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Special Report for the President

(EYES ONLY - VERY SENSITIVE)

by

Tom Charles Huston

FOREIGN COMMUNIST SUPPORT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY  
PROTEST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

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E.O. 12958, as amended, Sect 3.5

NLN 06-08/1 per 1.4(c); 3.3(b)(1) Gr. 2/28/2008

By KB NARA, Date 11/10/2008

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FOREIGN COMMUNIST SUPPORT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY  
PROTEST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

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INTRODUCTION

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The President's initial inquiry was limited to the question, Does the United States Government have iron-clad proof that foreign Communist powers are helping to finance campus disorders in this country? The answer to that question is deceptively simple: No, we do not have "iron-clad" proof. However, we do have substantial proof that foreign Communists are providing some funds to some organizations for the purpose of fostering domestic disorder, not only on the campus, but in the larger community as well.

The magnitude of the threat of revolutionary violence in America cannot accurately be measured by the degree of financial support revolutionary organizations are receiving from abroad. Other weapons in the revolutionary arsenal are as powerful as money; for example, the "thoughts" of Mao Tse-tung are mental missiles launched against the minds of thousands of young Americans and can prove as fatal as bullets. Communist revolution begins in the mind, not in the stomach; it is among the best educated that the spark of Communist revolution is ignited, and it should not be surprising that the leadership of the New Left and the black extremist movement are well-educated, middle-class "intellectuals."

We have overwhelming evidence that the revolutionary protest movement in this country is receiving myriad types of support from foreign Communists. We have evidence of efforts to encourage violence, to recruit espionage agents, to coordinate international opposition to U.S. foreign policy objectives, to provide guerrilla training to U.S. nationals, to encourage desertions from the U.S. Armed Forces, and to generally encourage and support revolutionary action in the United States. The evidence we have available supports, I believe, the inference that many young Americans do not realize the extent to which they are being used to further the objectives of international Communism and, perhaps, the inference that most Americans do not realize the extent to which the so-called "protest movement" in this country is influenced by, and susceptible to the control of, foreign Communist powers.

Although revolutionary violence in America is one of the most pressing domestic problems facing the nation, this is the first time that an effort has been made to prepare a comprehensive inter-agency, all-source intelligence estimate of support being rendered to American revolutionary organizations by foreign Communists. For that reason, I have deliberately prepared a detailed analysis of the evidence presently available on the subject. I believe that the information contained in this report is sufficiently important to justify the President's attention. However, since it is so lengthy, the President may prefer to read only the most significant portions.

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I have prepared a summary of findings and recommendations which will give the President a brief resume of the most significant findings. In addition to this summary, I would recommend that the President also read the following sections:

- I.A - Influence of the Communist Party, USA, at page 5.
- I.B - Influence of the Progressive Labor Party, at page 7.
- II.E. - Other Chinese Communist Support Activities, at page 18.
- II.H. - Other Cuban Support Activities, at page 24.
- III. - Communist Financial Support of U.S. Revolutionary Organizations, at page 28.
- IV. - Contacts Between Leaders of the Revolutionary Protest Movement and Representatives of Foreign Communist Groups, at page 34.
- V. - Observations and Conclusions, at page 36.

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SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

\* \* \* \* \*

I. Findings

(1) The Communist Party, USA has attempted to penetrate and take control of New Left and black militant groups, but thus far has been unsuccessful.

(2) The Progressive Labor Party (the Chinese Communist party in the U.S.) has successfully penetrated the Students for a Democratic Society and now controls a significant number of its local chapters. It had a majority of the delegates at the SDS national convention held in June, and as a result of its attempt to seize control, succeeded in splitting the organizations.

(3) Progressive Labor has close ties with Peking and has received substantial financial support from the Chinese in the last two years. During the period 1963-1965, the party also received financial support from Cuba.

(4) The Socialist Workers Party (a Trotskyite organization) has played a major role in organizing antiwar activities throughout the country and in organizing student disorders at Berkeley.

(5) For a number of years Mao Tse-tung and Fidel Castro have publicly expressed support for the New Left and black extremist movements in this country. In June 1969, Leonid Brezhnev at the international conference of the Communist Parties in Moscow set forth a new Moscow line which suggests a new awareness on the part of the Soviets of the revolutionary potential in the New Left and black extremist movements in this country.

(6) Although the Soviets have not made significant efforts to date to exploit the situation in the U.S., the Chinese and Cubans have. In addition to ~~the~~ support of the Progressive Labor Party, the Chinese have established good contacts with the black extremists. Castro now appears to be placing top priority on encouraging the activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Black Panthers. We have considerable evidence that Castro has promised increased financial support for these groups as well as revolutionary training for its cadres.

(7) There is overwhelming evidence pointing to close cooperation and coordination between the U.S. "peace movement" and the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. As recently as May of this year, U.S. citizens met with officials of North Vietnam and the NLF to consider ways to revitalize the antiwar movement in this country.

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(8) The intelligence community is not bringing to bear upon this problem all the resources presently or potentially available. As a consequence, there are significant gaps in our knowledge of the scope and nature of many important aspects of the relationship between U.S. revolutionary organizations and foreign Communist powers.

(9) There is inadequate coordination within the intelligence community in dealing with this problem and a failure on the part of the community to work jointly to insure that all important targets are fully covered and all resources adequately exploited.

(10) Although the increasing revolutionary violence in this country poses a major threat to our national security, no intelligence collection priorities have been established, no effort has been made to coordinate and analyze the intelligence we currently have available, and no effort has been made to devise realistic and effective countermeasures to head off the clear threat posed by increasing Communist support for, influence over, and likely control of the revolutionary protest movement in this country.

II. Recommendations.

(1) That, the President direct the intelligence community to devise a detailed plan for increasing the collection efforts targeted against the U.S. revolutionary protest movement and its contacts with foreign Communists. Because of the institutional jealousies within the intelligence community, I believe this could best be done if an inter-agency task force were established under the chairmanship of an individual not a member of any of the agencies involved in the study.

(2) That, the President direct that a review be conducted of the resources potentially available government-wide which could be utilized in the formulation of a solution to the problem of increasing revolutionary violence in America.

(3) That, the President direct that a study be made to determine exactly who in the government is presently involved in programs relating to this problem, what those programs are, and how effective they have been. Particular attention should be given to the question of whether diffused responsibility is largely responsible for the government's inability to date to develop countermeasures against the activities of revolutionary organizations in this country.

(4) That, the President consider attaching a high priority to this problem.

(5) That, the President not release the contents of this report without first affording an opportunity for it to be sanitized in order to avoid compromising the sensitive sources of much of the information contained herein.

