OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
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Parsons
Belmont
Callahan
DeLoach
Malone
McGuire
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Ingram
Gandy

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: August 1, 1960

FROM : MR. F. J. BAUMGARDNER

cc Mr. Belmont
Mr. Fox

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference is made to a teletype from the New York Office dated 8-1-60 which sets forth a brief summary of information furnished by CG 5824-S regarding his sixth SOLO trip. The information raised several questions and in order to insure we will get the answers, I called our NYO this morning and talked with Supervisor [redacted] I instructed [redacted] to obtain answers to the following questions:

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(1) Why was it necessary for CG 5824-S to cut his trip short and return to the United States to brief Hall on differences between the Soviet Union and China. The urgency of Hall getting this information at once is not apparent.

(2) Our informant said he was briefed concerning a running debate between Nikita Khrushchev and Peng Chen, Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Peoples Congress of China, and he indicated some of the information regarding this matter was obtained from Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, CP USA functionary who is currently in Russia. I asked Marchessault how did it happen that the Soviets would bring Flynn into a high level briefing of this kind.

(3) Our informant said that he met with two representatives of the "secret department" of the CPSU and made arrangements for three possible contacts with the Russians in the U.S. within the next six weeks. I asked [redacted] the purpose of these secret contacts in the U.S.

100-428091-829

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(4) Our informant said the dispute between the Chinese and the Russians is more than an idealogical disagreement. I asked [redacted] just what this meant.

EX 103

REC 9 11 AUG 2 1960

FJB:td (3)

52 AUG 5 1960

MR. BAUMGARDNER - MR. BELMONT
SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

I instructed [redacted] to obtain the explanations to the questions set forth above. He said this would be done through further interviews with the informant and the Bureau would be advised as promptly as possible of all of the information which the informant is furnishing concerning this sixth SOLO trip.

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DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 04-25-2011

FBI

~~SECRET~~ DATE: 7/22/60

Transmit following via AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-81)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-86624)

SUBJECT: CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
IS-C

ReNYairtel, 7/18/60, captioned "SOLO; IS-C," reflecting results of conference on 7/8/60, in Toronto, between NY 694-S and TIM BUCK, Canadian CP leader. (U)

8-Bureau (100-3-81) (RM)
(1-100-) (CP OF CANADA)
(1-100-332732) (ELIZABETH MASCOLO)
(1-100-425942) [redacted]
(1-100-)
(1-100-428091) (SOLO)
3-Chicago (100-) [redacted] (INFO) (RM)
(1-100-33729) (CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
(1-134-46-Sub B) (SOLO)
2-San Juan (100-20) (CP OF PUERTO RICO) (RM)
(1-100-) [redacted]
1-New York 134-91 (INV.) (41)
1-New York 100-74560 (CP, USA FUNDS) (415)
1-New York 100-134637 (SOLO) (41)
1-New York 100-51166 (CP OF CANADA) 415)
1-New York 100-57446 (ELIZABETH MASCOLO) (33)
1-New York 100-1696 (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (415)
1-New York 105-9917 [redacted] (33)
1-New York 105-7304 (JACK COWAN) (415)
1-New York 100-141892 [redacted] (413)
1-New York 100-126506 [redacted] (413)
1-New York 100-86624 (415)

ACB:ume
(26)

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ORIGINAL FILED IN

NOT RECORDED
98 AUG 4 1960

Comp 209405

CLASSIFIED BY 5668 SLP/DP
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR
12/11/54

~~SECRET~~

53 AUG 10 1960

NY 100-86624

Extreme caution should be exercised with respect to dissemination of information herein inasmuch as said information, by its nature, tends to identify NY 694-S, a valuable informant, as the source thereof. Unless this information is verified by other sources, it should not be incorporated, even in paraphrased form, in the investigation section of a report. (U)

On 7/21/60, NY 694-S advised SA [redacted] b6 b7C that while the informant was in Canada between 7/8/60 and 7/15/60 TIM BUCK furnished him the following information: (U)

Although the break-up of the Summit Conference as a result of the U-2 plane incident was "a victory" for the Soviets, it had a damaging effect on the CP of Canada in that recruitment of new CP members has come to a standstill. Whereas before the Summit breakdown there was much enthusiasm in CP recruitment work, there is now an era of "stagnation" in this regard. There is no enthusiasm among Party members to do recruitment work, and there is apparently no interest among the people to become Party members. (U)

[redacted] Canadian CP functionaries, have gone to Prague, where [redacted] has replaced [redacted] as Canadian CP representative on the "World Marxist Review." Both attended the recent CP Conference in Bucharest, but as yet have not submitted to BUCK their report on the conference. (U)

Upon his return to Canada, [redacted] was to have assumed BILL KASHTAN's post as CP trade union secretary. KASHTAN, however, strenuously opposed his replacement by [redacted] and consequently [redacted] was appointed head of the Toronto CP, replacing [redacted] who with eight other Canadian CP members, is currently attending a "CPSU school for higher learning" in Moscow. (U) b6 b7C

The said CPSU school is "for people on the way up," and is the same school attended by Soviets who are rising in the CPSU organization. Students at the school receive a one year course in Marxism-Leninism and organizational problems. (U)

It is not a pre-requiste that foreign students know Russian before attending the course, for translators are assigned to them. (U)

(Referenced airtel mentions one "GREGORY" who is, according to BUCK, in charge of the British section of the International Department of the CCCPSU. According to NY 694-S he now recalls that BUCK referred to this individual as GREGORY BESDINOV (PH). (U)

BUCK was scheduled to be in China on 10/1/60, for the celebration of the 11th anniversary of the Chinese revolution. He will be unable to go to China at that time, however, because the Canadian CP Plenum is scheduled for October. He will nevertheless go to China later in the year. (U)

Before leaving for Toronto, NY 694-S was instructed by GUS HALL, CP, USA National Secretary, to tell BUCK that HALL thought that the Canadian CP publication "Northern Neighbors" was "a terrific magazine," and to ascertain from BUCK what the circulation of the said magazine is. Upon the informant's mentioning this matter, BUCK pounded the table, uttered a few choice epithets, and told NY 694-S the following: (U)

The actual circulation of "Northern Neighbors" is 8000, but its [redacted] "the biggest liar and con man of our times," has convinced the Soviets that the circulation recently has risen from 20,000 to 30,000. The Soviets subsidize the magazine, giving [redacted] one dollar for every copy sold. [redacted] has so "hoodwinked" the Soviets that BUCK now does not dare to disillusion the Soviets and expose [redacted] as a fraud. It actually costs [redacted] only twenty-five cents per copy to print the magazine. Nobody in Canada takes the magazine seriously, but the Soviet officials who "supervise" it, like it because "they feel it makes them look good to their superiors." (U)

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The official Canadian CP delegate to the Cuban CP Convention will be LESLIE MORRIS, Canadian CP Secretary in Charge of Education, and the Party's leading theoretician. (U)

Two Canadian delegations will go to China this year, one from the Canadian political party known as the CCF, and the other from the government controlled radio-broadcasting commission known as CBC. Although there are no CP members in these delegations, there are a number of "friendly people" who will report to the Canadian CP concerning the activities of these delegations in China. S (U)

NY 694-S informed BUCK that [redacted] young son of the Puerto Rican CP functionary [redacted] is scheduled to leave the USA for Russia, where he will attend school. In view of the boy's youth, the CP, USA would appreciate BUCK's permitting the boy to travel to Russia in the company of any Canadian CP group that might be going to Russia in the near future. BUCK said that he would be pleased to assist in this matter, and said the boy should be sent to Toronto before 8/17/60. S (U) b6 b7C

BUCK expressed annoyance about the fact that the Mexican CP had held a convention recently and that he had been unable to obtain any information about it. He did not know even when the convention had been held. S (U)

BUCK had received a letter from a former Canadian CP member named [redacted] now residing permanently in Mexico. [redacted] keeps BUCK informed about activities in the Mexican CP. [redacted] however, was able to tell BUCK only that he had learned that the Mexican CP had held a convention, the date of which and details concerning which [redacted] did not know. All he could report was that "the younger people got into power." BUCK hoped that he would receive more information about this convention. S (U) b6 b7C

BUCK and his paramour BESS MASCOLO discussed BESS [redacted] and the latter's family. They stated that when [redacted] and his family left Toronto they went first to London where they were met by a Chinese Government official who advised them that they were guests of the Chinese government, and arranged for them to go immediately by plane to Moscow. S (U)

SECRET

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In Moscow, the MASCOLOs were met by representatives of the Chinese Embassy in Moscow. These Chinese functionaries arranged for the MASCOLOs immediate departure by special plane for Peiping. In Peiping they were met at the airport by the head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese CP. (U)

The Chinese gave a lavish banquet in honor of [redacted] whom they consider as TIM BUCK's son. The MASCOLOs are residing in a luxurious apartment in a compound where important people from England and Australia reside. They have the services of a chauffeur, cook, maid, and nurse for the children. [redacted] works in "the ministry," his wife attends a university where she is taking a two year course in Chinese, and the children are attending school. Upon completion of her course at the university, [redacted] wife will become a chemical engineer. [redacted] who is an engineer, is amazed at the engineering knowledge of the Chinese, and believes he can learn much from them. Neither BUCK nor BESS MASCOLO know what type of work [redacted] is doing at "the ministry." (U)

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BUCK mentioned that in a telephone conversation with HARRY GUERILNICK (mentioned above) who is in Prague, BUCK was told that ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN was to be in Romania for a month's vacation after which she was to return to Moscow. The Soviets desire that she be in Moscow on August 7th (her birthday) because they intend to have a celebration in her honor on that date. It is her 70th birthday. (U)

According to NY 694-S, while he was in Toronto, important Canadian CP functionaries, other than TIM BUCK, with whom he would have liked to confer, were either on vacation or out of town on business. The informant spent several days on a fishing trip at McGregor Bay, Northern Ontario, with SAM CARR, former member of a Canadian espionage ring, [redacted] of Chicago who makes contributions to the CP, USA, and JACK COWAN who is active in the Canadian CP secret financial operations, working under Canadian CP functionary BILL KASHTAN. (U)

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[redacted] gave NY 694-S $300.00 as a contribution to the CP, USA but said nothing to indicate that he is otherwise

