA NIKONISHIN: bjm
January 29, 1960

will be still more necessary tomorrow, when, in many countries, the task of the building of communism will arise. A policy meant for such a prolonged period cannot stoop to small tricks. All the practical activity of communist parties convincingly proves that a proposal on the unity of actions is not a concession to opportunism on their part, but an expression of a permanent political line, dictated by a concern for vital interests of all the working people.

Communists are not the only ones to admit that unity has become a vital necessity. Many representatives of the labor movement - noncommunists - also think the same way. For instance, the oldest leader of the Socialist Party of Belgium, a former Prime Minister, Professor CAMILLE HUYSMANS, stated, after visiting the Soviet Union in 1956: "I, an old socialist, who for many years was a friend of LENIN and his wife KRUPSKAYA, was deeply moved by all this. I knew LENIN's thoughts and his good qualities. I considered the break-up which took place between us in 1917 a mistake. But all this is in the past and I do not want to reproach anyone with anything. But I wish to help with all my powers the re-establishment in Europe of the unity of the working class."

Particularly valuable are conclusions of a well-known veteran of the labor movement, OTTO BUCHWITZ (phon.), at which he arrived in his book, "Fifty Years As a Functionary of the German Labor Movement." OTTO BUCHWITZ, a weaver in the past, was a member of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany from 1898 to 1946, and was a deputy of the Reichstag for a number of years. He writes in his book: "Let the young generation draw lessons from history and realize: the strong labor movement carries in its activities a responsibility, not only to its own class, but, more than that - to the entire nation, to the entire mankind. The fact that it is so is proven by history of the German labor movement. Had it been united in the struggle against fascism, HITLER would never have been able to come to power. Without HITLER there would be no war, and millions of young people throughout the world would not have to go to their death for the sake of criminals seized my megalomania, for the sake of imperialists and monopolists."

During the May events of 1958 in France, when reaction wanted to bury the republic with one blow and to establish a fascist regime, all the sincere democrats particularly felt the necessity for a unity of action.

"I have been a member of the Socialist Party for 30 years," stated then a prominent leader of the Socialist Party, TANGUI-PRIJEAN (phon.), "and I am firmly convinced that defense of the republic requires a united and resolute action of all the working masses of the countries."

Experience shows that all the labor parties, and not communists alone, gain from unity of actions. For instance, the prestige and influence of the Italian Socialist Party, numbering about 750,000 people, far from suffering from the fact that it cooperated with the Communist Party, on the contrary, strengthened due to such cooperation. This was admitted at the time even by the leaders of the Socialist Party who, later, yielding to the pressure of the rightist elements, began to refuse to cooperate with communists. Due to unity, both parties - Communist and Socialist - achieved great successes in the elections. Unity permitted them to achieve after the war the adoption of the Constitution based upon democratic principles. The working class of Italy gained most of all from this cooperation.

Another favorite argument of the opponents of unity is a claim that, allegedly, there is nothing in common between the Social-Democrats and communism. "There is nothing in common between socialism and communism..." was literally stated in the resolution adopted by the Bureau of the Socialist International on April 7, 1956, in answer to an appeal of the 20th Congress of the C.P., SU, for cooperation.

However, the falseness of this thesis is revealed by objective witnesses from among those very socialists. Thus, the prominent theoretician of the Labor Party of England, Professor Dzh. COWL (phon.), after publication of the declaration of the Socialist International, wrote: "I do not argue that there are serious and profound differences between doctrines maintained by socialist-democratic and labor parties, members of the Socialist International, and the doctrines maintained by the communist parties... but it would be a pure nonsense to state that there is <u>nothing</u> in common between these two groups!"

And further, Professor COWL demonstrated that the views of communists and socialists coincide at least on four points: (1) common for communists and socialists is conviction that the most important means of production should be a collective property and should be utilized in the interests of society as a whole, i. e., that capitalism

should be replaced by socialism; (2) both of them strive for creation of a society where there will be a high degree of propperity, with the broadest opportunities for education, health protection, social security, etc; (3) they agree that no one has the right to live at the expense of labor of other people, i. e., that there should be no exploitation; (4) both communists and socialists are convinced that the realization of the task of building of a new society falls upon the working class.

A possibility for cooperation, in spite of ideological differences, is admitted also by some leaders of the French Socialist Party. A member of the Directing Committee of the party, ALBERT GAZIER (phon.), wrote in 1955, after a visit to the Soviet Union: "Basic differences dividing Bolshevist socialism from society for which democratic socialism is striving, should in no way prevent us from striving for closer relations between the people, for peaceful coexistence and for international cooperation."

There is no doubt, that all these statements reflect the opinion of numerous members of the socialist parties who ponder over the fate of the labor movement.

Communists will necessarily demand for themselves a leading role in every joint demonstration; they will dictate and prescribe, state further the opponents of unity.

Experience tells, however, of other things. The practice of a realization of a united front in Italy itself and in other countries indicates that communists are sincerely trying to understand the point of view of their allies and that they are partners worthy of trust. Communists are far from always striving to appear as sole initiators and leaders of joint actions, while all that remains for socialists, is to follow behind them. Communists are ready to support any reasonable proposal of any social-democratic organization, provided it is in line with the interests of the working people. Often in the elections communists even renounce the advancement of their own candidates in individual districts in favor of socialists, in order to jointly defeat the representatives of reactionary parties.

Communists offer to work out jointly a platform for cooperation, to present it for the judgment of membership masses and jointly to formulate the demands which will meet

with the greatest mass support. It is quite obvious that socialists have a full opportunity to verify the sincerity of communists in fact, by accepting their proposal on unity of actions.