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I. ROLE OF THE DOMESTIC COMMUNIST LEFT IN THE  
REVOLUTIONARY PROTEST MOVEMENT

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Foreign Communist support of revolutionary protest movements in the United States can be manifested in a number of ways, not the least important of which is the role played by the domestic Communist Left in organizing, supporting, and providing leadership and direction to the revolutionary activity which is underway in this country.

Since the Communist Party, USA is under the domination and control of the Soviet Union, it can be used increasingly as a vehicle to support these movements if the Soviet Union decides this is an appropriate course of action. Similarly, the Progressive Labor Party and other pro-Chinese Communist groups can be utilized by Communist China as a channel for rendering support to protest movements in the United States. And what might be called the "third force" in international Communist circles -- Trotskyism -- is also represented in this country by the Socialist Workers Party which has played a major role in the anti-war protest movement.

The tentacles of influence reach out from the Domestic Communist Left and encompass virtually all of the New Left and Black Power groups.

A. Influence of the Communist Party, USA

Since it was founded in September, 1919, the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) has been unswerving in its allegiance to the Soviet Union. Over the years the Soviets have utilized the CPUSA as a possible channel for Soviet support of the current revolutionary protest movements in this country. All available information derived from investigations by the FBI indicates that while the CPUSA has made overtures to the revolutionary protest groups active today, there has been limited acceptance of the CPUSA by these groups.

In recognition of its lack of support among youthful activists on college campuses, the CPUSA is currently making plans to establish a new youth group directed toward youth in industry. Party leaders, on the other hand, have criticized New Left groups such as the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) as petty bourgeois radicals. Party youth who have attempted to have the CPUSA relate more clearly with such groups have been isolated and silenced. The CPUSA theoretical organ, Political Affairs, in its March and April, 1969, issues, contained a two-part article entitled "the Student Rebellion," which clearly set out CPUSA opposition to the anti-Soviet, anti-CPUSA line of student protest groups.

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Within the past year leaders of the CPUSA in the Midwest met with leaders of SDS to discuss closer cooperation or possible recruitment of these individuals into the party. These overtures were completely rebuffed by the SDS people who stated that while there were no disagreements with CPUSA philosophy, it is most doubtful the CPUSA is relevant today. When it was proposed that there be some form of collectivity between the two groups, the SDS leaders replied that the CPUSA is not involved in SDS collectives because the CPUSA has nothing to contribute.

Subsequently, a leader of the SDS in conversation with leaders of the CP of Illinois stated that the "Establishment" as it exists today must be changed, even if this change must be through force. He added that the "Establishment" must be replaced by a communist government, there has to be a communist party, and there has to be a communist revolution. However, he said that SDS is the only group to organize the youth, thus rejecting the CPUSA as a possible vehicle for bringing about this revolution.

The ideological rigidity of the CPUSA severely limits the options open to the party in their efforts to exert influence upon the New Left. By virtue of its subservience to Moscow, the Party cannot adopt a more flexible ideological approach until authorized to do so by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and although these are indications that Soviet theoreticians now recognize their lack of status in the revolutionary student movement in the United States and the need to become influential in the current ideological struggle in order to orient it to Soviet style communism, it will doubtless be some time before Moscow develops a new line. In the meantime, the CPUSA is likely to be limited to a supporting, rather than a directing, role in the New Left movement.

With regard to the activists in the black extremist groups, the CPUSA is under a severe strain in attempting to develop a program to attract these individuals while at the same time adhering to its pro-Soviet and Marxist-Leninist ideology. The fight within the CPUSA on the way in which to handle the black question is a bitter one and no clear-cut policy has been established. An attempt by black nationalists within the CPUSA to pass a resolution recommending that Negroes arm themselves for self-defense was overwhelmingly defeated at the recent 19th National Convention. In addition, the pro-Maoist stance of the extremist Black Panther Party (BPP) is anathema to the pro-Soviet CPUSA.

CPUSA leaders have stated that the Black Panther Party may be a vehicle to stimulate revolutionary ferment among Negro youth if the Panthers can be taught a true Marxist-Leninist approach. Leaders of the CPUSA in California have been in contact with the BPP and have assisted in the setting up of a defense committee for Panthers who have been arrested.

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However, CPUSA leaders admit that it is not possible to talk to Black Panthers as communists. One CPUSA member was instructed to penetrate the BPP and to try to put over the CPUSA program. He did join, but when he was exposed as a CPUSA member as a result of attempting to advance CPUSA policies, he was expelled from membership in the Panthers.

This does not mean that the CPUSA is not striving to play a more effective role in its relationship with activists of both New Left and black extremist groups. Individual party members do play a role in the demonstrations, activities, and workings of these groups. Party publications trumpet in support of all demonstrations which stir up discord in the United States whether it be economic, social, or against the war in Vietnam. But thus far, the CPUSA has not been able to take control of a single major New Left or black extremist organization. Through its own youth fronts such as the DuBois Clubs, it participates as an active partner in the peace movement and occasionally provides leadership to local campus protest movements, but its role is secondary at this time. And because of the FBI's top-level penetration of the party leadership, I am confident of our ability to keep a close watch upon its activities and to have adequate warning if it becomes increasingly successful in its effort to become the leading force behind the revolutionary protest movement in this country.

B. Influence of the Progressive Labor Party

Recent years have witnessed the formation of a myriad of extremist organizations enunciating the tenets of Communist China and Mao Tse-tung. The majority have been ineffectual paper organizations and not viable operations. However, one group, the Progressive Labor Party (PL), is making significant organizational strides in major American cities and on a number of college campuses.

The Progressive Labor Party was founded in 1962 by extremist elements of the CPUSA who were dissatisfied with CPUSA's "revisionism" and who advocated the following of the Chinese communist line in all areas of policy. It is headed by such devoted revolutionaries as Milton Rosen, one-time Labor Secretary of the New York State Communist Party, who was expelled from the CPUSA for extremist views; and William Epton, who, following his participation in the Harlem race riot of 1964, was found guilty of conspiracy to riot, conspiracy to advocate criminal anarchy, and advocating criminal anarchy.

With headquarters in New York City, PL has established active branches in a number of major metropolitan areas including Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Newark, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and San Francisco. During recent months, it has made a concerted effort to establish PL branches throughout the United States. Spearheading this drive has been Walter Linder, National Director of the Trade Union Commission of PL and an expert on organization. PL is particularly interested in expanding its

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membership on the West Coast as evidenced by the recent assignment of Levi Laub, a member of PL's National Committee, to Los Angeles for that purpose.

PL maintains close contact with pro-Chinese Communist groups abroad and its publications consistently follow the Chinese Communist line. For example, during early 1968 PL issued a pamphlet in which it proclaimed that PL is among the groups which "proudly make common cause with each other and with the Chinese for world revolution" and boasted of its support of the Viet Cong in defeat of our "common enemy, the United States ruling class."