~~SECRET~~

activein the CP. SAM CARR indicated that he is active in the United Jewish Peoples Order, but furnished no further pertinent information to NY 694-S. (U)

JACK COWAN told the informant the following: (U)

Upon the death several years ago of PAUL PHILLIPS, Canadian CP functionary in charge of secret CP financial operations, CP functionary BILL KASHTAN assumed PHILLIPS' post, and COWAN became KASHTAN's assistant in secret CP financial operations. The Artkino Company of Canada (not identified with Artkino in the USA), distributor of Soviet films, is a source of revenue for the Canadian CP, and COWAN is the president of the company. (U)

In March, 1960, COWAN conceived the idea of attempting to secure for Artkino of Canada a "monopoly" with respect to the distribution of Soviet films in Canada and the USA. He interested [redacted] a Canadian film distributor, who is not a CP member, in the idea. COWAN realized that [redacted] who has money and an organization, could be of great assistance to him in the event COWAN could obtain a "monopoly" as regards Soviet films. By a "handshake agreement" he and [redacted] became "partners." [redacted] was unaware of the CP interest in Artkino. (U) b6 b7C

Enlisting the assistance of TOM BUCK, COWAN induced the latter to contact the Soviets and to outline to them the proposals concerning the desired "monopoly" for Artkino. BUCK did so, and the Soviets indicated they would agree to the proposals. BUCK and COWAN were elated because they anticipated that the CP would receive about $50,000 a year from Artkino as a result of the proposed operation. (U)

COWAN and [redacted] went to Moscow, were royally received by the heads of the Soviet film industry, and after several days of negotiation obtained from the Soviets a commitment that Artkino would receive the desired monopoly, even to the extent that "everybody outside," including USA distributors, would have to deal with Artkino. (U) b6 b7C

COWAN gave the Soviets a check for $5000 in settlement of an $11,000 indebtedness of Artkino to the Soviets, and

"everybody was happy." It was agreed that COWAN and [redacted] would confer again with the Soviets in Moscow a year from the date of their meeting at that time. (U)

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The Soviets, however, have violated the agreement. When Artkino asked for the prize-winning Soviet film, the Soviets gave the film to Hollywood distributors instead. They have completely ignored all their commitments to COWAN and [redacted] is "furious," has nothing to do with COWAN, and has referred to the Soviets as COWAN's "lousey friends," who, together with COWAN, "should drop dead." (U)

TIM BUCK, discussing this matter with NY 694-S, said he was very "upset" about this situation, and that he had written a letter of protest to the Central Committee of the CPSU. BUCK remarked, "Nothing will happen, however. They (the Soviets) are still the same commercial illiterates. They'll never change." (U)

According to COWAN, [redacted] is particularly angry because, before he went to Moscow with COWAN, he had been warned by the RCMP, by whom he had been interviewed, that the Soviets would not honor any agreements he might make with them. [redacted] now says bitterly that the RCMP was right, and that he should have been guided by the RCMP warning. (U)

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NY 694-S further advised that his primary purpose in going to Canada was to advise TIM BUCK of the scheduled departure for Europe of an individual identified with the case entitled, "SOLO-IS-C," and to request BUCK to notify immediately persons abroad who would be interested in this individual's itinerary. BUCK furnished the necessary information to persons abroad. (U)

FBI

DATE: 7/25/60

Transmit the following via AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-81)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-86624)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
IS-C

Extreme caution must be exercised with respect to dissemination of the information herein inasmuch as, by its nature, said information tends to identify CG 5824-S and NY 694-S, two very valuable informants, as the source thereof. Unless this information is verified by other sources, it should not be disseminated outside the Bureau, and it should not be incorporated, even in paraphrased form, in the investigative section of a report.

ReNYairtel to Bureau and Chicago, 7/18/60, captioned "SOLO-IS-C," wherein it is reported on page three, that according to CG 5824-S, a highly confidential source, KHRUSHCHEV, at the conclusion of the Congress of CPs held in June, 1960, at Bucharest, Roumania, set up a commission of CPs of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and the Socialist countries to meet in November, 1960, to iron out differences between the CPSU and the CP of China.

5-Bureau (100-3-81) (RM)
(1-100-428091) (SOLO)
(1-100-) (HELEN WINTER)
1-Chicago (134-46 Sub B) (SOLO) (RM)
1-Detroit (100-13470) (HELEN WINTER) (RM)
1-New York 134-91 (INV.) (41)
1-New York 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (415)
1-New York 100-134637 (SOLO) (41)
1-New York 100-86624 (415)

ACB:ume
(13)

100-428091 -
NOT RECORDED
98 AUG 2 1960

50 AUG 8 1960

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-428091-5

[redacted] On 7/25/60, NY 694-S advised SA [redacted] that on 7/23/60, GUS HALL, General Secretary of the CP, USA, told the informant that he is giving serious consideration to sending HELEN WINTER, Detroit CP functionary, to the above-mentioned meeting of CP's, which, according to HALL, is to be held in Moscow. HALL further stated that he would instruct HELEN WINTER to obtain a passport.

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STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: July 29, 1960

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

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

Rebulet 5/4/60 instructing that details concerning disbursements of funds in the possession of CG 5824-S* be submitted to the Bureau by the 5th of the month following the month being reported.

Balance in possession of CG 5824-S* as of July 1, 1960	$114,045.00

Additions

None

Disbursements

During June, 1960, $100 was withdrawn, originally to be given to JACK CHILDS for reference material and postage to send this material to MORRIS CHILDS in Russia. Instead of this sum being given to JACK CHILDS for this purpose, it was given to CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT as a loan on July 6, 1960. Since this sum of $100 had been shown as a disbursement in June, 1960, there was no further withdrawal during July, 1960, and the balance at the end of July is the same as it was on July 1, 1960.

Balance in possession of CG 5824-S* as of July 29, 1960	$114,045.00*

*Of this amount, $6,000 has been given to JACK KLING of Chicago for safekeeping.

cc 1243 *

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York (RM)
100-134637-Sub A (SOLO FUNDS)
1 - Chicago

JEK:saf
(42) AUG 5 1960

REC-20 100-428091-830

EX-102

AUG 2 1960

INT. SEC.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 29 1960

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Delach
Mr. Malone
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Trotter
Mr. W.C.Sullivan
Tele. Room
Mr. Ingram
Miss Gandy

URGENT 7-29-60 4-36 PM MB

TO DIRECTOR, FBI /100-428091/ AND SAC, NEW YORK /100-134637/ 1P

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM SAC, CHICAGO /134-46-SUB B/

SOLO, IS DASH C. PER BUREAU INSTRUCTIONS, AS RELAYED BY THE NEW YORK DIVISION, SA JOHN E. KEATING WILL DEPART CHICAGO VIA AMERICAN AIRLINES AT ELEVEN AM ON JULY THIRTY NEXT TO MEET WITH CG FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR DASH S ASTERISK IN NEW YORK CITY.

100-428091-8340

REC-20

18 AUG 2 1960

END AND ACK PLS

WA 5-37 PM OK FBI WA RAM FOR RELAY

52 AUG 4 1960

TU DISCV

EX-102

57

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 05-12-2011

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Fox

The Attorney General

August 5, 1960

Director, FBI

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

I believe the information contained in the enclosed memorandum will be of interest to you. This information, supplied by sources who have furnished reliable information in the past, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA. The information pertains to the conflict of views between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China.

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

This information is being disseminated to Honorable Richard M. Nixon, the Vice President; Honorable Gordon Gray, Special Assistant to the President; Honorable Christian A. Herter, the Secretary of State; and Mr. Allen W. Dulles, Director, Central Intelligence Agency.

Enclosure

100-428091

1 - Mr. Lawrence E. Walsh (Enclosure)
Deputy Attorney General

NOTE ON YELLOW: This letter and its enclosure are classified "~~Top Secret~~" because disclosure of this information to unauthorized persons may tend to identify our highly placed informant, with resultant grave damage to our national defense. See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 8/5/60 captioned "Solo; Internal Security - C." FFF:ras:kmo.

REC-64 100-428091-832

Tolson
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Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Ingram

FFF:ras:llc
(8)

MAILED 10
AUG 8 1960
COMM-FBI

19 AUG 8 1960

~~TOP SECRET~~

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Form No. DJ-34
(Ed. 9-31-56)

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

TS-287

CLASSIFIED DOCUMENT RECEIPT

Control No. _____

FROM (Division or Office) Deputy Attorney General

TO Director, FBI

DELIVERED BY [redacted] For Judge Walsh Room 4111

RECEIVED BY [redacted] For _____ Room _____

DATE 9-16-60 Time 12:23 P.M.

b6
b7C

IDENTITY OF DOCUMENT

ADDRESSEE The Attorney General

FROM Director, FBI

DATE August 5, 1960 No. PAGES 5 COPY Carbon OF _____ COPIES

CLASSIFICATION ~~Top Secret~~ FILE NO. 100-428091

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, INTERNAL SECURITY - C
ENCLOSURE MEMO "CONFLICT OF VIEWS BETWEEN THE COMMUNITS PARTY OF
CHINA AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION DATED Aug.5,1960.

INSTRUCTIONS

Execute this receipt in duplicate and secure signature of person to whom the classified document is delivered. The original copy should be sent to the Divisional Top Secret Office. The duplicate should be retained by person releasing document.

Execution of a receipt is not required when a person who has signed for another person delivers the document to the addressee.

Transmittal of documents outside the Division or the Department must be cleared through the Divisional Top Secret Control Officer.

GPO 914486

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: July 29, 1960

FROM : MR. F. J. BAUMGARDNER

1-Mr. Parsons
1-Mr. Belmont
1-Mr. Baumgardner
1-Mr. Fox

SUBJECT: SOLO

CG 5824-S left the United States on 7/9/60, on a mission for the CP,USA, to several satellite countries, as well as Russia and possibly China. He was scheduled to return to the United States around 8/19/60.