When the opponents of unity exhaust their arguments, they start to frighten the rank and file socialists by saying that, after the victory of the united front, communists would allegedly carry out reprisals against socialists. They cite at this time the fate of Russian Mensheviks. But we must remember historical conditions in Russia at that time: after all, majority of Mensheviks formed a bloc with the White Guards and supported an armed struggle against the Soviet Government.

In a different historical situation, things developed in a different way. In the European people's democracies, the basic mass of members of the socialist parties joined the ranks of the united parties of the working class, while many of their former leaders are occupying important government posts.

In the present situation, when more favorable conditions for victory of the working class have been established, communists and socialists can fully reach an agreement, not only in the struggle against the threat of war and in defense of democracy, but, likewise, in the joint struggle for socialism. In countries, where historically-developed social-democratic parties are active, communists are interested in having those parties not only in taking part in the winning of power by the working class, but also in taking upon themselves/by effort in creating of socialism and in becoming members of socialist governments.

In this way, not a single one of the arguments against unity of actions of communists and socialists holds water. No insurmountable obstacles to their cooperation exist. Unity is lacking not because there is nothing in common between socialists and communists and not because communists threaten reprisals against socialists. They could easily find common language if capitalist reaction would not hinder it.

Anticommunism - the Slogan of Reactionary Dissenters. A true motive guiding many leading figures of the Socialist International is their anticommunism. It is not at all the matter of their being reformists and therefore being unable to cooperate with communists, representatives of the revolutionary ideology.

Reformists who seriously strive for at least small reforms benefiting workers, understand that, for achieving success, joint efforts of all the labor organizations are necessary. However, they are usually held back by dissenting die-hards who chose the preservation of discord in the labor movement as their occupation. This proved to be a highly profitable occupation in a modern bourgeois society for the more adroit career men out of a number of leaders of reformist labor unions and social-democratic parties. Specialists in this trade (such as MEANY and BROWN in America, SPAAK in Belgium, GUY MOLLET in France, POLLACK in Austria, and TANNER in Finland) adapted aims of the notorious cold war to conditions of the labor movement. They always come out under the flag of anticommunism, although they know very well that this battered flag is serving, as it had repeatedly served already, the purposes of the blackest reaction, striving to split forces of every democratic and socialist movement and to smash it piece by piece.

In their hatred of communism, they in no way lag behind the most hardened reactionaries out of the midst of the dominant classes. Blinded by this hatred, they would sooner renounce defense of vital demands of the working people rather than act together with communists. When such apostles of anticommunism are confronted with a choice of either cooperating with communists or permitting reactionaries to come into power, they, unhesitatingly give preference to the latter. "Better DE GAULLE than the People's Front," such was a position of a leader of the French Socialist Party, GUY MOLLET in May of 1958, when he became a member of the reactionary government alongside [illegible] fascist-like elements.

Fortunately, there are not so many inveterate enemies of unity in the labor movement that they could not be isolated. But so far, they have been sitting firmly upon the shoulders of the reformist movement, because reactionary bourgeoisie supports them will all its power.

A comparison of activities of dissenters with the policy of the ruling circles of bourgeoisie, clearly exposes the mainsprings of their behavior. It is not difficult to notice that right-wing socialists transfer to the labor movement the very same methods which imperialist circles apply in their struggle against the USSR and the entire socialist camp. Aggressive circles inspire the cold war against the USSR and leaders of the Socialist International unleash it inside the labor movement. Imperialists appeal for "Atlantic solidarity" for the struggle against communism, and right-wing leaders of social-democracy appeal for the same thing. Colonial powers of the West adjure the oppressed peoples of the East to "wait" with their liberation for the sake of "unity" in the struggle against the "threat of communism" and right-wing socialist leaders come out with the denunciation of national-liberation movement of colonial peoples, even to the extent of employing arms, as it was done during the Egyptian crisis of 1956, by the French Government headed by a "socialist," GUY MOLLET.

In short, propagandists of cold war in the labor movement are the exponents of interests of aggressive imperialist bourgeoisie in the ranks of the workers. Through them, the ruling circles of imperialistic states achieve the perpetuation of discord in the labor movement. Champions of anticommunism, strictly speaking, have no other platform save dissension; "reforms" for them are only props designed for deceiving the inexperienced people.

When this deception comes out into the open, and the masses begin to turn away from militant anticommunists out of the number of social-democrats, the latter resort to the roundabout maneuvers. Most often, attempts are being made to portray social-democracy as some sort of a "third force." Juggling words, right-wing leaders of the Socialist International assure that they really do not take any sides in international affairs and play a part of an arbitrator between West and East. They allegedly follow the same independent "middle course" in the field of domestic policy, opposing the extreme reaction, as well as communists.

However, those who keep on talking of the "third force," deceive either themselves, or others. A "middle" course between bourgeoisie and proletariat, between reaction and democracy, actually does not exist. Right-wing social-democrats clearly prove this, practically cooperating with

reactionary circles of bourgeoisie. Best of the adherents of the "third force," sooner or later, come to a recognition of necessity for unity of actions with communists. Thus, confirmed once more are words of V. I. LENIN to the effect that in a policy of choosing between capitalists and the working class, it is impossible to avoid the fact that "any attempt to form something in the middle results in even completely sincere people sliding down to one or the other side."

Apostles of the "third force" attempt to flirt both with workers and capitalists. To the first they promise to fight capitalism, and to the second - to protect them from communism. On this basis, they demand new "credits" from both. But, in opening "credit" for right-wing social-democrats, capitalists demand that they work it off on the spot, by increasing attacks upon communism. The working class, on the contrary, expects intensification of struggle against the arbitrary rule of capitalist monopolies. And since political speculators are unable to meet payments on two promissory notes at the same time, they are caught in inevitable bankruptcy. It is not accidental that theories of the "third force" have not found a broad response in the masses and they are mentioned less and less frequently.