Progressive Labor was assured by the Chinese in 1967 that it is the official Chinese Communist Party in the United States, and we have evidence that the Chinese have made substantial financial contributions to the party.

PL leaders have been in periodic contact with Chinese Communist agencies and have on occasion visited the Chinese mainland. Jacob Rosen and Frederick Jerome, members of the PL National Committee, travelled to mainland China in March of this year.

Of particular significance is PL's stepped-up efforts to extend its influence on college campuses. PL's ability to seize upon situations ripe for violence was revealed by its role with SDS during the Columbia University riots, the turmoil at San Francisco State College, and the student unrest at the University of California at Berkeley.

Progressive Labor is an important factor in the revolutionary movement in the United States not merely because it is the largest and most successful Maoist organization, but also because it is a well disciplined organization with clear objectives and the ability to achieve them. PL decided in 1965 to attempt a take-over of SDS. Its members were instructed to infiltrate local SDS chapters and seize control of them. By the time of the 1967 SDS National Convention, PL controlled enough local SDS chapters that it was able to elect one of its members - National Education Secretary, one of the three national administrative officers of SDS.

In December, 1968, 800 individuals attended a stormy seven-day meeting of the SDS National Council at Ann Arbor, Michigan. The meeting was dominated by a prolonged struggle, which included physical altercations, between the SDS regulars headed by Mike Klonsky (who considers himself a revolutionary communist -- small "c") and SDS members who were also members of PL.

The PL group came to the National Council meeting prepared for a power play to gain control of SDS even though national officers would not be elected at the meeting. The struggle between the PL members and the

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SDS regulars was fought over two main issues -- participation in demonstrations in Washington during the Presidential inauguration and the future composition of SDS. The fact that each of the opposing sides won one issue and lost the other is a fairly accurate measurement of their relative strength in SDS at that time.

The struggle between PL and the SDS regulars continued at a National Council meeting attended by more than 1,000 individuals held in Austin, Texas, from March 28 through 30, 1969. At this meeting, one of the major topics of discussion was the form of Marxist revolutionary activity SDS would follow.

PL, supported by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and CPUSA members of SDS, advocated a student-worker alliance, i.e., a uniting of students on campuses and workers in industry for revolutionary purposes. Following Marxist teachings, PL views the "working class" (proletariat) as the vehicle whereby the revolution will be brought about. Hence, in PL eyes, SDS should aggressively endeavor to link the campus with the industrial workers.

The CPUSA and the SWP (through its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance) also advocate the worker-student alliance. Though the three Old Left parties are in violent dispute relative to their own ideological loyalties, being respectively pro-Peking, pro-Moscow, and Trotskyite, they mutually agree on the necessity for SDS to follow the historic Marxist-Leninist concept of achieving revolution through the class struggle based on the proletariat.

The question of a worker-student alliance was not resolved at the National Council meeting, and when the National Convention of SDS convened in Chicago last month, the battle was resumed. Although the SDS regulars had ample warning of the intentions of PL, apparently they did not take the threat seriously. However, soon after the convention opened, it became obvious that for the first time PL had a majority. Confronted with the inevitability of a PL takeover, the SDS regulars walked out of the convention, keeping control of the national office, membership records and bank account -- thus maintaining effective control of the national organization.

This walkout apparently caught PL by surprise, and while they had a clear majority of delegates and elected their own slate of national officers, they found themselves in effective control of only their own faction. They had split SDS when they had planned to take it over. Only time will tell whether they achieved more than a Pyrrhic victory.

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The importance of their effort, however, lies in the example which it offers of what well organized, disciplined cadre can do within the ranks of a loosely organized, ideologically unstructured "revolutionary" organization. If the SDS regulars learned anything at all at the convention, it was that disciplined leadership is necessary to conduct a revolution as well as to prevent a palace coup.

The sophistication of the PL leadership stands in marked contrast to that of most SDS members. The PL people have no idealistic hang-ups. They are professional revolutionaries, and they go about their work in a business like manner. For example, PL was very active in the SDS disruptions at Harvard. They were in the vanguard of those who seized the Administration building, but when they realized that the police were going to move in and arrest the protestors, they quietly left the building, conveniently leaving the more naive students to be arrested and to qualify as revolutionary martyrs.

The Progressive Labor Party is a dedicated Maoist revolutionary organization which is increasingly effective. It plays a far more important role within the revolutionary protest movement than the CPUSA or any of the other Marxist-Leninist groups. It is flexible in its tactics, if not in its ideology; and although it has suffered a setback in its efforts to seize national control of SDS, the setback is likely to be only temporary. Most of the disruptive activity on the campuses is the result of the programs of local SDS chapters, and at this time PL controls about half of them, particularly on the East and West coasts. PL operates from a powerful grassroots base, and Peking should have every reason to believe that its support of the party is paying dividends.

C. Influence of the Socialist Workers Party

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), founded in 1938, is a militant revolutionary group based on the theories of Marx, Engels, and Lenin as interpreted by Leon Trotsky rather than Joseph Stalin.

In addition to its avowed aim to eventually overthrow our form of government, the SWP's immediate objective is to hold together the coalition of antiwar groups prevalent in the country today. It also seeks public acceptability by running candidates for political office on local, state and national levels. SWP candidates for President and Vice President were successful in having their names placed on some 19 state ballots during the 1968 elections. They also traveled to South Vietnam where they engaged in discussions with U.S. servicemen.

The Trotskyite Fourth International (FI), self-styled as the World Party of the Socialist Revolution, is headquartered in Paris and claims to be fighting for the realization of Leon Trotsky's ideas. The SWP was forced by the limitations of the Voorhis Act of 1940 to withdraw its official affiliation with the FI; however the SWP maintains "fraternal ties" with FI and continually has "observers" in attendance at its international meetings.

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The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the SWP youth affiliate, was originally formed in 1957 by former members of socialist and communist youth organizations. One of its primary purposes is to recruit youth into the socialist camp who ultimately will become members of the SWP. The entire National Executive Committee of the YSA is composed of individuals who are also members of the SWP. Most of the YSA chapters are located on or near college campuses.

In addition to acting as a recruiting mechanism for ultimate SWP membership, the YSA's current objective is to organize, dominate, control and perpetuate the antiwar movement in the country. The YSA, together with the SWP, credit themselves with organizing a number of massive antiwar demonstrations.

The YSA National Convention held in Chicago from November 28 to December 1, 1968, was attended by 791 registered individuals, including 405 current active members representing 29 states and 128 cities. Guests came from Canada, Mexico, France, and Germany. During the four days of the convention, the YSA recruited approximately 60 new members.

Because the YSA is a youth group consisting in the main of college students, most of its activities take place on or near college campuses. Its members have participated in many of the campus disorders which have recently swept the country. For the past several years, Peter Caejo, SWP National Committee member and former national officer of the YSA, has been the dominant leader of the campus disorders and police confrontations on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley.