Assistant Special Agent in Charge McCabe, of the New York Office, advised on 7/29/60 that NY 694-S informed today (7/29) he received a telephone call from CG 5824-S from Zurich, Switzerland. CG 5824-S stated he had been instructed in Moscow to return immediately to the United States. He said that NY 694-S should promptly contact Gus Hall, General Secretary, CP,USA, and tell Hall he is not to make any public statements until he is briefed by CG 5824-S. CG 5824-S did not indicate the nature of the briefing he is to give Gus Hall.

CG 5824-S will arrive in the United States on either July 30, July 31, or August 1, depending on what arrangements he can make for transportation, according to NY 694-S.

ASAC McCabe stated NY 694-S had requested that Special Agent Jack Keating, who is the regular contact with CG 5824-S, be present in New York when CG 5824-S arrives.

ACTION:

I told Mr. McCabe to call Chicago and advise the Chicago Office that the Bureau had instructed that Special Agent Keating proceed to New York immediately and that he should arrive there no later than Saturday morning (7/30) and should arrange to be in New York on the evening of 7/29, if possible. I instructed Mr. McCabe to contact the informant immediately upon his arrival, in order that we may know what message he is carrying to Gus Hall from the Soviets. I told Mr. McCabe I realized the problem of the security of the informant and that that was paramount, but that the information should be obtained from him as quickly as feasible. Mr. McCabe said that this would be done and that the Bureau would be kept advised of developments.

FJB:LL
(5)

51 AUG 9 1960

SENT DIRECTOR
7-29-60

REC-41

100-428091-833

AUG 5 1960

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 05-12-2011

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Fox
August 5, 1960

BY LIAISON

b6
b7C

To [redacted]
8/8/60
mwk

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

Dear Mr. Dulles:

I believe the information contained in the enclosed memorandum will be of interest to you. This information, supplied by sources who have furnished reliable information in the past, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA. The information pertains to the conflict of views between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China.

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

This information is being disseminated to other appropriate officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

REC-83 100-423091-8817

10 AUG 8 1960

Enclosure

100-423091 NOTE ON YELLOW: This letter and its enclosure are classified ~~"Top Secret"~~ because disclosure of this information to unauthorized persons may tend to identify our highly placed informant, with resultant grave damage to our national defense. See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 8/../60 captioned, "Solo; Internal Security - C." FFF:ras/lmo.

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~TOP SECRET~~

FFF:ras/lmo (7)

Tolson
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DeLoach
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Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Ingram
Gandy

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 05-12-2011

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Fox

August 5, 1960

BY LIAISON

Honorable Christian A. Herter
The Secretary of State
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. Herter:

I believe the information contained in the enclosed memorandum will be of interest to you. This information, supplied by sources who have furnished reliable information in the past, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA. The information pertains to the conflict of views between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China.

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This information is being disseminated to other appropriate officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure
100-428091

NOTE ON YELLOW: This letter and its enclosure are classified ~~"Top Secret"~~ because disclosure of this information to unauthorized persons may tend to identify our ~~highly~~ placed informant, with resultant grave damage to our national defense. See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 8/5/60 captioned "Solo; Internal Security - C."

FFF:ras:kmo

FFF:ras:mar
(7)

REC- 83

100-428091-836

19 AUG 8 1960

~~TOP SECRET~~

Tolson
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Belmont
Callahan
DeLoach
Malone
McGuire
Rosen
Tamm
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W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Ingram
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Fox

August 5, 1960

BY LIAISON

Miss Rose Mary Woods
Executive Secretary to the Vice President
Room T-6, The Capitol
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Rose Mary:

I am enclosing a letter, with enclosure, which I believe the Vice President may wish to see.

Sincerely,

Enclosures - 2

100-428091

NOTE ON YELLOW:

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 8-5-60 captioned "Solo, Internal Security - C." FFF:ras:kmo

REC-32 100-428011-835

FFF:ras:kmo
(7)

EX-109

AUG 8 1960

ENCLOSURE

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

AUG 8- 1960

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 05-12-2011

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Fox

August 5, 1960

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

Dear Dick:

I believe the information contained in the enclosed memorandum will be of interest to you. This information, supplied by sources who have furnished reliable information in the past, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA. The information pertains to the conflict of views between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China.

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

This information is being disseminated to other appropriate officials of the Government.

Sincerely,

Enclosure

REC- 32 100-428091-835

ENCLOSURE

100-428091

NOTE: This letter and its enclosure are classified ~~"Top Secret"~~ because disclosure of this information to unauthorized persons may tend to identify our highly placed informant, with resultant grave damage to our national defense. See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 8-5-60 captioned "Solo, Internal Security - C" FFF:ras:kmo

~~TOP SECRET~~

FFF:ras:kmo
(7)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 05-12-2011

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Fox

August 5, 1960

~~BY LIAISON~~

[redacted]

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NLE 86-[illegible]

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

My dear Mr. Gray:

SOLO

I believe the information contained in the enclosed memorandum will be of interest to the President and you. This information, supplied by sources who have furnished reliable information in the past, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA. The information pertains to the conflict of views between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. (U)

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

This information is being disseminated to the appropriate officials of the Government.

REC-32

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

100-428091 NOTE ON YELLOW: This letter and its enclosure are classified "~~Top Secret~~" because disclosure of this information to unauthorized persons may tend to identify our highly placed informant, with resultant grave damage to our national defense. See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 8/5/60 captioned "Solo; Internal Security - C." FFF:ras/kmo (U)

FFF:ras/bgc (7)

~~SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

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

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

AUG 8 - 1960

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
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Belmont
Callahan
DeLoach
Malone
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Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Ingram
Gandy

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: August 5, 1960

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Our informant, CG 5824-S*, at the instructions of Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party (CP), USA, left Chicago, Illinois, 7/9/60 on the sixth Solo mission to Czechoslovakia and Russia. He returned to the United States on 7/31/60.

New York airtel 8/3/60 discloses that informant met with two members of the "Secret Department" of the CP of the Soviet Union (CPSU) during the week of 7/17/60 in Moscow, Russia. Arrangements were made for CG 5824-S* to have clandestine meetings with undisclosed Soviets in New York City during August and September, 1960. These "secret" members were aware of previous contacts informant had with Vladimir Barkovsky, Counsel, Soviet Delegation to the United Nations. The Russians suggested the use of microfilming for the transmittal of CP, USA, documents to Barkovsky or whoever might meet with the informant.

The New York Office is obtaining photographs of likely suspects in order to exhibit them to CG 5824-S* in an attempt to identify the two "Secret Department" members of the CPSU.

OBSERVATIONS:

Arrangements for our informants, CG 5824-S* and NY 694-S*, to meet with Barkovsky or some other Soviet in New York City have been scheduled for the coming two months. It is expected that funds will be given to our informants by the Soviets in order to financially assist the national office of the CP, USA.

RECOMMENDATION:

We will follow closely all contacts made by the Soviets with our informants and will keep you immediately advised of pertinent developments.

100-428091

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Fox
FFF:ras (6)

REC- 64 100-428091-838

15 AUG 9 1960

EX-108

INT. SEC.

64 AUG 10 1960

Form No. DJ-34
(Ed. 9-31-56)

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

TS-288

CLASSIFIED DOCUMENT RECEIPT

Control No._____

FROM (Division or Office) Deputy Attorney General

TO Director, FBI

DELIVERED BY [redacted] For Judge Walsh Room 4111

RECEIVED BY _____ For _____ Room _____

DATE 8-10-60 Time 12:24 P.M.

b6
b7C

IDENTITY OF DOCUMENT

ADDRESSEE The Attorney General

FROM Director, FBI

DATE August 9, 1960 No. PAGES 2 COPY Carbon OF _____ COPIES

CLASSIFICATION ~~Top Secret~~ FILE NO. 100-428091

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, INTERNAL SECURITY - C

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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Callahan
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Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Ingram
Gandy

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: August 3, 1960

FROM : MR. F. J. BAUMGARDNER

1-Mr. Belmont
1-Mr. Fox

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

Chicago (CG) 5824-S has been furnishing information concerning his latest trip to Russia to Special Agent Jack Keating in New York. He still has additional details of what took place to be made available, and interviews with him are being conducted on a continuing basis to secure this additional information.

On the afternoon of August 3, 1960, Assistant Special Agent in Charge McCabe, of the New York Office (NYO), called and stated that Elizabeth Mascolo, common-law wife of Tim Buck, head of the Canadian Communist Party, had contacted CG 5824-S and told him that Buck wanted to see him immediately. She said Buck has an important speech to make in the western part of Canada on Friday, 8/5, and he wants to be briefed prior to the time he makes the speech. Mr. McCabe stated that our informant has been in contact with the office and stated he had no excuse for not going to Canada to brief Buck.

McCabe stated that although this trip will interfere temporarily with our securing additional information from the informant, he felt that in the interests of protecting the security of the informant it would be necessary for him to make the trip. I asked ASAC McCabe how the informant planned to go, and he replied he thought he was going by train. I told McCabe to have the informant fly and he could undoubtedly make the trip much quicker. McCabe stated he would call back.

Mr. McCabe again called and stated that NYO had been in contact with the informant. He said the informant will fly to Canada tonight (8/3) and will confer with Buck immediately and will return to New York on Thursday evening (8/4). He said New York will continue its interviews with the informant on Thursday evening and Friday and it is expected that all of the information he has concerning his latest trip to Russia will be obtained at that time. Mr. McCabe said that such information will be immediately forwarded to the Bureau.

EX 109

ACTION: When the information is received, we will immediately analyze it and make appropriate dissemination.

100-428071-839

FJB:LLA(6)

AUG 12 1960

REC-78

AUG 9 1960

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 05-12-2011

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Fox

The Attorney General

August 9, 1960

Director, FBI

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

I thought you would be interested in the following information obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA, concerning statements made in Moscow, Russia, by Nikolai Mostovets and [redacted] during July, 1960. Nikolai Mostovets is head of the North and South American Section of the International Department, Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and [redacted] of Eugene Dennis, National Chairman, Communist Party, USA.

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Mostovets stated that the disagreements between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union involve matters of state as well as ideological differences between the communist parties of the two countries. According to Mostovets, the Chinese have asked the Russians for modern military weapons such as nuclear warheads, missiles and atomic bombs, but Russia has not complied with these requests.