Reactionary policy of anticommunism is directed not only against the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, but likewise against all the working people and democrats. True, in the beginning, reactionaries spread illusions to the effect that repressions and restrictions are allegedly directed only against communists and will not affect other contingents of the labor and democratic movement. But it is enough for the working people to fall for this lie, and to renounce resistance to measures directed against communists, that reactionary bourgeoisie starts next phases of the "operation": it extends the persecution drive to social-democratic parties, labor unions and even liberal bourgeois movements and organizations.

Thus, there can be only one answer to the question as to who prevents unity of action of the labor movement: <u>capitalist reaction, predominant oligarchy of monopoly capital, prevents it. Propagandists of anticommunism and organizers of cold war</u>, who call themselves leaders of the labor movement, act on top level of workers' organizations in its interests. Arguments which they present against unity do not express but only cover their true motives.

Dissenters in the ranks of the labor movement enjoy the broad support on the part of capitalistic monopolies and government. Remunerative positions are given to the most active right-wing social-democrats. For example, 410 leading members of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany occupy 929 highly-remunerative positions in large West German firms and banks. Sixty-five socialist leaders are directors in MANNESMAN, KLECKNER, KRUPP, FLICK and other concerns. Salaries of these directors reach 100-150,000 marks a year. Among 600 directors of nationalized enterprises in Austria, 400 are members of the Socialist Party. Twelve out of twenty-five members of this party's board, are directors and managers of state and private enterprises, each one receiving up to 500,000 schillings a year. BENEDICT KAUTSKY (son of KARL KAUTSKY), ideologist and author of the program of the Socialist Party of Austria, holds positions of an assistant of the general director of a great bank "Creditanschalt" (phon.), that of member of the observation (sic) council of the "Elin" firm, and of the general council of the Austrian National Bank.

When right-wing socialist leaders become members of governments, monopoly capital permits them sometimes to satisfy certain demands of the workers. Large monopolies, when they have no other way out anyway, because of the pressure from workers, make concessions but in such a way as to strengthen positions of socialists against communists. At the first suitable opportunity, they compensate themselves through raising prices or in some other ways. The same tactics are followed by capitalist circles in encouraging labor unions which are under the influence of right-wing social-democrats and persecuting left-wing labor unions. We know, for instance, that US Department of State has widely used a reactionary top-level leadership of American labor unions for splitting the international labor movement.

That is why unity of actions of the working class cannot be achieved solely by means of negotiations and agreements. It demands active struggle against the intrigues of reactionary bourgeoisie and its agents in the labor movement. The struggle for unity of action of the working class is an important and integral part of the entire struggle of workers against monopoly capital and imperialism.

3. *The Ways of Achieving Unity of Actions of the Labor Movement*

Working Masses Want Unity. Despite the dissension activities of the right-wingers, a trend toward unity is growing among the working masses. This is expressed in the most diverse forms. For example, at many enterprises of France, Italy, England, Belgium, and other countries, when a strike is in preparation, all the workers willingly respond to an appeal for a joint action: united strike committees are formed which include communists, socialists, Catholics. The same thing is demonstrated by numerous instances, when socialist workers, contrary to injunctions of their party's leadership, vote in elections for communist candidates.

A striving for unity increases, as consequences of the present dangerous policy of imperialist governments reveal themselves. Alarm and concern are increasing among socialist workers. This compels the leaders of social-democratic parties to maneuver and resort to various tricks, and sometimes directly to yield to the demands of rank and file socialists.

English Labor Party, social-democratic parties of West Germany and of Scandinavian countries, socialists of Japan and of other Asiatic countries denounced the Anglo-Franco-Israeli aggression against Egypt. They came out likewise with a denunciation of imperialist aggression in Lebanon and Jordan in 1958. German social-democrats protested against arming of the Bundeswehr with atomic weapons. In March, 1959, they came out with their plan for a solution of the German problem, which, despite inconsistencies and various reservations contained therein, represents a considerable contribution to the general German discussion on the methods for unification of the country. The Fifth Congress of the Socialist International (July, 1957) again expressed itself in favor of the admission of the Chinese People's Republic to the UN. At the session of the council of the International, in June, 1958, a demand was advanced for halting of the nuclear tests and calling of a summit conference.

Of course, there has always been a great gap between the words and deeds of the leaders of the Socialist International. Nevertheless, these resolutions reflect the sentiments of rank and file social-democrats. Certain changes occurring in the social-democratic movement, facilitate the achievement of the unity of actions between the working people although right-wing leaders of social-democracy still oppose this.

The greatest experience of collaboration between communists and socialists has been accumulated in the struggle for the economic interests of working people. Examples of united actions in this field exist in many capitalist countries. Italian, French, Argentinian, Japanese workers, as well as workers of other countries, achieved great successes in recent years when they carried on a strike struggle on the basis of joint and coordinated actions. A number of participants of strikes could be counted, by and large, in hundreds of thousands, in millions.

Collaboration on political questions produced most noticeable success in Italy, Japan, Finland, Chile, and some other countries. In the course of struggle against the rearmament of German imperialism and for the outlawing of atomic weapons, many communist parties of capitalist countries have repeatedly come out in concord with local organizations of socialist parties.

The experience of fruitful collaboration was accumulated in the first postward decade by both the Italian Communist and Italian Socialist Parties. From the moment of conclusion of the 1934 pact, both parties came out in concord on basic questions of foreign and domestic policy and dealt many defeats to the forces of reaction. Therefore, a unilateral break-up of the pact on unity of action, forced by the right wing at the Congress of the Socialist Party in 1958, is obviously contrary to the vital demands and sentiments of rank and file members of this party. After all that Italian communists and socialists went through together, the absence of cooperation between them can only be temporary.