After the French student uprising in the Spring of 1968, a leader of the SWP stated that for years the SWP has afforded financial and theoretical assistance and material to maintain the Trotskyist cadre in France and that this assistance was paying off.

In 1968, a leader of the SWP noted that the role of the student youth in France was a new element injected into the spring uprising in that country and that the young militants of the Trotskyite Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire played a key role in spite of its small force. He related that the role that American youth will play in the building of the American revolution must be similar.

In December of 1968, fourteen YSA and/or SWP members traveled to Cuba as guests of the Cuban Government to join in the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. Since returning from their one-month stay in Cuba, these individuals have participated in numerous lectures and discussions on college campuses throughout the United States supporting Fidel Castro's revolutionary views.

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Unlike the CPUSA and the Progressive Labor Party, the Socialist Workers Party does not have an ideological "motherland" abroad to which it can look for support. Although the SWP leaders are ardent admirers of Castro Cuba, the support which they receive from Havana is limited by virtue of Castro's adherence to a generally pro-Moscow line. The Trotskyites have been engaged in a major ideological quarrel with Moscow since the split between Stalin and Trotsky, and the SWP, as a Trotskyite party, does not have the active support of a single Communist country. However, it maintains close contacts with revolutionary groups throughout the world, particularly in Western Europe. It has particularly good contacts with the young revolutionary movements in France and West Germany. Although not subject to control by a foreign power or likely to receive substantial support from a Communist government, it is nevertheless a dedicated and effective revolutionary communist organization that occupies a central role in the nation-wide antiwar protest movement.

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II. COMMUNIST BLOC INFLUENCE IN THE REVOLUTIONARY PROTEST MOVEMENT

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A. Soviet Ideological Attitude toward the U.S. Protest Movement.

Soviet attitudes toward the revolutionary protest movement in this country in the future will probably be guided by the June 17, 1969, declaration of the conference of Communist parties which sets forth the U.S. as the main enemy, and views favorably the opposition of radical U.S. youth and students to the Vietnam war, the draft, racism, and "monopoly control of the universities." The declaration expresses strong support for "the struggle of the Negro population of the U.S. for their rights," and urges Communist parties to devote considerable attention to work among students.

Until the fall of 1968 when the Soviets tried to formulate a more positive approach to the youth movement, Soviet propaganda sought to explain all U.S. protest and unrest in classical Communist terms, and avoided giving publicity to extremist groups. The Soviets were noticeably concerned over the threat of contagion from undisciplined Western youth movements and over the disruptive impact of such groups on orthodox Communist parties.

Hitherto, the Soviets have had a shifting and ambivalent attitude toward all student protest activities in the West, including the United States.

On the one hand, commentators have applauded student protest activity as proof of the weaknesses and contradictions of capitalist society and as a natural prelude to the general revolution which will destroy that society. On the other hand, they have decried the youths' disregard of Soviet interests and direction and have warned that the youth will be really effective only when they submit to the discipline of the workers' movement and the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Soviet discussion of foreign youth tends to lump United States and Western European youth together as motivated by similar concerns and influenced by similar ideologies. Thus, the philosopher Herbert Marcuse, conveniently of German birth and American residence, is seen as the spiritual father of the New Left in both the U.S. and Western Europe.

The student role in large-scale disturbances in Europe in early 1968, especially in the events of May in Paris, forced the issue in Moscow of what policy to adopt toward the movement beyond the general sympathy that had always been expressed on the subject of the alienation of youth in

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the West. The response came in the form of an article in Pravda in May 1968 by commentator Yury Zhukov; who gave a detailed critique of Marcuse's theories and castigated his young followers, including Cohn-Bendit, as "werewolves." Foreign policy considerations, especially the interest of the French Communist party, seem to have largely determined this negative reaction.

Soviet officials, however, were clearly surprised and troubled by the effectiveness of the student revolt and the prospect it would usurp the revolutionary role in the West from the Communist parties. The Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, A.M. Rumyantsev, admitted in September 1968 that "the latest events in France ... proved to be a surprise in many ways for the Soviet scientific workers." A professor wrote in the Soviet press in November 1968 that "many Communist parties admit they underestimated the potentialities of the student movement."

Since the fall of 1968, press articles have tried to formulate a more positive approach to the youth movements of the West. They developed many of the themes expressed by the physicist Petr Kapitsa to the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences in February 1969 and by Brezhnev in June 1969. While still condemning Marcuse's theories and the anarchistic elements of the students' activities, commentators have seen the "ideological fog in students' heads" as natural and understandable. More important in the commentator's eyes was youth's rejection of capitalist society. Like Kapitsa and Brezhnev, they found that ideological and spiritual disaffection were more important causes of student protest than material conditions. The commentators still maintained, however, that the potential of the young activists could only be realized when they accepted the guidance of the workers' movement and Marxist-Leninist teachings, thereby implying the current independence of the students from Soviet influence.

A Radio Moscow broadcast beamed to Yugoslavia on June 23, 1969 assailed Marcuse and his concept that youth, not the workers, are the motive force of revolution. In a rare Soviet mention of the SDS, it noted that "some" members of this organization have expressed dissatisfaction with Marcuse's view and favor an alliance with the working class -- "a more mighty revolutionary force in capitalist society."

Kapitsa's departure from other writers on the subject is his explicit criticism of Soviet ideologists for their isolation from foreign revolutionary movements and the suggestion that they could fall behind progressive thought in the West. Here Kapitsa is expressing the fears of liberals in the Soviet Union that the dogmatic stance of the present regime is isolating their country from progressive movements in the rest of the world. A similar spirit marks the essay by Kapitsa's fellow physicist Andrey Sakharov, which appeared in the West in July 1968.

The difficulty for the regime is that the attempt to reconcile the student movement in the U.S. and Soviet ideology may lead to modification

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of the latter. An example is found in the February 1969 issue of the Soviet journal, World Economy and International Relations, which takes the most positive approach yet to youthful revolutionaries in the West. While it speaks of the necessity of their joining ranks with the workers' movement, it notes that the spiritual issues the students are raising are drawing the workers away from their narrow economic concern and are helping to create the "socio-psychological prerequisites" for the revolutionary struggle. This attribution of an almost leading role to the students remains an isolated one, however, and Brezhnev's pronouncement stands as the official analysis.

Leonid Brezhnev's speech to the international Communist conference on June 7, 1969, offers an authoritative statement on the subject. The rising generation in the capitalist countries is in "revolutionary ferment," Brezhnev declared in explaining the "considerable attention" Communist parties are now devoting to work with the young people. He saw the young aroused by opposition to "imperialist wars," and "the militarization of bourgeois society." The negative aspects of the activities of the young, according to Brezhnev, are their spontaneity and "immature forms" and at times their exploitation by anti-Communist elements and "imperialist agents." Nevertheless, he predicted that the young activists, once they have mastered the theory of scientific socialism and gained more experience, "will do great things."

