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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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FOREIGN COMMUNIST SUPPORT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY
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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

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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 ~~their~~ 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 there 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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