Collaboration of labor parties in Japan is being successfully set up after the correction of sectarian errors permitted in this matter in the past. By the beginning of 1959, in 40 out of 46 prefectures of Japan, organs of collaboration of the democratic forces were created, in which communists, as well as socialists, take part. A good experience of the implementation of the policy of the united front has been accumulated in Chile. In the spring of 1956, the Communist, the Socialist, the Popular Socialist and other democratic parties established here the Popular Action Front which holds strong positions in parliament and in the country.

The practice of implementation of unity of action from below gave birth in the postwar period to a number of new organizational forms: "internal commissions" in Italian

enterprises; "committees of unity" in France; "factions of trade-union unity" in Austria; "unity councils" and inter-union commissions in Brazil, etc.

The struggle for unity of international labor movement entered a new stage, after the 20th Congress of the C. P., SU, pointed to new possibilities opening in this field. The coming out of such an authoritative communist party as the C. P., SU, with an appeal for collaboration elicited a broad response from social-democratic masses. Soon, the Socialist International was compelled to discuss the problem of relations with communists. Elements, interested in the frustration of the unity of actions in the labor movement throughout the period of cold war, dictated a negative resolution of the International; however, some socialist parties established their first contacts with the C. P., SU.

In 1956-58, the Central Committee of the C. P., SU, came out with a new initiative, directing letters, appealing for united actions in defense of peace, to the socialist parties of Italy, France, Germany, Great Britain, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, and Austria.

Unfortunately, the cause of unity has been progressing slowly so far and not on the scale which the present international situation demands. Survivals of the past period, when relations between various contingents of the working class became greatly strained, still make themselves felt. However, permanent factors which are stronger than intrigues of dissenters act in favor of unity. The chief one among them is the growing desire for unity among increasingly broader strata of workers.

Correct Approach Toward Working People - Socialists.

Of course, it would be wrong to place all hopes solely upon spontaneous movement of the masses toward unity. As the leading organs of communist parties have repeatedly pointed out, much in this case depends upon communists themselves, upon methods of carrying out a policy of united actions.

The first thing having a decisive importance in this matter is a correct approach toward socialist working people. Indignation of communists at the facts of repeated betrayal on the part of a number of leaders of social-democracy is understandable, but it does not justify the

listing of all socialists as "agents of imperialism," or refusal of contacts and friendly exchange of opinions with them. Indiscriminate attacks upon all socialists only play into the hands of the real enemies of unity of the working class.

The postwar period demonstrated that complex processes of differentiation are taking place inside the social-democratic movement. Practically in all the socialist parties there are more or less strong leftist tendencies, although formless at times. For example, in the English Labor Party, during any important change in the trend of events inside the country or in the international arena, disagreements are revealed between local organizations and the top leadership of the party.

In a number of social-democratic parties, the matters reached the stage of a break-up into independent parties of the left-wing and right-wing socialists (Italy, Japan, Austria, India, Lebanon, and Israel). Later, some of them again united into one party, but dissensions between the right and left wings have not disappeared. A recent example of continued differentiation among socialists was a split of the French Socialist Party, as a result of which groups which broke off with GUY MOLLET created their own autononous party.

Practical experience, however, indicates that dissension amidst socialists and isolation of the left wing, in many cases, do not produce changes in policy of social-democratic parties. Many rank and file socialists, even those who are dissatisfied with anticommunist line of right-wing leaders, do not want to take such a decisive step as breaking off, because they are used to their own party and value its traditions. Right-wing leaders skillfully utilize this and continue to set the tone in socialist parties. However, bankruptcy of the policy of anticommunism will in the end open the eyes of rank and file socialists. Sooner or later, honest social-democrats who preserve loyalty to the banner of socialism, will start thinking regarding the necessity for changing a policy, bourgeois in its character, carried out by extreme right-wing elements and, subsequently, for removing these elements from party leadership. In such a case, the transition of a social-democratic party to new political positions, in line with the interests of the working class, may be accomplished without a break-up, which doubtlessly is the best possible solution.

However it may be, all this is an internal affair of the socialist-democratic parties, which they will have to decide for themselves.

Left wing of socialists may play its role in the overcoming of dissension in the labor movement, under all circumstances. Left-wing socialists often exhibit political inconsistency; but, -, in any case, they are a most progressive section of social-democracy. At the present moment, their positions on many crucial problems of internal and foreign policy are in line with the interests of the working people. Many leftists understand the harm of discord and necessity for unity of actions of the labor movement. Communist parties are now striving to help them to get free of prejudices, implanted by anticommunist dissenters. By their self-denying struggle against the war threat; by defense of the vital interests of the working people, as well as of the middle classes which most often comprise the bulwark of social-democracy; by their readiness to support initiative of any socialist capable of benefiting the working class; by honest fulfillment of duties stemming out of collaboration; by all this, communists clearly prove that they are reliable friends and allies.

Thus, preconditions for a collaboration between communists and the circles of the social-democratic movement which realized the necessity for the unity of actions, have fully matured. That is why words of Comrade N. S. KHRUSHCHEV with which he addressed the socialist working people from the rostrum of the 21st Congress of the C. P., SU, sound so urgently: "The time has come for representatives of all trends in the labor movement, throwing out all the tricksters of anticommunism, to sit down at one table and work out a mutually acceptable platform for joint actions of the working class in defense of its interests, in defense of peace."