The mere fact that Brezhnev felt compelled to address himself to the subject of student protest in the West indicates the importance currently assigned by the Soviet leadership to exploiting student unrest in the United States and Europe. While Brezhnev's speech did not represent a substantial liberalization of Soviet ideological approach to the revolutionary student movement in the West, it did mark a significant step in that direction. The Soviets now concede the revolutionary potential inherent in the student movement and are searching for ways to exploit it. Moscow showed some signs of a new flexibility which will certainly be reflected in the approach of the CPUSA, and it is possible that after further consideration more effort will be made by the Soviets to devise an acceptable approach to the young revolutionaries which will enable the Communist party to play the leading role it so obviously seeks.

B. Role of Soviet Bloc Intelligence.

Undoubtedly, as the number one target of Communist intelligence agencies throughout the world, the United States is faced with the reality of skilled Communist agents acting against the interests of our nation. For years the Communist bloc of nations have had diplomatic, official and quasi-official representatives stationed in their establishments in this country.

Currently these establishments exist in New York City, Washington, Pittsburgh, and Chicago with a total complement of over 1,000 Communist

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nationals and about 1,400 dependents. FBI investigations have disclosed there are over 350 known or highly suspected intelligence officers or agents among them, of whom about 220 are Soviet nationals.

In addition to this open of "legal" channel of intelligence operations, the Communist bloc nations utilize highly clandestine "illegal" networks which have no observable contact with the Communist official establishments. The members of these networks who are sent here from abroad with fraudulent documents and fictitious cover stories perform intelligence collection tasks as do the Communist intelligence agents operating under diplomatic or official cover.

A new component of the Chief, Intelligence Directorate of the Soviet General Staff (GRU) was formed in 1968 to oversee the collection of information on insurgent and dissident groups worldwide. Although this represents a significant upgrading of GRU interest in such activity, CIA believes that there is no evidence of any such GRU efforts targeted at the United States. This GRU component is believed to concentrate instead on the less developed areas of the world. Information available on the operations of the Soviet Committee on State Security (KGB), although not complete, shows no involvement with U.S. revolutionary protest organizations.

The FBI also believes that in spite of the extensive efforts of Communist bloc intelligence operations to penetrate and subvert the United States, there is little evidence that these intelligence-gathering services are acting as channels for Communist support of the revolutionary protest movement.

C. Chinese Ideological Attitude toward the U.S. Protest Movement.

Through the broadcasts of Radio Peking in English and the distribution in the United States of the Peking Review and other English-language publications, Communist China has provided a measure of propaganda support and ideological guidance to U.S. radical movements. Peking does not, however, specifically tailor this propaganda for a U.S. audience -- it is part of a monolithic effort targeted at audiences world-wide. The propaganda is couched in doctrinaire terms, concerned generally with students, youth, and black radicals. Attention to anti-Vietnam war activities, as to all aspects of the war, is slight. The ideological guidance, for those disposed to pay heed, is made available through the publication and rebroad-casting in English of Mao's "works," and through the innumerable rehashes of his "thought."

Peking's exploitation of American student unrest, however, indicates that the Chinese view the subject as a target of opportunity through which they can discredit the U.S. image world-wide. Their propaganda portrays

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student activities as an example of the "unending troubles which have brought the U.S. to the verge of collapse" and "progressive forces struggling against the capitalist system." Lin Piao has stated that, "We firmly support the proletariat, the students and youth and masses of the Black People of the United States in their just struggle against the U.S. ruling clique."

Chinese Communist propaganda seldom refers to individual U.S. groups, the single notable exception being the Progressive Labor Party, several articles and statements of which have been publicized by NCNA this year. Apart from the general objective of simply blackening the U.S., the fact that some of these students are self-styled "Maoists" probably increases Peking's incentive to lend verbal support to such "progressive elements."

Particular attention has been paid to the militant Black movement. In a very widely publicized statement on April 16, 1968, "in support of the Afro-American struggle against violence," Mao Tse-tung declared that the assassination of Dr. King, "an exponent of nonviolence," has taught the U.S. Blacks "a profound lesson." The nature of the "lesson" was not spelled out by Mao, but lesser, routine Chinese commentators expounded the view that Dr. King's death established the bankruptcy of his philosophy of nonviolence and showed the Black masses and all "American revolutionary people" that they must meet "counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence."

During the U.S. civil disorders in the summer of 1967, a series of People's Daily articles had applauded statements by militant Black spokesmen and branded Dr. King a "reactionary lackey" who preaches "the humbug of nonviolence." People's Daily predicted that the "Afro-American masses" together with "oppressed strata" of the white population will isolate and besiege the "handful of reactionaries who rule the country."

The April 1968 statement by Mao, along with his previous formal statement on U.S. racial discrimination on August 8, 1963, constitute the core of Peking's propaganda on the "Afro-American struggle." The anniversaries of their issuance are observed through renewed publicity for the original statements, coupled with elucidations and updating of the textual content. The anniversary propaganda since 1965 has stressed the thesis that the Afro-Americans' "main form of struggle" currently is "armed struggle against police violence." At the same time, Peking has expressed its aversion to separatist trends, repeatedly stressing a community of interest between Black and White workers in opposition to the capitalist system.

It is easy to see from the stated ideological position of the Chinese why revolutionary youth organizations in this country, Black and White alike, find it so easy to identify with Chinese Communism. The

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Chinese are ideologically flexible on the questions of immediate concern to the youthful revolutionaries; in this country, and the Chinese attitude toward the role of the students is clearly more sympathetic than that expressed by the Soviets.

For several years, the NCNA has been forwarding large quantities of anti-United States propaganda material to Negro publications and pro-Chinese Communist groups in the United States. Information was received in May, 1968, which disclosed that the NCNA had commenced circulating photographs in this country depicting racial riots, arsonist activity, and other civil disorders participated in by the American Negro.

The FBI received information on May 3, 1968, revealing that a news release had been sent from China Features in Peking to the Black Organization of Students at Rutgers University in Newark. The news release contained a statement by Mao Tse-tung in which mention was made of support of the Afro-American struggle against violent repression.

The Black Panthers make widespread use of the "Red Book" (The Quotations of Mao Tse-tung) in instructing its members, with sections of it being incorporated into the Panther's "Political Education Kit."

Chinese Communist propaganda is widely circulated in New Left and Black Power circles and the "thoughts" of Mao Tse-tung constitute the heart of the revolutionary ideology of many of these groups. Chinese influence in the revolutionary protest movement in the United States is direct and significant; the Chinese are well ahead of the Soviets in this regard.