[redacted] who has many contacts among leading members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, stated that part of the problem between Red China and Russia is the refusal of Russia to grant Chinese requests for modern military weapons. Because the Communist Party of China has not gone along with the ideology of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in regard to peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union, as a state, has hesitated to grant requests of Red China for modern military weapons since Russia cannot anticipate what China might do with these weapons. [redacted] commented the Russians are afraid that perhaps China might drop a nuclear bomb on Formosa or on some other place and thereby trigger a world war.

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MAILED 10
AUG 10 1960
COMM-FBI

100-428091

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW, PAGE TWO

~~SECRET~~

FFF:ras
(8)

REC-6

SENT DIRECTOR FOR APPROVAL

AUG 10 1960

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Tele. Room
Ingram
Gandy

50 AUG 11 1960

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

The Attorney General

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

This information is being disseminated to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, the Vice President; the Honorable Gordon Gray, Special Assistant to the President; the Honorable Christian A. Herter, the Secretary of State; and Mr. Allen W. Dulles, Director, Central Intelligence Agency.

1 - Mr. Lawrence E. Walsh
Deputy Attorney General

NOTE ON YELLOW:

This letter is classified ~~"Top Secret"~~ because disclosure of this information to unauthorized persons may tend to identify our highly placed informant, with resultant grave damage to our national defense.

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 8/8/60 captioned "Solo; Internal Security - C." FFF:ras.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 05-12-2011

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
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Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Ingram
Gandy

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont DATE: August 3, 1960

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: ~~SOLO~~
INTERNAL SECURITY - C Communist

Our informant, CG 5824-S*, at the instructions of Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party (CP), USA, left Chicago, Illinois, 7/9/60 for a six-week mission to Czechoslovakia, Russia, other Iron Curtain countries, and possibly Red China. At the suggestion of Boris Ponomarev, in charge of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU), informant cut his trip short and returned to the United States on 7/31/60. Ponomarev felt it was most important that some of the facts concerning the dispute which arose between the CP of China and the CP of the Soviet Union (CPSU) at the congress of the CP of Rumania held in Bucharest, Rumania, 6/60 be given to the CPUSA leadership as soon as possible, especially before it gets into the United States press. The Soviets also suggested that the informant return to the United States at this time in order to urge Gus Hall to attend the congress of the CP of Cuba, which begins in Havana on 8/16/60. The Soviets would like Hall to attend this congress and then travel from Cuba to Moscow for a few days and then return to Cuba by jet airliner.

New York airtel 8/1/60 discloses that CG 5824-S* had a formal meeting with Ponomarev; D. Shevlyagin, assistant to Ponomarev; Nikolai Vladimirovich Mostovets, head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the CCCPSU; and other Russians at the headquarters of the CCCPSU during the week of 7/17/60. Ponomarev remarked:

At the Rumanian congress and the conference of CPs which followed the congress it was decided to set up a commission to explore the differences which exist between the CP of China and the CPSU in an effort to reconcile the divergent views of these participants at the congress. Ponomarev feels that the CPUSA should send a representative of the National Executive Committee to participate in the work of this commission. The Chinese views in opposition to those of the CPSU are (1) war is possible and even inevitable; (2) United States imperialism will resort to war and to talk of coexistence and disarmament is to create illusions; (3) the Chinese in their provincial press are critical of the Soviet Union;

100-428091

100-428091-84

REC-84

AUG 10 1960

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Fox

FFF:ras (5)

SENT DIRECTOR
8-3-60

AUG 10 1960

(4) the Chinese have accused the CPSU of having a one-sided line of peaceful transition to socialism; and (5) the Chinese emphasize that the nature of imperialism has not changed.

Ponomarev said that for six months the Chinese have been training 50 Latin American comrades and have been filling them with Chinese propaganda. Chinese instructors have expressed themselves in a very hostile manner against the CPSU and have inculcated the Latin American comrades with an anti-CPSU spirit. The Chinese suggested to the Latin American comrades that there should be an armed struggle and guerrilla warfare in Panama. They preached to Brazilian comrades that the Brazilians need to resort to armed struggles and uprisings. Some of the Latin American comrades are under the influence of the Chinese, especially in the fight against United States imperialism.

Although there is a peaceful road to socialism, Ponomarev said, that in some cases "we" have recommended, that some CPs have to use the other road.

New York airtel 8/2/60 discloses that Gus Hall, after being advised of the Soviet proposal that he go to Cuba and then make a flying trip to Moscow, said that he would not go to Cuba.

OBSERVATIONS:

It is possible that Hall refuses to go to Cuba because he is at liberty under a $5,000 bond (indicted under Smith Act) which restricts his travel without court permission.

This is the informant's report of his first meeting with Boris Ponomarev. A report of his second meeting with this individual is being prepared by the New York Office for immediate transmittal to the Bureau. Together with these reports will be a document furnished by Ponomarev disclosing the differences which exist between the CP of China and the CPSU and also an 80-page letter from the CPSU to all CPs.

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
RE: SOLO
100-428091

RECOMMENDATION:

After all information is received concerning the dispute which arose at the Rumanian congress between the CP of China and the CPSU, same will be promptly analyzed and disseminated under a ~~"Top Secret"~~ classification to the White House, the Vice President, the Secretary of State, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Attorney General.

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

FBI

Date: 8/2/60

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

REC-11

Via AIRTEL (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO,
IS-C

CG 5824-S* on July 31, 1960, orally furnished the following information on the following pages to SA JOHN E. KEATING, and [redacted] This report consists of details of a conference of Communist Parties held in Bucharest, Roumania, in June 1960. At this conference, there was a running debate between NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV and PENG CHEN of China. CG 5824-S* had obtained this information from notes made by ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, who attended the conference. CG 5824-S* met with FLYNN in Prague, Czechoslovakia during the week of July 10, 1960.

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(3) - BUREAU (100-428091) (RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B SOLO) (AMRM)
1 - NEW YORK (100-134637) (#41)

JEK:DJG
(6)

REC-11 100-428091-842

7 AUG 3 1960

ENCLOSURE

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

Details of Conference of
Communist Parties Held in
Bucharest, Rumania, in
June, 1960

During the week of July 10, 1960, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn made available notes she had made during a Conference of Communist Parties held in Bucharest, Rumania, after the Third Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party.

On June 24, 1960, there had been a preliminary meeting with only representatives of the Socialist Bloc countries present. On June 25, 1960, there was a meeting with representatives of all the fraternal Communist Parties, who were in Bucharest, present at this meeting.

These meetings heard the reading of an 84 page letter from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to all other Communist Parties. This letter deals with the differences between the Soviet Union and China. It contains a series of disagreements in regard to the Chinese communes, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Doctrine of Peaceful Co-existence and so forth. The letter refers to remarks which the Chinese had made at a banquet held during the time the World Federation of Trade Unions met in Peking, China.

Representatives of the Socialist countries in Europe started the discussion on June 25, 1960. All of the speakers stated that they were in agreement with the Moscow Declaration of 1957, that is, the Twelve Party Declaration and the 64 Party Peace Declaration. Except for the Chinese, all the other speakers reaffirmed their adherence to the peace policy of the Soviet Union. The representatives of the Socialist countries in Eastern Europe also endorsed the stand of Nikita Khrushchev at the Summit Meeting in Paris. During this discussion, several speakers leveled criticism at the Chinese Communist Party because of its behavior at a meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions at Peking and at peace councils.

100-[illegible]-842
ENCLOSURE

PENG CHEN, Vice Chairman and Secretary General of the Standing Committee of the Communist Party of China, replied briefly for the Communist Party of China. He stated that the Communist Party of China is in favor of co-existence, but that he had reported to the Communist Party of China what had happened at this meeting and the details of the 84 page letter from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to all other Communist Parties. He said that while the Communist Party of China would send a reply, he wanted to say that some of the charges which have been made here in Bucharest and in the letter of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, were of a slanderous character. He said that there is a need to clarify certain issues and he suggested the study of Chinese documents. He pointed out that the Bandung Conference was the result of the initiative of the Chinese, and that recently, China had entered into agreements with Burma and Nepal. He said that at the meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Peking, China, some of the delegates to this meeting made statements against the Chinese communes. The communes are a Chinese phenomenon. Since we did not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, we, the Chinese people, do not ask for approval or disapproval of the communes.

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PENG CHEN stated further that he thinks that there seems to be a negative attitude to the general lines of the Communist Party of China and a shift away from the document which was issued at the conclusion of the meeting in Peking of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

PENG CHEN went on to praise the Chinese communes. He said that China is constantly increasing its production of steel and that soon, it will produce thirty million tons of steel annually. He referred to the Soviet Union as the country which is heading the Socialist camp, and also said that China supported the Summit Meeting. Comrade MAO

says that the wind from the east overcomes the wind from the west. War can be avoided, but can we completely avoid it? The avoidance of war does not depend on us only. We are not attempting to unleash a new war, but while Imperialism exists, there is a possibility of aggressive war. There are madmen in the camp of Imperialism. They could unleash a war. Why did the United States restore Militarism in Western Germany? Why does the United States spend half of its income for military purposes? The United States unleases great forces for war and they do not do it to celebrate May 1st (this would mean that the Armed Forces of the United States are not merely for display purposes).

Continuing, PENG CHEN stated, therefore, we must be ready for two possibilities. One is to strive for peace, and the other is to be ready for war unleashed by the Imperialists. In the struggle for peace, we move in two directions, in order to increase the might of the Socialist camp, and to organize the forces for peace all over the world. On carrying out the revolution, we prepare for both eventualities, that is, peaceful and non-peaceful. Imperialism suppresses peoples. We must be prepared for that. We work on two lines and two possibilities. If worse comes to worse, or there is armed oppression, we must guarantee that the masses should not ask - Why did you not prepare us? Why did you lie to us?

Regarding the Chinese articles and the book on Leninism published by the Communist Party of China, there has been much criticism by the comrades who are here in Bucharest. These articles and this book are based on the Moscow Declaration. If the comrades think that these publications violate the Moscow Declaration or the Peace Manifesto, they are wrong. Regarding the proposed Bucharest Communique, our delegation has a mandate to deal with the letter of the CPSU to all other Communist Parties. We can have discussions here with all of the fraternal Parties, but we are without powers to make decisions here.