At the same time, communists are ready to relegate to the secondary place the most controversial questions, in order to achieve the unity of actions with socialists. Communists parties adhere in this respect to the old, but always true councils of V. I. LENIN, which he gave as far back as 1922, when a conference of three Internationals - of the Third, Second and "Second and a Half" - was anticipated. LENIN, who took an active part in the preparation of conference, advised the Komintern delegation to "bring out in discussions only the least controversial (questions - Editor),

considering as the goal an attempt at partial but joint actions of the working masses." He recommended "our delegates at a preliminary conference to be 'super-restrained,' as long as the hope of achieving the goal was not lost."

For the sake of the establishment of unity of actions with social-democrats, communists today, as well, do not renounce compromises or necessary concessions. True, it seems to dissenters that by making a compromise, a communist compromises himself. They have enough political boldness only for persevering in a position they hold, regardless of conditions or requirements of the moment. However, the one who, in the name of such a great cause as unity of the labor movement, is not afraid to make a necessary concession, to meet a future ally halfway, is bold in a Leninist way.

LENIN compared social-democratic parties with a closed quarters, where agents of bourgeoisie are carrying on their propaganda before a rather crowded worker's meeting. Should communists, asked LENIN, pay for an admission to this quarters, in order to obtain an opportunity to have their say before the workers who up to that time were under an exclusive influence of the reformists? And he replied, that it would be a great mistake to refuse any conditions or any payment in order to penetrate into this, rather strongly guarded and locked quarters. "Communists must not stew in their own juice," taught LENIN, " but learn to act in such a way as to penetrate into the locked quarters where representatives of bourgeoisie influence the workers, without being afraid to make certain sacrifices and without being afraid of mistakes, inevitable at the beginning of any new and difficult task. Communists, who would not want to understand this and would not want to learn this, cannot hope to acquire a majority among workers...."

Every country has its own conditions of struggle, its own traditions of labor movement. The roads which lead to labor unity in different countries have their own peculiarities. In some conditions, unity may be achieved in the course of an election campaign; in others, in the course of a struggle for labor and social rights; in still others, in conducting a campaign for disarmament, etc. One of the principal conditions for success of communist parties in their struggle for a united front, is a skill in finding and selecting a special pretext, a special event which, in a given country, can lead to collaboration of all trends in the labor movement, by the shortest possible route.

TRANSLATION FROM RUSSIAN

FOUNDATION OF LENINISM
Chapter 14

(Continued)

Ideological disagreements are not an obstacle to collaboration. Would not a collaboration between communists and socialists who realize the necessity for unity be hindered by the ideological disagreements between them? For, while agreeing with communists on many points in the evaluation of the present tasks of the working class, socialists disagree with them on basic questions of social development, such as, first of all, a recognition of the necessity for the overthrowing of the power of capitalists and establishment of a dictatorship of the working class in a transitional period. In striving to frustrate the unity of actions, the right-wingers usually point out this as an insurmountable obstacle to collaboration. Is this true?

Communists do not wish at all to minimize or ignore the existing ideological differences. While offering unity, communists do not conceal that they do not intend to renounce either their principles or their political personality. By the way, neither do they demand this from social-democrats, believing that practical cooperation of labor parties in bourgeois countries can be arranged without renouncing of principles.

Of course, it is generally impossible to discuss any ideological differences with bitter enemies of labor unity and inspirers of anticommunism. Anticommunism does not contain even a grain of constructive policy for a labor party; likewise, it has no positive ideological content whatsoever; ideology of reformism by which it covers itself is no more than a camouflage. Actually, champions of anticommunism have even lost the right to be called reformists. What sort of reformists are they, when for the sake of breaking up of collaboration with communist parties, they sacrifice vital interests of the working people? Every honest social-democrat at least thinks that he is fighting for the interests of the working people; he will not scorn allies in this struggle. However, anticommunists are not reformists at all, but avowed enemies of the labor movement.

TRANSLATED BY:
TATIANA NIKONISHIN:maw
February 12, 1960

It is obvious that communists will never find a common language with this kind of people, but it is an entirely different matter where honest adherents of reformism who sincerely strive for progressive social changes are concerned.

There are basic differences between Marxist - Leninist interpretation of socialism and its interpretation by the reformists. Communists have criticized and will continue to criticise a mistaken position of the reformists on problems of a class struggle, proletarian revolution, and dictatorship of the proletariat. Pointing out the example of a successful building of socialism in the USSR and people's democracies, communists will keep on trying to convince socialist workers of the soundness of the road to socialism which is based upon Marxism - Leninism.

But it is already possible to find common elements in socialist conceptions among communists and sincere social-democrats which open the way to a joint struggle for the fundamental ideals of the working class. For both of them socialism means, first of all, the establishment of public ownership in the basic means of production. It is an axiom for communists, but the same goal is proclaimed also in the official platforms of a number of socialist parties. It is stated in the "Declaration of Principles" of the French Socialist Party that this Party "aims to carry out the replacement of a system of capitalist ownership by a system under which natural resources, which are means of production and exchange, will become the property of a collective and when, consequently, classes will be abolished."

What then keeps the French socialists, at any rate the ones who take this plank in a platform seriously, from collaborating with communists in the struggle for replacement of a system of capitalist private property by a system where public property will dominate? Could not, for instance, communists and socialists jointly support the demand of the working masses for nationalization of property of monopolies?

Of course, communists and socialists interpret in different ways the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism, but, undoubtedly, there appeared many points in this question on which they agree. They can successfully collaborate wherever favorable prerequisites for such a transition develop. And the more unified the labor movement will be, the more practicable will be a peaceful transition to socialism in a number of countries.