D. Role of the Chinese Intelligence Service

Communist China, while having no diplomatic or official establishments in the United States, is posing an intelligence threat constantly through individuals residing in or visiting this country. Various residents or citizens of our nation who have Chinese origins or backgrounds have come to occupy prominent or significant positions in the fields of science, education, industry, defense and government. Some of these individuals in the past have acted in a manner hostile to our national interests, apparently motivated by fear or sympathy with the Communist regime on mainland China. However, we have no evidence of Chinese intelligence operations directed toward the revolutionary protest movement in the United States.

E. Other Chinese Communist Support Activities

In 1966, the Black militant Robert Franklin Williams moved to Peking from Havana where he had been granted asylum in 1961 and had been helped in setting up "Radio Free Dixie." Williams has been supported in Peking

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by the Mao regime and has been aided in the production of a Black militant periodical, The Crusader. The latter is distributed by mail to recipients in a number of countries including the U.S. The May 1968 issue of The Crusader was distributed together with a special booklet prepared in Communist China a few days after the assassination of Martin Luther King in April 1968. The booklet refers to the killing of King, cites the Black struggle in the U.S. as part of the world struggle against the "Yankee imperialists," and urges all people to unite and eliminate the U.S. capitalist system. The early printing of the booklet showed a fast reaction capability by the Peking regime. The booklet was prepared in English and Spanish. The Spanish copies were distributed in Latin America via the Peoples Party in Panama.

Williams, who is the head of the Republic of New Africa (RNA), a Black militant American organization, visited Tanzania, the Government of which is friendly with Peking, from June to September 1968 and again in May 1969.

In June, 1968, three RNA leaders, including Milton Henry and his brother, Richard, visited Africa to determine what kind of assistance RNA could obtain from Tanzania and what type of assistance they could render Tanzania in return. Prior to their visit it was believed that hundreds of acres had been set aside in Tanzania for the RNA to set up a commune and that Red China had land-clearing equipment and farm machinery to be utilized on this property.

After their visit they indicated that the President of Tanzania would make some agreements with Williams concerning commitments and foreign aid to the RNA; however, these commitments would not be made public. The Henrys stated that as a contribution and to show good faith, RNA would obtain medicine and books and send them to Tanzania. In addition, the RNA would assist in organizing the United Liberation Front in Africa which would attempt to unite all black African nations.

Richard Henry has indicated that he wants to send Negro militants to Tanzania to establish a cadre for the proposed RNA commune. The purpose of this cadre will be to begin training blacks of the African continent in guerrilla warfare.

In October of 1968 a group of American Negroes were in Dar es Salaam where they were allegedly recruiting an army to eventually fight against the United States and take over RNA's rightful title to portions of the U.S. These troops allegedly would be equipped with Chinese weapons. Richard Henry and Williams are actively recruiting for this army, and 17 American Negroes are reportedly now active in the affairs of RNA in Tanzania.

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In September, 1968, Richard Henry discussed the negotiations to establish a Chinese Consulate in Quebec. If it is established, Henry stated, RNA will be able to legally purchase equipment through the consulate. Milton Henry, speaking before the National Black Economic Conference in Detroit in April of this year stated that the black nation of RNA means developing relations with friendly powers, namely, Red China and Cuba.

Another pro-Chinese American organization with strong ties with Peking is the Revolutionary Union (RU) which was formed in the San Francisco area in early 1968 and, after operating for over a year in an underground fashion, partially surfaced in April, 1969.

One of the two founders of the RU is Leibel Bergman, a long-time Communist who turned first against the CPUSA and then dropped out of his leadership role in the Progressive Labor Party. In 1965, Bergman clandestinely travelled to Communist China where he resided for approximately two years utilizing a pseudonym.

Shortly after his return to the U.S. in August, 1967, Bergman advised reliable sources of the FBI that he had returned "to do a job" for the Chinese Communists. He outlines a three-fold mission: (1) to form a national coalition of domestic Marxist-Leninists sympathetic to Mao Tse-tung thought and the Communist Party of China; (2) to develop and forward information of interest to the Chinese Communists; and (3) to recruit politically trusted youth who would travel to Communist China for an indeterminable period of cadre training after which they would return to this country and operate in behalf of Communist China in a nonpublic or submerged fashion. There is a strong presumption these latter individuals would be utilized as recruited intelligence agents operating in behalf of China.

In late 1967, Bergman indicated a desire to obtain intelligence relating to the Soviet Union which he would forward to China. He provided funds for this intelligence-gathering effort and also to support the operations of a domestic pro-Communist China organization. He claimed to have a secret line of communication with Communist China. After conducting diversionary travel to Los Angeles, Bergman flew to London in early 1969 and while there contacted the Communist Chinese diplomatic establishment on two occasions. Thereafter, he flew to Paris and contacted the Chinese Embassy in Paris on two occasions. While in Paris, he dispatched a letter to an address in China. Significantly, the letter was directed to the name he used as a pseudonym while residing in China. He has stated he is able to communicate with the Chinese, but he is unable to receive adequate responses. Monitoring of his activities also indicates he is suffering from a lack of funds, which may cast some doubts upon the degree of active support he is currently receiving from the Chinese.

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Although we do not have definite evidence of the degree of support Red China is providing either the Republic of New Africa or the Revolutionary Union, we do have enough evidence to suggest that the leadership of these two organizations claim support and hold out to their followers the hope of substantial support in the future.

F. Cuban Ideological Attitude toward the U.S. Protest Movement.

Cuban media have from time to time publicized statements and articles by members of the Black Panthers, SDS, and such organizations as Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), although there has been a marked abatement of such propaganda in the past six months because of preoccupation with domestic issues. While emphasizing the theme of anti-war sentiment among the American people and in Congress, Havana does not as a rule discuss the role of specific groups or movements in opposition to the war.

Cuban radio broadcasts avoid detailed accounts of student activities, but emphasize that manifestations of discontent and rebellion by U.S. youths are symptomatic of the "sickness" of U.S. life and institutions. Havana publishes various propaganda materials aimed at influencing U.S. and other youths. The emphasis is on Vietnam, Che Guevara and his idyllic quest for revolutionary endeavors, and is generally aimed at undermining U.S. foreign policy.

In the only available commentary which has broached the question of Cuban influence over U.S. radical movements in recent months, on April 2, 1969, Radio Havana set out to rebut a statement by Congressman Henry Gonzalez to the effect that the Mexican-American community had been infiltrated by California youth of Mexican ancestry who had traveled to Cuba on trips subsidized by the Havana regime. The commentator charged that the Congressman was trying to make Cuba the scapegoat for "problems rooted in the expansionist policy of the United States during the 19th Century and in the present living conditions of Mexican-Americans, Latin Americans, and Negroes." The commentator argued that U.S. young people do not have to leave their country to learn violent tactics, since "violence is a characteristic of North American society," but concluded fatuously that Cuba was "honored" by the accusation that it is "an example and stimulus to those fighting the injustices of the imperialist system of exploitation." The commentator added the "Cuba offers her own example and stretches her friendly and firm hand to those fighting for a better tomorrow."