At this point, NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV jumped up and interrupted PENG CHEN. He asked, What if the Parties here want to decide and to adopt documents? It is alright with me.

PENG CHEN replied, we are not mandated to discuss anything else but the CPSU letter. In relation to the letter, we make two proposals as follows:

1. That the Soviet Union hold a conference of the Communist Parties of the Socialist countries. We also want all of the Communist Parties of the world present at this conference.

2. That the text for this conference be prepared in advance by an Editorial Committee. We have sent the present communique to our Political Bureau in Peking. They do not hesitate to reaffirm the Moscow Declaration, but this Bucharest Communique goes further than the Moscow Declaration. Therefore, we can only sign this proposed communique when we hear from our Political Bureau. We feel obligated to ask approval of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China because there is more in this Bucharest Communique than there was in the Moscow Declaration of 1957. There are some new features in the Bucharest Communique.

Continuing, PENG CHEN stated, at the same time, lengthy material was presented to us here and we have only briefly studied it. We were not given sufficient time to study this material. It is impossible to give complete attention to some 84 pages. We ask time to make inquiry of our Central Committee in Peking. Remember, Peking is far away, so far we cannot get a reply. The communications are to blame.

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV jumped up and said, Why don't you blame Moscow for this? PENG CHEN, replying calmly, stated, Our delegation is not vested with authority to vote. At the conference of the Socialist countries yesterday, we asked for more time.

At this point, GHEORGHE GHEORGHIU-DEJ, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers Party (the Communist Party of Rumania), said, Comrade CHEN, speak all you want.

CHEN replied that the Chinese were not given a chance to present the views of the Chinese Communist Party.

Here, there was a big uproar in the hall. ANTONIN NOVOTNY, leader of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, protested that this was not so.

GHEORGHE GHEORGHIU-DEJ said to PENG CHEN, take all the time you want.

PENG CHEN replied, we refuse to consider even continuing today. We want time to get in touch with Peking. Yesterday, at the conference of the Socialist countries, you adopted a declaration without us. We will not say more today.

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV stated, we conferred yesterday until everyone was spent and tired. No matter how strong we are, our strength is limited by Almighty God. We listened to Comrade PENG CHEN of China as long as he wished to speak. We spoke only twenty minutes or so. We did not limit him. He spoke the longest. He should talk to this larger audience today. We are all speakers and orators here. We were not born yesterday. We have grown grey and bald in political argument.

Continuing, KHRUSHCHEV said, the chairman has said that Comrade PENG CHEN can speak today. Now he does not want to speak. This is an uncomradely attitude. This type of debate and argumentation is alright among others where everything

goes, but not among ourselves. Comrade PENG CHEN said he did not study the letter of the CPSU. If he did not study it, how come he says it was slanderous? The Chinese want an okay from Peking. We are a collective body. There are no commissars over us, yet Comrade PENG CHEN says that he will comment only when he receives orders from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

At this point, the conference adjourned, to be resumed on the following day.

On June 26, 1960, the Chinese comrades announced that they had received permission from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to sign the Bucharest Communique if amendments were made to it, but then stated that even if the proposed Chinese amendments were not accepted that they would sign the communique anyway. The Chinese never did present the amendments.

Comrade HYSNI KAPO, Secretary of the Communist Party of Albania, was critical of the tone, methods and attitude of the representatives of the Communist Party of China.

He said that Albania was not ready to speak its opinion. He has informed the Central Committee and the leadership of the developments in Bucharest. He thinks the CPSU and the Communist Party of China should get together and talk things out and then call other Parties in. Otherwise, it is too soon to adopt anything or engage in this type of discussion. The Chinese campaign, articles, etc., before this conference were harmful. China is dear to our hearts. We will endorse the Bucharest Communique.

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV stated, Comrade KAPO said that this is an argument between the CPSU and the Communist Party of China. The time has long passed when arguments were settled by two knights in combat. Not numbers nor muscles can solve these questions today. The great can be small and the small can be great. Here, in this meeting, we have equal terms for all. We do not set any Parties apart. All

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will be involved in this discussion. We do not want, nor seek, differences, but once they have appeared, we must solve them all together. This is the only way - the Marxist-Leninist way. It is regrettable that the Chinese comrades are signing the communique with reservations. They really do not agree with this communique which they signed. This communique is not complete because they signed with reservations and they really do not agree with it.

Continuing, KHRUSHCHEV said, we are not embarrassed, but it does make the situation more complicated. The enemy will be joyful because there is a crack in the Socialist camp.

Then KHRUSHCHEV said, there are differences between the Chinese and the other Communist Parties. It is a pity that the Communist Party of China is not with us. We must do everything to achieve unity, but on a principled basis but not unity for the sake of unity. That is not enough. There have been differences with the Chinese for more than a year and a half. Even in 1957 in Moscow, the Chinese were not in complete agreement when they signed the Moscow Declaration. At the World Federation of Trade Unions banquet in Peking, the Chinese document was the dessert. That was not the Leninist way. It is a Trotskyite way.

One of the main questions is co-existence, war or peace. They (meaning the Chinese comrades) are against co-existence. In Mongolia, a Chinese comrade crossed out a reference to co-existence. He said, "Why is it necessary between China and Mongolia?" We are not speaking of co-existence between our Socialist countries. Co-existence means peace; it is a banner to unite all peoples. Only madmen want war, but even they do not even dare to say so. Even HITLER talked peace and blamed others for war, those who refused to give up territory.

We will doom ourselves if we say that peace and co-existence are impossible. If we say Imperialism has totality over the world. If we say that as long as Imperialism exists "war is inevitable". In other words,

the situation has changed since LENIN formulated his thesis on Imperialism. Imperialism alone cannot decide today to make war. It is not an automatic question, but one of political forces. We have the world's progressive forces with our one-third of the world. There is the Ukranian saying when a son-in-law is drowning, the father-in-law says go down. Should one-third of the world not struggle for peace? It would be a fatal capitulation to surrender to the aggressors and an underestimation of our own strength. We therefore cannot agree with the Communist Party of China.

KHRUSHCHEV continued by stating, after the Chinese comrade spoke at this Third Congress of the Workers Party of Rumania, we, the Chinese and Soviet Comrades, talked privately. The Chinese comrade said, "We are for co-existence", but he did not mention this word in his speech at the Congress. Later, he blamed it on poor translation, but the fact remains the word was not there. See the false position you got into? Such so-called Marxism-Leninism is pure hairsplitting. I am a Marxist-Leninist, but I do not split where the atom is split. Like the Bible said of Noah's Ark, all animals are in the same boat, clean and unclean, and live together by God's will. If war is unleashed, it is said not everyone will be annihilated. I do not want to risk the lives of my people and of the world. (This is a reference to statements by some writers of the Communist Party of China that those who talk of the catastrophic results of war are capitulating to the Imperialists.) Then he, KHRUSHCHEV, turned around to Albanian comrade KAPO and said, well comrade, how do you negotiate that. KAPO, I do not agree with the Chinese. Comrade KHRUSHCHEV goes on, if we are all buried in war you say, Comrade KAPO, you hope that the archeologists will find us together. I do not want to be buried at all, and then he underscored with emphasis, according to the description, we want life. If the Imperialists would die from listening to music, we would give it to them.

We support the 17 Party Declaration of Rome (this is referring to the Declaration of 17 European Parties that met in Rome, January, 1960, declaring for co-existence).

We support the 17 Party Declaration of Rome. The Chinese comrades do not agree. They stated so. The Communist Party of China delegation said we presented 84 pages that they had not read. The Chinese comrades' words are very poisonous against the leaders of other Communist Parties. Ask Comrade MAO, he will tell you. He had a conversation with the Soviet Ambassador recently. I remember a conversation I had with Comrade MAO TSE TUNG when it was proposed to publish an international magazine on theory and politics. He said that the Socialist countries having a grain of truth in the differences would complicate questions and effect the people. Now, such a magazine comes out. The Chinese comrades say, let all flowers bloom.

Parenthetically speaking, the true saying is, let 100 flowers bloom, let 100 thoughts contend.

In 1958, MAO asked us, are you against it? The Russians did not understand. Therefore, we did not publish this idea. The Chinese say, let 100 flowers bloom, let 100 thoughts contend, etc., but some flowers make life beautiful, some are poisonous and must be rooted out. Some very poisonous flowers were widespread in China. The Capitalists grew them. You had to root them out. This is an ideological question; you publish many things in Russian-books, pamphlets, etc., and send them to our country. We have printing presses in our country too. What you're doing is forcing your views on others. Your book, "United States Imperialism is a Paper Tiger" was sent in the Russian language into our country. We don't want it. You are forcing your views on us; we don't want them You once published a good article on the Hungarian situation. We accepted it, we praised it and we published it. We are not rejecting ideas from other countries, but we want to choose for ourselves. We had an agreement with the Chinese Peoples Republic on the publication of two magazines on Chinese-Soviet friendship. What happened? These journals began to publish debatable questions such as we would not even publish in "Pravda". I was advised of the contents of these magazines and I said to our comrades, do not circulate these in our country.

There has been an aggravation of differences between India and China relating to border conflicts. When I was in China last October for the celebration of the 10th Anniversary, I met Comrades MAO, CHOU EN LAI and others. They said, why does not the Soviet Union take the Chinese side on this issue when we are in a struggle with a Capitalist country like India. I said, India and China existed for centuries and never went to war with each other. How could a socialist state aggravate such a war? It is nationalistic and a wrong thing to do to drag the Socialist camp into such a war.