A broad mutual understanding may be achieved between communists and socialists in this struggle for reforms alleviating the situation of working people in capitalist countries. Communists differ with socialists in the evaluation of these reforms. For many social-democrats, reforms are the only possible way to socialism. Today, they reason, the state is carrying out various measures on regulation of national economy; tomarrow - measures for social security (pensions, etc,); in this way, in the opinion of the reformists, the introduction of socialism is beginning already within the framework of a bourgeois society. According to their ideas, socialism is being introduced into capitalist society piecemeal. Some day, they hope, it will be possible to "reform" capitalism fully and transform it into socialism.

Communists consider this basic reformist concept fundamentally erroneous. They do not deny that it is possible to obtain individual reforms in favor of working people from a capitalist state even when it is in the service of monopolies. However, concessions which it is possible to wrest from a capitalist state are far from being socialism. After all, the class character of a capitalist state is being preserved; it has been and it still remains a tool in the hands of capitalist monopolies. It does not just happen that no sooner the pressure of the masses weakens, the state takes all its concessions back or adapts them to the needs of monopolies, so that only a memory remains of their original character.

In order to start the building of socialism, it is necessary at first to take away the <u>power</u> from the dominant monopolies and hand it over to the working people; such is a profound conviction of communists tested by lengthy experience of international labor movement.

At the same time, communists are not at all the opponents of reforms. They only deny that a gradual outgrowing of capitalism into socialism is possible by means of reforms. At the same time, communists offer socialists broad collabration in this struggle for all types of reforms improving working and living conditions for the working people, for a nationalization of property of monopolies, improvement of the social security system, the broadening of labor-union and democratic rights, strengthening of the guarantees of a universal peace, etc. And the broader a unity of actions and collaboration of various trends of the labor movement will be, the easier will it be to wrest from monopolies and their state concessions strengthening

the fighting ability of the working class.

Necessity for a patient, friendly explanation. Communists believe it their duty to fight for the overcoming of reformist ideology by which the right-wing dissenters in the labor movement camouflage themselves. But the overcoming of the ideas of reformism is not a simple task. Communists see behind the reformist theories not only error but also a play on the true aspirations of the masses.

Observing a tremendous difference between the conditions of their life and the life of a privileged top level of society, encountering instances of the arbitrariness of police and infringement of the rights of the working man, the masses are spontaneously striving toward a democratic system, toward social equality. But often they do not see practical ways toward a new, truly democratic life. Over many working people hang illusions of bourgeois democracy, particularly strong in the countries of Western Europe and in the U. S. A. Many workers are seeking some easy way to socialism, without the struggle and collision of classes, without a radical break-up of a customary way of life. Ideologists of reformism take advantage of all this and slip in their theories which retard the developement of class consciousness of the working people.

We also have to keep in mind that during recent decades, the social composition of many social-democratic parties has considerably changed. There are fewer and fewer workers in their ranks and more and more people from small-bourgeois strata, white collar workers and bourgeois intellectuals; thus, in the French Socialist Party the workers make up no more than a quarter of membership.

But the main point is that reformist theories enjoy the support of the ruling classes. Bourgeoisie is not frightened by these theories. Often it even readily allows their propaganda; it praises them on the pages of its press, while communists are subjected to badgering and persecutions for their opinions. The ruling classes are not afraid to let ideologists of reformism to hold government positions, while they drive communists from there at the first opportunity. Moreover, in some places, bourgeoisie allows social-democrats to carry out their "socialist" experiments, which do not involve the foundations of its class domination, and in some cases, they even strengthen them, supporting reformist illusions among the masses at the same time.

In order to overcome the reformist ideology, a repetition of our own slogans alone is not enough; methods of patient persuasion and friendly exchange of opinions are needed. A didactical tone, intolerant of any objections, and a supercilious and, moreover, a scornful attitude toward convictions of a social-democratic worker are inadmissible in this work. A debate with socialists should have a character of an actual struggle of opinions, and not of an exchange of name-calling.

While working among the masses of social democratic workers, communists expose the error of reformist theories ("democratic socialism," etc.), contrasting to it a scientific socialism of MARX-LENIN which won world-wide historical victories. By means of open discussions in the press and in conversations with socialist workers, communists may dissipate their anticommunist prejudices and demonstrate that principles of Marxism-Leninism coincide with the vital interests of the working people.

In exposing the real servants of imperialist bourgeoisie, communists are ready to cooperate with any one in the ranks of the social-democratic movement who sincerely strives to end with capitalism and wants to fight for the improvement of the situation of the working people, for peace, democracy, and socialism.

4. A Policy of Democratic Unity

Communist parties are fighting not only for the united labor front; they are striving for a unification of the broader strata of the people. The labor unity should serve as a foundation for the unity of a broad democratic movement.

Never in the past were there such favorable prerequisites for the joint actions of the working class with the most varied strata of the population. In the present state of the general crisis of capitalism, as has been pointed out in Chapter 10, a conflict between a narrow group of monopolies and the remaining classes and strata of the population is becoming increasingly more revealed side by side with the basic class antagonism between labor and capital. The further goes the oppression by monopoly capital and a subjection of the state to it, the broader and more diversified are the forces which it turns against itself. Monopoly capital is carrying out an attack against the interests not only of workers and peasants but also against interests of the middle strata of the population and even against certain sections of bourgeoisie. Not only the direct interests of all these strata but likewise the most important national interests are under this threat. Republicans, patriots, pacifists - all those who remain true to the traditions of democracy and national freedom - experience serious concern in connection with the growing tendencies toward a reactionary dictatorship of monopolies and the growth of danger of a new war.

Thus, a common interest is revealed among different social strata which may serve as an objective foundation for their joint actions against the dominance of monopoly capital. At the same time, the situation often develops in such a way that social forces which in the past preferred to act separately, find themselves facing an objective necessity for uniting for the defense of common interests of the people.