In past comment eulogizing Che Guevara, the ubiquitous influence of his "example" has been emphasized in general terms. Last October, marking the first anniversary of Guevara's death, Havana media cited his impact

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as a "political catalyst" in much of the world, specifically including the United States, and boasted that "never in history have the revolutionary concepts of a leader of oppressed peoples spread so widely and so rapidly."

Statements by spokesmen for the Black Panthers and SNCC carried in Havana media have lauded Che Guevara and his teachings. Thus Prensa Latina (the official Cuban news agency) on February 15, 1969, reported an interview with two Black Panther leaders which appeared in Tricontinental, organ of the Havana-based Afro-Asian Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO), in which they acknowledged the inspirational influence of the Cuban revolution and stated: "We are happy to see that oppressed peoples are following the brave example of Che Guevara to create one, two, three, many Vietnams, and we will work together for the destruction of imperialism." In October 1968, Radio Havana reported that a SNCC official visiting Havana had said Guevara's teachings were deeply rooted among Black Americans. He was also quoted as predicting that guerrilla warfare would "increasingly become the method of common struggle" both in the United States and in "liberation struggles" worldwide.

Emphasis on SNCC, and particularly its leader Stokely Carmichael, shifted during the past year to the Black Panthers. In a Havana press conference in August 1968, a Black Panther leader was quoted in the Cuban media as alleging that the direction the struggle was taking in the United States is that of resistance through guerrilla warfare.

While Havana media gave extensive coverage to Carmichael's visit to Havana in the summer of 1967 to attend the Latin American Solidarity Organization conference, he has received scant mention for more than a year. Carmichael was interviewed by telephone by Radio Havana in April 1968 after the assassination of Martin Luther King and was quoted as forecasting that "urban guerrilla warfare" would develop in U.S. cities; with Dr. King's passing, he said, "there is no Black man who will ask Black people not to burn down cities."

Since Havana's "Radio Free Dixie" broadcasts to the United States featuring U.S. Negro expatriate Robert Williams went off the air in March 1966 (Williams migrated to Peking), Havana has not addressed inflammatory appeals for violence directly to U.S. Negroes. But Cuban comment has on occasion continued to argue that violence may be the sole method for the U.S. Negro to better his lot. Thus, after the slaying of Dr. King, Havana stressed that with the murder "imperialism has buried its last hope for a nonviolent solution to its racial problems."

Although adhering to a generally pro-Moscow line, Cuba has adopted a much more flexible ideological position toward the revolutionary activity of New Left and Black Power groups. By virtue of its geographical proximity, Cuba is able to exert more influence and provide greater support to the American revolutionary protest movement than either China or, if it wished, the Soviet Union. And the fact that Castro began his revolutionary

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career as a student has increased his appeal to student revolutionaries in this country. Moreover, the exploits of Che Guevara, which have been widely heralded by the Cuban government, provide a "revolutionary example" for activists in this country.

G. Role of the Cuban Intelligence Service.

Export of the Cuban revolution is the fundamental principle of Cuba's foreign policy. The FBI has determined that in the United States such policy is manifested by clandestine support of Puerto Rican independence groups and the formenting of racial strife and student disorders.

In September, 1967, two officers of the Cuban Intelligence Service (CIS) assigned to the Cuban Mission to the United Nations (CMUN) told a representative of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico (NPPR) in New York City that Cuba was prepared to offer Puerto Rican independentists weapons and material. In April 1968, a CIS officer at the CMUN delivered to a representative of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement (MPIPR) a message from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. The message expressed the Central Committee's solidarity with and support of the MPIPR in the latter's struggle for independence. Cuban support has included guerrilla training for some leaders of current violence in Puerto Rico.

An FBI investigation of Jesus Jimenez Escobar is an illustration of Cuban efforts to forment racial strife and student disorders in the United States. Jimenez arrived in this country in August 1967 to assume duties as a First Secretary at the CMUN. He left the U.S. on February 20, 1969, at the State Department's request based upon the results of the FBI investigation of his activities. At the time of his departure, he held the rank of Counselor, second in order of diplomatic precedence at the CMUN.

The FBI investigation determined that Jimenez was a principal link between the Cuban Government and leaders of black extremist and New Left student groups in the United States. He gave advice and counsel to such leaders as H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael, then affiliated with SNCC; furnished Cuban propaganda materials to them; and arranged visits to Cuba for unknown purposes for many revolutionary youth leaders.

During early May 1968, while in Washington D.C., ostensibly as a representative of the Cuban Government to the Pan American Health Organization, Jimenez instructed Stokely Carmichael to "continue to follow Plan A-5." Carmichael was then agitating in Washington, following the serious racial disorders here of the preceding month. The significance of Jimenez' instructions to Carmichael is unknown; however, an SDS plan of similar terminology resulted in an undisciplined mass protest and violence at Columbia University during April 1968.

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The intelligence functions of Jimenez at the CMUN appear to have been taken over by Alberto Boza Hidalgo-Gato, lower in diplomatic rank, but superior to Jimenez in the CIS hierarchy (deputy head of CIS activities at the CMUN).

Boza arrived in the United States on September 6, 1968. The FBI investigation of him has determined that he acts as a clearing agent for American citizens of various backgrounds who travel to Cuba, associates with individuals who are affiliated with black extremist and New Left groups, and has been operationally associated in New York City with Soviet intelligence personnel. He acted as interpreter for Stokely Carmichael during a visit of the latter to Cuba in 1967.

Cuban intelligence personnel are quite active in the revolutionary protest movement in this country. James Forman, International Director of SNCC, is known to have had contacts with CIS agents, as have other prominent U.S. revolutionary leaders. We have successfully penetrated the Cuban Intelligence Service operations in this country, so we are capable of keeping a close watch on CIS activities.

H. Other Cuban Support Activities.

In the fall of 1967, [REDACTED] training schools for Negroes were being conducted by the Castro Government to prepare them for subversive operations in the United States.

The identity of these sources was provided to the FBI which subsequently located and exhaustively interviewed them. They appeared sincerely interested in assisting the U.S. Government by bringing to its attention information concerning the training school, and two of the [REDACTED] had actually been in the vicinity of Santiago de Cuba, where the training school allegedly was located. The third [REDACTED] source recounted information imparted to her in Cuba and did not know how the information was originally obtained.

When questioned closely, none were able to furnish data which would substantiate the rumor that Negroes were being trained at the school for subversive operations against this country.