KHRUSHCHEV then illustrated how LENIN had signed the Brest Litovsk Peach Treaty with the Germans that TROTSKY refused to sign. LENIN bartered with the Imperialists when he had to. He, LENIN, signed a treaty with the Turks giving them a large territory so that the working class and others would not regard the Soviet Union as an Imperialist country. For 150 years, Russia had border conflicts with Iran, but we signed treaties with Iran, we made concessions, we gave them so many kilometers in territory. What difference does it make? The people will throw the rulers out some day anyway. But we've got closer to the Iranian people by not antagonizing them over borders. You Chinese comrades say the Indians do all the shooting. How is it that the Indians fall dead then? It is not important who fired the first shot. The Imperialists rejoice over a conflict between India and China. Supposing we said we are for China; The United States will say they are for India. EISENHOWER said to NEHRU while he was there, take a firm stand, we will always support you. Comrades, NEHRU and EISENHOWER are different. Is there a difference between the Shah and NEHRU? Of course there is. This is a national conflict, not a social question. The Indian Communist Party must not say the Chinese are right. Our party there in India is disoriented by this conflict. The conflict has rallied the reactionaries around NEHRU. How many Chinese are there? Certainly, China is stronger than India, although a census has not been made. There are 212 million of us in the Soviet Union. We are third in size and population after India. For China, it is not a question of to be or not to

be. We deplored this situation; this border conflict. We had hoped that a conference would resolve the issues between China and India. We in our country set up commissions in discussing all border incidents. We discuss at length and settle these. It would be shear foolishness if we tried to paint India an an aggressor. We do not agree with NEHRU, but we respect him as an honorable man. We can come to terms with him on disarmament.

The Chinese call me an opportunist. Who gives you comrades the right to pin labels on people. The conflict over Taiwan, Formosa, was different. We sent notes to the United States that an attack on China would be considered an attack on the Soviet Union. We would reply with rocket blows, etc., etc. This is Socialist solidarity. What is the true essence of a country is important. You are my friend, but we must speak the truth. Our futures depend upon it. LENIN said once, "Just scratch a great Russian Communist and you will find a Chauvinist". The chief danger then was of Russian Chauvinism. I said, LENIN was right at the Eighth Congress when he made this statement. At that time, there were 100 languages spoken, 100 nationalities. Now there are fifteen union republics and many autonomous regions. All these people were subjects of Russia under the Czar. LENIN said we must fight to make all equal in the great family of the Soviet Union. LENIN ceded the territory to Finland. He was criticized for it, but he did it. Not only for us, but for you too, comrades of China, must we foster Communist tradition not merely national ones.

The Chinese do not believe India will be a Socialist country some day. I do believe it. Get together, draw up a border line. No one will remember later what it is. So, suppose we said of the Socialist countries, all borders must be corrected. Let's correct them. We would not leave here with a hair on our heads. There are fifteen republics in the Soviet Union. Suppose we say let's

rectify or discuss borders; a free for all would start. A man crossing a border now does not even know its there. It goes to show it has nothing to do with class conflicts. Let's not argue over little things. This is not a useful conflict. This conflict has discredited the Communist Party of India and NEHRU has become a national hero. Why was this necessary? We must take a position and guard against future conflicts. We must have a definite attitude.

KHRUSHCHEV continues - regarding the work in the Peace Committee, the Chinese comrades do not understand. They mix up the national question and the colonial struggle. The Peace Committee is like Noah's Ark; all who want to fight for peace are there. We gave the LENIN medal to [redacted] of the United States, a Capitalist. He is proud to wear it. Surely, it is a changed situation when a Capitalist will wear our medal with pride. In the peace councils, we must put down the forces of the colonizers. The peace councils, however, are not class organizations.

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Two years ago, representatives of the armed forces of the Soviet Union and China met to discuss anti-aircraft defense of our regions. We might be so situated that our planes might have to land in Chinese territory. Like in World War II, United States planes would leave Africa, bomb Germany and land in Russia. Comrades, would you believe it, the Chinese said no to our request. Our generals asked what to do. Such misunderstandings are no good. The Imperialists will hang us one by one.

Parenthetically speaking, it should be noted that KHRUSHCHEV has been subjected to criticism for his speeches. The Chinese must have charged that he does not represent the viewpoint of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and that he speaks for himself as an individual.

So KHRUSHCHEV made the following statements:

All my speeches are delivered after approval by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This was true while I was traveling in the USA; this is true while I'm here and elsewhere. You Chinese are trying to separate me from everybody.

Parenthetically speaking, it should be noted that the Chinese have been circulating a document against KHRUSHCHEV. This document was previously concealed and was kept secret. Now they have been circulating it. In it they infer that he was not speaking with the authority of the Central Committee.

As to the slogan of the Chinese comrades, "Neither peace nor war" - Our 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union condemned STALIN. We had to do it. All the members of the 17th Congress of the Party were exiled, perished or imprisoned for sixteen or seventeen years. They were the cream of the Bolsheviks. What to tell the people? We must state the truth at the right moment. The first Congress we held after

his, STALIN's, death, was the right time. Some people knew more than others like MOLOTOV, MALENKOV, KAGANOVICH and others. We said we must state what we know. The people may forgive us if we state it now, later they will not believe us or forgive us. While the Chinese comrades supported us, they were trying even then to undermine our leadership. They said "There are two swords, one is LENIN's, one is STALIN's - if it is rusty, let us clean it". LENIN's sword was directed against our enemies, STALIN's had our people's blood on it. Peasants and workers I talk to today say how good life is but let us prevent war. More even say better if he, STALIN, died ten years earlier. We say, to tell our people all is to strengthen our leadership.

Parenthetically speaking, it should be noted that this means that the conflict between the Soviet and Chinese leaders over the expose of STALIN was much deeper going and sharper that we had known up to now.

On the question of the communes or the issue of the communes - To begin with, one might say it is an internal question of China. We have nothing against it but we won't follow that path. LENIN set up cooperatives. There is no unity in the Communist Party of China on the question of communes and you know it. A lot was not won by this method. A comrade who opposed this policy, that is the communes, was sent to a "monastery". We would send such people to a Party school. Even in China, the character is changing. Now you are beginning to form brigades and collective farms and so on. The Chinese come out against the payment of labor. We in the Soviet Union must do this, we must pay wages until we are able to switch to real Communist principles. If we are asked our opinion we are not in favor of the Chinese position on communes. We are switching in the Soviet Union to automation. We are installing the latest of machinery and methods of production. Don't you try to thrust your systems (of communes) upon us. In our country, we are opposed to leaps. We believe in good planning and organization. If this is lacking we will have ups and downs and have to resort to leaps. Sometimes workers work unevenly or supplies are uneven. Workers even in our country in the old days resorted to strikes

on this account. [redacted] spoke to them, convinced the workers why we need better organization, etc., and the workers agreed. Your Chinese papers and magazines write about the leaps. Thousands of our people live in China. They do not speak of it. Our specialists are asked questions they cannot answer. Why? We do not want to sharpen the differences between us. The letter that we put out was addressed to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to other Parties of the Socialist camp. We may have to send this letter to the other Parties because it is out in the open. On behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union delegation, we express joy that there is absolute unity on many of these questions we have discussed here at the 3rd Congress in Bucharest. We are sure that your Central Committees will rally behind you and the Bucharest Declaration when you report back. We propose to set up a commission to draft a new declaration to summarize our views. We hope to be able to do this in November.

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PENG CHEN:

I gave full attention to the criticisms and accusations of comrade KHRUSHCHEV. Every word of what he said. I am in full agreement with him that these conflicts between us are not of personalities but of Parties. On the international situation, how to conduct the battle against our enemies and how to defend peace. We agree that unity must be on a principled basis. The discussions must be conducted on an equal basis, on a fraternal basis. We respect the Communist Party of the Soviet Union a great deal as an elder brother. As to relations, our relations must be between equal Parties based on firm principles where we strive for truth and not deceive ourselves. In all our documents, we state that our Parties are fraternal, not father and son. On signing the communique, I repeat that which was said before in the exchange of letters. On June 7, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union proposed an exchange of opinions but that these exchanges do not result in decisions. On June 23, I received a draft of the communique. I saw comrade GEORGHE GHEORGHIU-DEJ the next day. I asked for two days delay. It is easy for some of the other Parties because many of them are represented by their First Secretaries. We are not so represented. We have no such high placed peoples

present here at this conference. We cannot act and make decisions as others are able to do.

Parenthetically speaking, it should be noted that this was considered a dig too, at the Secretaries of the parties present.

We insist that we did not received equal treatment at this meeting. As to labels, many were pinned on us in documents and speeches here, etc., we received our share and unjustly so. We did not want to take the floor but now we must because comrade KHRUSHCHEV accuses us of so much and pinned so many labels on us that we have to answer.

Parenthetically speaking, they had a reception opening the 3rd Congress of the Communist Party of Rumania Workers Party.

At the reception speech, comrade KHRUSHCHEV did not mention the Communist Party of China directly but he repeated plainly today his accusations against MAO TSE TUNG, against the general line, against the communes, against the great leaps, against the conflict with India and in general, said that we are mistaken. He charged that our meeting with the 17 Communist leaders who were present at the World Federation of Trade Unions meeting in Peking, was treacherous and that our speeches should be classified as crimes. While you demand for yourself that your speech be open to the whole world.

Parenthetically speaking, it should be noted that this means his speech before the World Communist Movement.

Is this Bolshevik discipline, Comrade KHRUSHCHEV? As to attacking you personally, we recognize you as a representative of the Soviet Union. We object to your speech at the reception of the Rumanian Workers Party while the bourgeois press was present. While you say we should not address trade union representatives, you let the bourgeois press listen in on us. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China sent this delegation which conferred for eight hours in Moscow with the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We talked with you, comrade KHRUSHCHEV, here for six hours. Comrade KHRUSHCHEV said in Moscow that EISENHOWER enjoys the full confidence of the American people. We object to this; is he, IKE, as sincere for peace as we are being told. Can we treat him as you do. Comrade MAO said, go to Moscow, see comrade KHRUSHCHEV, express our opinions by way of suggestions, try if possible to achieve unity. But all our proposals were rejected. We will study all remarks made here in keeping with reality but we will never agree that nothing is right in China.

KHRUSHCHEV interrupts:

In 1958, MAO told him, KHRUSHCHEV, that he, MAO, walked out demonstratively on MIKOYAN, while he was speaking.

An unknown Chinese comrade interrupted:

MAO did not come, he was not there, so how could he walk out.

KHRUSHCHEV, still interrupting:

In talking to our ambassador, MAO said our war experiences are better than the Russians. We Russians wanted to build a radio station on Chinese territory. We wanted to keep in contact with our submarine fleet. The Chinese comrades refused us this permission.

KHRUSHCHEV then turned around to the Chinese:

We never refused you any request. Later you said you would build this station but you never did to this day.