A Marxist-Leninist party of the working class is called upon to be a vanguard of such democratic unity. As standard-bearers of the struggle for peace and democracy, communist parties in capitalist countries are striving to march in the front ranks of the common national front against reactionary policy of monopoly capital and imperialism.

A policy of communist parties directed toward the establishment of the unity of actions and collaboration with all the national and democratic forces is a policy of democratic unity; democratic, because unification of all the strata of the people takes place, first of all, around the democratic demands and slogans. This, of course, does not mean that a foundation for a broad unity of the people disappears after the solution of democratic problems. As we have already seen, socialist reforming of society in our era corresponds to the vital interests of increasingly broader strata of the population. Therefore, a policy of democratic unity also has as its purpose the drawing of these strata into a solution of socialist problems. However, the road toward this lies through organization of the struggle of the masses for the general democratic demands and material interests of the working people.

During the postwar period, a broad experience of joint action by various strata of the population on the platform of democratic demand has been accumulated. The most vivid example is a universal movement in defense of peace. International drive for the ban of atomic bombs, for the termination of tests of thermonuclear weapons, is a clear testimony to the fact that achievement of cooperation between the most varied social trends and organizations, including those remote from communism, is entirely possible.

In colonial and dependent countries, communists fight for the establishment of a broad anti-imperialist and antifeudal front.

TRANSLATION FROM RUSSIAN

FOUNDATIONS OF MARXISM-LENINISM

Chapter 14 (continued)

What is required of the workers' party. When objective conditions for a unification of various strata of the population against the oppression of monopolies are being developed, the emphasis is placed on the activities of the revolutionary party of the working class itself, on its skill in finding a common language with different political and social organizations and movements. The fighting and organizational unity of the people's forces cannot be developed spontaneously, by itself.

We have to take into consideration that it is a very complicated matter to establish cooperation between heterogeneous social forces many of which are remote from communism and others directly infected with anticommunism. Here we come across intrigues of reaction, the vacillation of bourgeois and small-bourgeois groups, their attempts to subordinate the entire movement exclusively to their own interests.

Experience of different countries demonstrated that the following factors have the highest significance for the achievement of unity of actions of the democratic forces:

A strong and united labor movement is the chief guarantee of achieving of such a unity of actions. Not all who fight today for peace and democracy are allies of the working class in the exact meaning of the word. They take part in the struggle for peace and democracy but, when it is a matter of permanent collaboration with the communists, they reveal vacillation and easily succumb to the influence of official propaganda.

In order to establish the unity of actions with this sort of social forces, propaganda and agitation alone are not enough. First of all, it is necessary that the labor movement itself would be strong and organized, that it would inspire all the national and democratic strata with the faith in the ultimate victory of the people. Secondly, the working class can win the confidence and support of other classes and strata only when it will defend their legitimate and just interests as its own.

The party of the working class has many ways of

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doing this. It is carrying on the struggle in parliament for reforms and concessions in favor of peasants, handicraftsmen, artisans, and middle business men. It attentively studies the demands brought out by peasant, radical, republican and other democratic parties and supports in every possible way those in line with the interests of the working people. The party supports proposals of any peasant, democratic, or pacifist leader if they are in harmony with the expectations of the working masses and are directed toward improvement of their situation.

The strengthening of fraternal relations with all the working people, the winning among them of a reputation of the most consistent and vigorous defender of their interests - here is a guarantee of victory of the working class in the struggle against the domination of reactionary bourgeoisie.

Correct choice of a platform for collaboration. The revolutionary party of the working class cannot demand from its potential allies that they collaborate with it solely on its own conditions. Without for a moment losing from view specific interests and needs of the working class and striving for their satisfaction in every way, the party at the same time is striving to formulate the common demands acceptable to its potential allies. Inasmuch as other social forces are likewise interested in the struggle against the oppression of monopolies, it is comparatively easy to discover common demands. But even in this case, as experience shows, it is impossible to reach an agreement at once on all the points. The platform for unity of actions is worked out gradually, beginning with particular problems. This permits the collaborating parties to become mutually convinced of the sincerity of intentions and to develop trust in each other. And the trust is a highly indispensable element, without which no united front can be strong.

A skill to make compromises and to make necessary concessions is an important condition for a labor party wishing to organize the cooperation of heterogeneous class forces. V. I. LENIN considered such a skill an absolute necessity for a class-conscious vanguard of the working class. Without this, said he, it is impossible to conclude an alliance either with the individual groups of working people, or with the middle strata inevitably showing vacillation and inconsistency. "Those who had not understood

this," wrote LENIN, "had not understood one iota of Marxism and of the modern scientific socialism generally."

Not retreating from its principles ensuing from Marxist ideology, the revolutionary party of the working class at the same time displays flexibility and takes into consideration legitimate interests of other social and political forces united in a bloc. It is important, however, taught LENIN, that compromises and concessions would lead not toward the lowering, but toward raising of the general level of class-consciousness of the advanced part of the working class and of its ability to fight and win.

How does it look in actual fact? For instance, one of the most important principles of socialism, bound with the very essence of the new social system replacing capitalism, proclaims: a private capitalist industry should be nationalized. In practice, this principle may be, however, realized by various methods. Although a victorious working class has a legitimate right to take away from capitalists their property gained by exploitation, valuing the services of certain bourgeois strata, who participated in the antimonopoly struggle, it may make concessions to them. After victory of the revolution, it may preserve the property of middle bourgeoisie in its hands. A people's state can even render aid to it (through credits, raw materials, tax privileges, or by providing a guaranteed market). But when, in the future, a question will arise on a completion of nationalization in the entire national economy, the State may carry it out peacefully, gradually, taking into consideration legitimate interests of the owners; for example, by means of redemption, i.e., by providing a certain compensation for them.