Although unable to confirm the existence of the school, the FBI nevertheless took extensive measures to guard against the infiltration of Cuban-trained Negro agents. All local FBI offices briefed selected local officials as to the problems posed by the use of minority groups in carrying out sabotage on behalf of Cuba; key industrial plant officials were alerted to be on the lookout for groups or individuals within their organizations who were potential tools for use by Castro in subverting this country; and special questioning of logical Cuban refugees entering the U.S. was instituted to determine if any confirmation could be obtained

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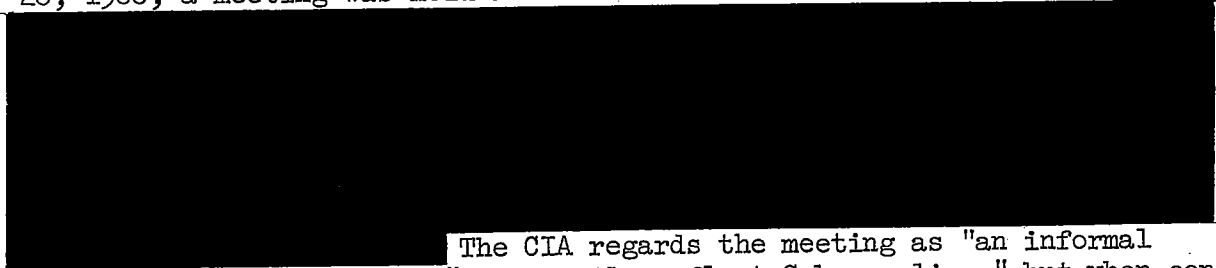
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concerning the existence of Cuban training centers for Negroes designed to equip them to carry out sabotage, espionage, or guerrilla warfare in the U.S. or its territories. To date, the FBI has received no indication that Cuban-trained Negroes have entered this country for such purposes. However, the Bureau believes this is a distinct possibility and is alert to developing information in this regard.

Since July 1967 the Bureau has received voluminous information regarding political indoctrination, instructions, and financial assistance being given by the Cubans to the black extremist movement in the United States. Through its worldwide intelligence network, the Cubans continue to attempt to influence and exploit the revolutionary protest movement in this country.

A group known as the Friends of SNCC is active in Paris. This group has been engaged in raising funds and is attached to the International office of SNCC in New York City. Reportedly one of the links between Friends of SNCC in Paris and revolutionary movements in France is an employee in Prensa Latina, the Cuban news agency. On January 28, 1968, a meeting was held in the Residence of the Cuban Embassy



The CIA regards the meeting as "an informal discussion" which did not "necessarily reflect Cuban policy," but when considered in light of all the evidence we have of Cuban interest in, and support of, the revolutionary protest movement in this country, I would attach a little more significance to it.

In the Spring of 1969, Virginia Collins, Vice President of the RNA for the Southern Region, visited Cuba. She attended a rally which was addressed by Fidel Castro and following the rally met with him. In the conversation, he expressed a willingness to support the black people in their revolution in the United States and presented her with literature which he stated concerned the Cuban revolution and which would be applicable to the black man's struggle in the United States. He promised to send her revolutionary literature in the near future which would be of assistance.

In December 1968, two leaders of SNCC departed from the United States for Cuba, allegedly to attend a Cultural Congress. When they returned to the United States, they were intercepted at the Canadian border by Customs and Immigration officials. They had in their possession a large quantity of North Korean, Soviet, and Cuban propaganda and souvenirs. Included in their personal effects were a five-band

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portable radio of Soviet manufacture, adaptable for receiving intelligence communications, and a revealing notebook and diary.

Analysis of the notes and diary indicates that the two black revolutionaries were on a "mission" on behalf of SNCC and this mission had been well planned in advance.

Their effects also indicated they were placed in contact with the North Koreans in Havana by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba; on February 24, 1969, they flew from Moscow for Korea under the cover of pseudonyms; in March 1969 in North Korea they received detailed training in revolutionary theory and political and military intelligence; and they spent considerable time in the Soviet Union and Cuba prior to their return to the United States.

Among their notes were instructions for organizing a committee which would propagandize for the withdrawal of allied forces from Korea and seek the support of the New Left and domestic black nationalist movements, as well as domestic Koreans, to discredit the United States position in Korea. It was indicated this proposed committee would be supported by the North Koreans through contacts in Cuba.

Additionally, it was indicated that the two Negroes had received training in a likely assignment to accumulate intelligence on behalf of the North Koreans relating to "latest plans, newest weapons, blueprints, actual weapons, if possible." According to the notes, these would be secretly transmitted to the North Koreans through the Soviet Union, the Tanzanian Embassy, Cuban consultates in Mexico or France, or the Korean Embassy in Prague. One of the individuals described the assignment as "We will be their (North Koreans) eyes and ears as we wage armed struggle."

On August 19, 1968, George Mason Murray, Minister of Education in the Black Panther Party, and Joudan Ford, then the Panther leader in New York City, arrived in Havana. Assistance for their trip was rendered by an official of the Cuban Mission to the United Nations.

Following his return to the United States, Murray talked of his trip during a Panther rally in Oakland, California, on September 5, 1968. He indicated that on their arrival in Havana they were met by representatives of the Communist Party of Cuba and revolutionary guerrilla organizations from Asia and Africa. In a subsequent speech on December 23, 1968, Murray stated that during his trip to Cuba he had been personally assured by Fidel Castro that the Cuban Government would give all-out support to Negroes in the United States.

I believe that the evidence is virtually overwhelming that Cuba is playing a major role in the fomenting of domestic disorder in the United States. Not only does the Cuban Government promote its own

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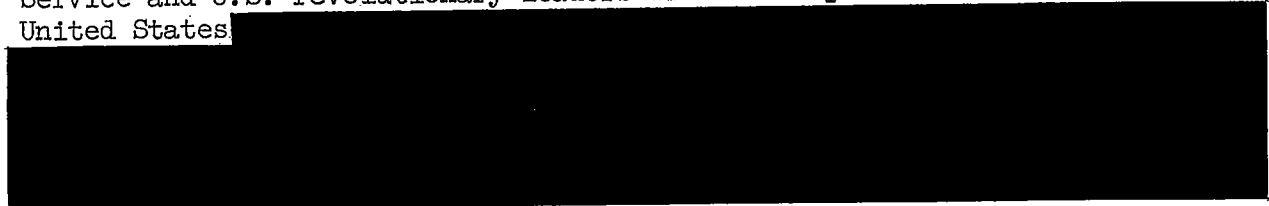
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interests by this activity, but it offers a point of contact for the leaders of U.S. revolutionary organizations with representatives of the Communist governments of the Soviet Union, North Korea, and North Vietnam, as well as leaders of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and other revolutionary Communist leaders from the "Third World."

Although we have substantially good coverage of Cuban activities in this country and can monitor contacts between the Cuban Intelligence Service and U.S. revolutionary leaders which take place within the United States [REDACTED]



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