Parenthetically speaking, it should be noted that according to what was later heard, KHRUSHCHEV elaborated on this and asked what would be the consequences if there was a war because the Russians were not permitted to build this radio station.

PENG CHEN; losing his composure and dignity, stated:

The Soviet military experts in your academies and schools never deliver lectures on Chinese guerilla warfare. All they talk about is the anti-Nazi war.

KHRUSHCHEV said if it is a question of war there should be no such thing as cost or petty details. The mutual defense of our countries is for us to use together. There are no such stations there now in your country. The Imperialists can make war. There is no station. This question could have been solved in a few moments on the spot.

PENG CHEN said, I asked what kind of a conference we would have, an exchange of experiences or condemnation of our parties. Many are not familiar with the World Federation of Trade Unions and what happened at the Peking meeting but you condemn us. We will sign the Bucharest document, for the Communist cause of unity, whether the amendments will be accepted or rejected.

The question has been raised why in our speeches we do not talk of peaceful co-existence. We examined a translation and it was apparently left out. But I did refer to states of different social systems.

WALTER ULBRICHT, Head of Germany, interrupts:

Why no word of peaceful co-existence?

PENG CHEN:

Because we talk of the fight for peace. We include this in all our documents.

KHRUSHCHEV:

Why did you read it when you read it to me in person?

No answer from PENG CHEN.

PENG CHEN takes the floor:

This meeting was deliberately organized by KHRUSHCHEV to attack our Party. You cannot convince MAO and convince me so you must resort to this method.

ULBRICHT:

You say you accidentally dropped these two words on such an important occasion with the whole world listening to you?

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PENG CHEN:

If you study our speeches for two years, it will show that we refer to it at all times.

[redacted] from Spain:

You Chinese comrades gathered all the Communist Party leaders in the World Federation of Trade Unions while in Peking. Why did you leave out the two Spanish delegates?

Parenthetically speaking, it should be noted that there were two delegates from Spain left out for showing disagreement with the Chinese beforehand.

No answer given.

KHRUSHCHEV interrupts:

We, at the latest Warsaw Treaty Conference, agreed not to publish any speeches or to make speeches about it. The Chinese delegate KANG CHENG, who represented China in Warsaw at the Military Treaty Conference, did publish his speech.

Parenthetically speaking, it should be noted that KHRUSHCHEV charged CHENG with violating the agreement of the Warsaw Treaty.

Another unknown Chinese comrade:

Stated that the speech did not refer to military matters or agricultural matters. We did not divulge any military secret out of Warsaw.

KHURSHCHEV:

I will not hereafter participate in conferences with the Chinese comrades if the agreements will not be kept.

Chinese comrade:

We will do the same thing.

Soviet Delegate (believed to be BORIS PONOMAREV):

KANG CHENG is playing naive. You are an experienced political worker. We agreed in Warsaw not to publish documents but you admit you published it in reply to KHRUSHCHEV's speech at the reception (Warsaw).

KHRUSHCHEV jumps up:

In relation to Paris, the Summit, I said no international question can be solved without China, Indonesia, India and others to be represented there. The Imperialists said that KHRUSHCHEV torpedoed the Summit because he wants the Chinese and others present.

Another unknown Chinese jumped up:

We feel we are in the right; that we are corresponding to the Moscow declaration.

KHRUSHCHEV rejects the general line of our Party and is carrying on work with other Communist Parties to undermine the Communist Party of China. All Parties' opinion should be solicited.

French delegate [redacted] of Central Committee:

We are fighting here for unity. We consider the methods you use (talking to the Chinese) and differences with our Parties are unforgivable. Our Trade Union comrades in Peking were faced with problems they did not know how to deal with. We knew we would discuss these problems here. It is not only the interests of the Communist Party of China that are involved here, it is the interest of my Party and all other Parties involved. The position of the Communist Party of China is illogical. The representative who just spoke, spoke incorrectly in treating the character of our meeting. In 1957, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union helped greatly and we all facilitated the work. Here comrades from all countries bring in reports that the line has proven correct, the general line of the struggle for peace. Among ourselves, the methods of the Communist movement must be used, not those used by the Chinese comrades at the peace conference or at the World Federation of Trade Unions. These methods are not to be used here.

GEORGHE GHEORGHIU-DEJ:

He said that the differences remain despite all our efforts to convince the Chinese comrades. We did not achieve the results we expected. In the future, we hope we will succeed in convincing them of the line of the other Communist Parties. There will be a conference this autumn of the Communist Workers Party of the world in Moscow.

KHRUSHCHEV:

Let it be around the November 7 celebration. Since our trade unions take two days off and won't let us work on the 8th, let this conference begin on the 9th.

When the communique was issued on June 27, it was published first in the Rumanian Party paper "Scanetria" (official organ of the Rumanian Party). It was officially signed by all Parties and approved by all the fraternal Parties present at this meeting.

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Fox
1 - Liaison Section

August 9, 1960

BY LIAISON

Miss Rose Mary Woods
Executive Secretary to the Vice President
Room T-6, The Capitol
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Rose Mary:

I am enclosing a letter which I believe the Vice President may wish to see.

Sincerely,

JEH

Enclosure

100-428091

NOTE ON YELLOW:

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 8/8/60 captioned "Solo; Internal Security - C." FFF:ras.

FFF:ras (4)
(7)

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MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

INDEXED 109 REC-32

100-428091-843

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~~TOP SECRET~~

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Fox

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 05-12-2011

August 9, 1960

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

Dear Dick:

I thought you would be interested in the following information obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA, concerning statements made in Moscow, Russia, by Nikolai Mostovets and [redacted] during July, 1960. Nikolai Mostovets is head of the North and South American Section of the International Department, Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and [redacted] is [redacted] of Eugene Dennis, National Chairman, Communist Party, USA. b6 b7C

Mostovets stated that the disagreements between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union involve matters of state as well as ideological differences between the communist parties of the two countries. According to Mostovets, the Chinese have asked the Russians for modern military weapons such as nuclear warheads, missiles and atomic bombs, but Russia has not complied with these requests.

[redacted] who has many contacts among leading members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, stated that part of the problem between Red China and Russia is the refusal of Russia to grant Chinese requests for modern military weapons. Because the Communist Party of China has not gone along with the ideology of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in regard to peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union, as a state, has hesitated to grant requests of Red China for modern military weapons since Russia cannot anticipate what China might do with these weapons. [redacted] commented the Russians are afraid that perhaps China might drop a nuclear bomb on Formosa or on some other place and thereby trigger a world war. b6 b7C

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100-428091

REC- 32

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW, PAGE TWO

~~TOP SECRET~~

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MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Honorable Richard M. Nixon

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

This information is being disseminated to other appropriate officials of the Government.

Sincerely,

EDGAR

NOTE ON YELLOW:

This letter is classified ~~"Top Secret"~~ because disclosure of this information to unauthorized persons may tend to identify our highly placed informant, with resultant grave damage to our national defense.

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 8/8/60 captioned "Solo; Internal Security - C." FFF:ras.

~~TOP SECRET~~

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Fox

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 05-12-2011

August 9, 1960

BY LIAISON

By courier service per Liaison 8/11/60

Honorable Christian A. Herter
The Secretary of State
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. Herter:

I thought you would be interested in the following information obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA, concerning statements made in Moscow, Russia, by Nikolai Mostovets and [redacted] during July, 1960. Nikolai Mostovets is head of the North and South American Section of the International Department, Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and [redacted] of Eugene Dennis, National Chairman, Communist Party, USA.

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b7C

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SENT FOR APPROVAL

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SEE NOTE ON YELLOW, PAGE TWO

REC-32

AUG 11 1960

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MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Christian A. Herter

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

This information is being disseminated to other appropriate officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE ON YELLOW:

This letter is classified ~~"Top Secret"~~ because disclosure of this information to unauthorized persons may tend to identify our highly placed informant, with resultant grave damage to our national defense.

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 8/8/60 captioned "Solo; Internal Security - C." FFF:ras.

~~TOP SECRET~~

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
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Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Ingram
Gandy

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: August 5, 1960

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CG 5824-S*, at the instructions of Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party (CP), USA, left Chicago, Illinois, 7-9-60 on a sixth Solo mission to Czechoslovakia and Russia. He returned to the United States on 7-31-60.

My memorandum 8-3-60 discloses that informant, at the suggestion of Boris Ponomarev, in charge of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union (CPSU), returned home immediately in order to report to the CP, USA, leadership concerning the dispute which occurred between the CPSU and the CP of China (CPC) at the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party, held in Bucharest, Rumania, in June, 1960, At this Congress the Chinese felt that war is possible and even inevitable; that United States imperialism will resort to war; that to talk of coexistence and disarmament is to create illusions; and that the nature of imperialism has not changed. The CPSU did not agree with the Chinese viewpoints in these matters.

New York airtel 8-2-60 discloses that Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Vice-Chairman of the CP, USA, attended the Conference of Communist Parties held in Bucharest, Rumania, in June, 1960, which Conference followed the Rumanian Congress. Flynn advised our informant that a running debate between Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev and Peng Chen, Vice-Chairman and Secretary General of the Standing Committee of the CPC,had taken place at this Conference. She substantiated the information furnished by Ponomarev concerning the disagreements that exist between the CPSU and the CPC.

Enclosures

100-428091

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Fox

REC- 89 100-428091-5845

12 AUG 10 1960

EX-108

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(6)

ENCLOSURE
61 AUG 24 1960

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
RE: SOLO
100-428091

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. Attached for approval is the yellow file copy (original on plastiplate) of a summary, classified ~~"Top Secret,"~~ incorporating pertinent data furnished by the informant.