This example confirms once more that communists act sincerely when coming out with a proposal on collaboration. They do not give unrealistic promises but bring out in the program of a united front only that which the working class can actually guarantee to its allies after the victory. Their concessions and compromises have a deep foundation and agree with the way communists visualize to themselves a possibility of building of socialism in collaboration with their allies in the democratic front. Such a communist line is very important to the success of a policy of democratic unity.

In showing political flexibility, communist parties put up at the same tive a vigorous opposition to revisionist

elements who are ready to make unprincipled deals, a result of which could be a dissolution of communist parties in the general national movements, a loss by them of their independence and finally, the weakening of the unity of democratic forces.

On reaching political agreement, the working party inevitably strives to consolidate it organizationally. A united front becomes a powerful force only in case when the allies do not limit themselves to the declaration of community of aims but necessarily agree on creation of a united organization (in the form of a Home Front, Front of National-Democratic Unity, etc.) and on mutual actions within the framework of this organization. This means a formation of a coordinating organ, where a united policy is worked out jointly, as well as a firm understanding that collaborating sides submit to jointly adopted resolutions. All this, of course, does not mean the abolition of organizational and political independence of the parties and movements belonging to the united front.

The vanguard role of a Marxist party of the working class in the democratic bloc is achieved by it as a result of its active and selfless struggle, of the rightness of its political line, its skill in correctly evaluating a situation every time and bringing out slogans instantly adopted by the masses. In short, the guiding influence of the workers' party is a result of its own political activity and not of some pressure or diktats. When the party is carrying out the right policy, when the entire people is listening to its voice and its authority grows by the hour, other political parties and groups themselves recognize its guiding influence and hand over to it the decisive voice in the working out of a policy of a united front.

The experience of people's democracies demonstrated that victory of the democratic bloc does not exclude the attempts by the right wing of bourgeois parties to push the workers' party away from leadership, so as to hinder the carrying out of urgent social reforms. But the same experience shows that, after winning sympathy and support of the basic mass of membership of bourgeois-democratic parties, a Marxist workers' party succeeds in isolating their right-wing leaders, in consolidating the unity of the democratic bloc and beginning the movement along the road of radical social reforms.

The leading role of a Marxist party in a democratic

bloc does not mean at all that it can dictate and command. Even when it has a majority, it avoids forcing through its decisions, but strives for their unanimous adoption through explanation and persuasion. If the party used methods of dictatorship, without considering legitimate interests of its allies, it would run the risk of losing them, finding itself alone and thus failing to reach the goals of the democratic bloc. Communists are interested not in making a temporary use of their partners in the democratic bloc and then discarding them, as reactionary propaganda insists. On the contrary, they wish to continue a further marching together, toward a true solution of all the democratic problems, toward the best satisfaction of the just demands of the broadest strata of the people, which is possible only under socialism. A method of persuasion is the principal method of party work within the bloc, which, however, does not eliminate the right to criticize the vacillations and inconsistencies of the partners, as well as to carry on a decisive struggle against the open enemies of unity, active in their ranks.

At the same time, communists do not make a secret of the fact that not all the demands of small-bourgeois strata of the population are supported by them. The working class may have common interests with these strata, but it also has conflicts. Communist parties take this into consideration in advance and when necessary they firmly state their position with regard to particular demands unacceptable to the working class. Unity is achieved not through endless concessions but through a resolute support of the just demands of the allies of the working class and, at the same time, by the struggle against vacillation of a certain part of them, dangerous to the common goals of the people's united front.

The carrying out of a policy of the democratic unity is impossible without a <u>decisive struggle against sectarianism and right-wing opportunism</u>. In a period of establishment of a broad front, a particular danger is represented by the left-wing sectarian elements, for through their unwillingness to consider the legitimate interests of other strata of the population, they alienate potential allies from the working class. But when a united front becomes fact, right-wing opportunism may become a particular danger, since it completely surrenders to the demands of bourgeois allies, weakens the independent position of the revolutionary party of the working class, and slides down to positions of bourgeois nationalism.

Difficulties encountered in the carrying out of a policy of the democratic unity are particularly great in the countries of Western Europe, where anticommunist prejudices are still strong, where the working class has to deal with such an experienced and cunning enemy as West European bourgeoisie. Communists are opposed in these countries by numerous and resourceful bourgeois parties experienced in deceiving the masses by the most "democratic" and "peace - loving" phrases. Nevertheless, communist parties are stubbornly working on the forging of a powerful national democratic front against capitalist monopolies, which will bar the road to fascism and war and will open the road to a further social progress.

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(Translator's Note: This is the end of Chapter 14, pages 376 through 402, of the original; the following is a translation of pages 481 - 484 of the original.)

3. Unification of the Democratic Forces is the Most Important Condition for Victory over Reaction and Fascism.

Contrary to all the wishes and calculations of reaction, its attempts to limit or liquidate democracy brought to life powerful opposing forces. It is precisely because the infringement on democracy involves interests of the most diverse classes and strata of the population, an objective possibility appears for an establishment in capitalist countries of a broad front of the struggle for democracy.

The broadening of the social base of the democratic movement. The most important reserve for the growth of the democratic movement is a small bourgeoisie. In noting the duality of position of the small bourgeoisie, V. I. LENIN wrote: "Marxism teaches us that small-bourgeois masses will inevitably suffer from antidemocratic privileges as long as capitalism exists....suffer from economic oppression."

Monopoly capital strangles and ruins small bourgeoisie in the city as well as in the country, generating in it a feeling of bitterness and protest. But indignation of a small