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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  
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

\* \* \* \* \*

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 unwavering 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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