2. Also attached are letters transmitting a copy of the summary to each of the following: Honorable Richard M. Nixon, the Vice President; Honorable Gordon Gray, Special Assistant to the President; Honorable Christian A. Herter, the Secretary of State; Mr. Allen W. Dulles, Director, Central Intelligence Agency; and the Attorney General.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 05-12-2011

~~TOP SECRET~~

[redacted]

b6
b7C

August 5, 1960

[redacted]
Class.
Declass.
NLE-84-120

(U)

CONFLICT OF VIEWS BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

For the past year and a half there has been a conflict of views between the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). At first this conflict was an ideological one; however, proceedings and discussions which took place at the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party held in June, 1960, in Bucharest, Rumania, and the Conference of Communist Parties which immediately followed, brought this conflict out into the open and disclosed that it was more deep-seated than at first believed. (U)

Soviet Charges Aired (U)

Prior to the Conference of Communist Parties, the CPSU sent a letter dealing with the ideological dispute between the CPC and the CPSU to all other communist parties. This letter dealt with disagreements between the two parties, among which were those pertaining to the Chinese communes and the doctrine of peaceful coexistence. This letter was read to the Conference and touched off a heated discussion among the delegates, particularly those delegates from China and the Soviet Union. (U)

In July, 1960, Boris Ponomarev, who is in charge of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU and who attended the Conference, commented concerning the serious differences which exist between the CPC and the CPSU. According to Ponomarev, the CPSU does not agree with the expressed views of the Chinese when they say that (1) war is possible and even inevitable; (2) United States imperialism will resort to war; (3) to talk of coexistence and disarmament is to create illusions; and (4) the nature of imperialism has not changed. Ponomarev accused the Chinese of being critical of the Soviet Union in their provincial press and objected to (U)

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Parsons
Belmont
Callahan
DeLoach
Malone
McGuire
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Ingram
Gandy

100-428091
JHK/FFF:las
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PLASTIPLATE

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~TOP SECRET~~

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW, PAGE 4

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-84

the Chinese accusation that the CPSU had a one-sided line on "peaceful transition to socialism." (U)

Ponomarev pointed out that although there is a peaceful road to socialism, in some cases "we" have recommended that some communist parties have to use the other road. Ponomarev felt it was most important that some of the facts concerning this dispute be brought to the attention of the Communist Party (CP), USA, leadership as soon as possible. (U)

Khrushchev Widens the Breach (U)

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Vice-Chairman of the CP, USA, and a member of the CP, USA, National Executive Committee, was in attendance at the Conference. Flynn, while in Prague, Czechoslovakia, during July, 1960, made statements concerning a running debate which took place at the Conference between Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev and Peng Chen, Vice-Chairman and Secretary General of the Standing Committee of the CPC, which statements disclose there are real disagreements between the CPC and the CPSU. (U)

Flynn stated that the tone for the Conference was set in accusations and counteraccusations exchanged between Khrushchev and Peng Chen. Peng Chen accused the CPSU of making slanderous charges against the CPC, to which Khrushchev retorted that the words of the Chinese comrades were very poisonous against the leaders of other CPs. (U)

Premier Khrushchev, according to Flynn, indicated that the Soviet Union was concerned because of an aggravation of differences that exist between China and India relating to border conflicts. Khrushchev also stated that he could not agree with the CPC on its views that peace and coexistence are impossible; that imperialism has totality over the world; and that as long as imperialism exists, war is inevitable. (U)

Khrushchev, according to Flynn, while engaged in a heated discussion with Peng Chen, accused the Chinese of refusing to allow the Russians to build a radio station on Chinese territory. In this respect Khrushchev stated that the Russians wanted to build a radio station on Chinese territory in order to keep in contact with the Russian submarine fleet; that the Chinese comrades refused the Russians this permission; and that the Chinese stated they would build the station but that they never have "to this day." (U)

China Trains Latin Americans (U)

Another activity of the Chinese communists which has greatly disturbed the Russians has been the Chinese relationship with Latin-American comrades. According to Ponomarev, the Chinese for six months have been training fifty Latin-American comrades and filling them with Chinese propaganda. Chinese instructors have expressed themselves in a very hostile manner against the CPSU and have inculcated the Latin-American comrades with an anti-CPSU spirit. The Chinese, according to Ponomarev, suggested to the comrades from Latin America that there should be an armed struggle and guerrilla warfare in Panama. They have preached to Brazilian comrades that the Brazilians need to resort to armed struggles and uprisings. Some of the Latin-American comrades are under the influence of the Chinese, especially in the fight against United States imperialism. (U)

Chinese Reaction (U)

Peng Chen, in defending the position of the Chinese, according to Flynn, announced at the Conference that China had entered into agreements with Burma and Nepal and that soon China will be able to produce thirty million tons of steel annually. Peng Chen went on to praise the Chinese communes and stated that other CPs should not interfere in the internal affairs of China just because they did not approve of the communes. (U)

The Chinese delegates gave full attention to the criticisms and accusations leveled against the CPC by Premier Khrushchev. They feel that Khrushchev rejected the general line of the CPC and that he is carrying on work with other CPs to undermine the Chinese communists. However, the Chinese delegates agreed to sign the Bucharest document or communique to show that the communist cause is unified. Khrushchev said it was regrettable that the Chinese comrades would sign the communique with reservations when they did not agree with the document they were signing. According to Flynn, the vast majority of the CPs present at the Conference sided with the viewpoints and arguments of the CPSU. (U)

Conflict Unresolved (U)

Despite the discussions which took place at the Conference and the efforts to close the breach, the Conference ended without any settlement of the conflict of views between the two parties. Ponomarev has remarked that the serious differences which exist and which were debated at the Conference are so deep that it has been decided to set up a commission to explore these disagreements in an effort to reconcile the divergent views expressed by the CPC and the CPSU. Ponomarev stated that the purpose of this commission will be to explore these differences, talk them out and see what can be done; that perhaps this will only result in a big argument, but "we" do not know; and that "we" think the CP, USA, should send a representative of its National Executive Committee to participate in the work of this commission. The first meeting of this commission is tentatively set to meet in Moscow, Russia, in November, 1960. (U)

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Classified "Top Secret" because disclosure of this information to unauthorized persons may tend to identify our highly placed informant, with resultant grave damage to our national defense. (U)

"Solo;" See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 8/5/60 captioned Internal Security - C." FFF:ras/kmo. (U)

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

F B I

Date: 8/7/60

REC-8

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637) (41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

CG 5824-S*, on August 5, 1960, orally furnished the information on the following page to SA JOHN E. KEATING. This report concerns the possibility of JOHN PITTMAN and JAMES JACKSON accompanying NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV on a trip to Africa as correspondents for "The Worker."

b6
b7C

[redacted]

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (SOLO) (AMRM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

JEK:msb
(6)

REC-8 100-428091-846

AUG 8 1960

ENCLOSURE

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

62 AUG 18 1960

POSSIBILITY OF JOHN PITTMAN AND JAMES JACKSON ACCOMPANYING NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV ON A TRIP TO AFRICA AS CORRESPONDENTS FOR "THE WORKER"

During July, 1960, NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS, head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and SENA KUZNETSOV, an employee of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU, who is very ill, were told that both JAMES JACKSON and JOHN PITTMAN had expressed a desire to accompany NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, as correspondents for "The Worker," if KHRUSHCHEV makes a trip to Africa.

MOSTOVETS and KUZNETSOV stated that if a decision is made to send foreign correspondents with KHRUSHCHEV to Africa, they prefer to send PITTMAN and not JACKSON. They pointed out that if the CP,USA wants to send another person to accompany KHRUSHCHEV as a foreign correspondent, then the CP,USA should send this person from the United States to Africa at the time of KHRUSHCHEV's trip.

1 - [illegible] - 846

ENCLOSURE

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

FBI

Date: 8/9/60

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

NY 694-S* advised SA [redacted] on 8/9/60 that he had made reservations for CG 5824-S*, in the name of [redacted] to leave Idlewild Airport, New York City, at 4:30 p.m. on Thursday, August 11, 1960, on Cubana Airlines, Flight #999. This flight is scheduled to arrive in Havana, Cuba, at 7:45 p.m. on 8/11/60. Cubana Airlines also cabled reservations in the name of [redacted] at the Havana Riviera Hotel.

CG 5824-S* expects to be in Cuba for approximately ten days.

3 - Bureau (100-428091)(RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(SOLO)(AMRM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

JEK:msb
(6)

REC-8 100-428091-847

EX-100 5 AUG 10 1960

INT. SEC.

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

62 AUG 12 1960

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

FBI

Date: 8/7/60

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

CG 5824-S*, on August 5, 1960, orally furnished the information on the following pages to SA JOHN E. KEATING. This information pertains to a proposal that Bishop [redacted] imprisoned in China, be exchanged for WILLIAM Z. FOSTER.

[redacted]

b6
b7C

3 - Bureau (100-428091)(RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(SOLO)(AMRM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

JEK:msb
(6)

EX 100 REC- 8 100-428091-848

AUG 8 1960

11

3 ENCLOSURE

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

INFORMATION PERTAINING TO A PROPOSAL
THAT BISHOP [redacted] IMPRISONED IN CHINA,
BE EXCHANGED FOR WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

b6
b7C

In a conversation with LADISLAV KOCMAN (phonetic), of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, during the week of July 10, 1960, he said that WILLIAM L. PATTERSON had asked the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia if Czechoslovakia had any American prisoners it would be willing to exchange with the United States in order to permit WILLIAM Z. FOSTER to travel to Europe. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia told PATTERSON that it was not interested in any such proposition.

JOHN PITTMAN, "The Worker's" correspondent in Moscow, stated during July, 1960, that [redacted] FOSTER's personal physician, began the negotiations in China for a possible exchange of Bishop [redacted] who is imprisoned in China, for [redacted] FOSTER. [redacted] brought word back from China that China would consider such a proposition. [redacted] also returned from China with material for FOSTER on the current ideological dispute between the Communist Party of China and the CPSU.

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By way of comment, it now appears that the initiative for the proposal that Bishop [redacted] be exchanged for FOSTER came from FOSTER and was proposed by [redacted] and/or PATTERSON. The fact that [redacted] was in China and returned with material for FOSTER probably accounts for the fact that FOSTER had made arrangements for the mimeographing of Chinese articles dealing with the dispute between the Communist Party of China and the CPSU.

On August 2, 1960, GUS HALL, General Secretary of the CP,USA, stated that he did not know anything about this proposed exchange until recently and certainly did not know anything about it prior to the time that either PATTERSON or

100-[illegible]-848

[redacted] went abroad.

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HALL stated that MARY KAUFMAN had spoken to a brother of Bishop [redacted] before he left the United States to visit the Bishop in China. The brother said that he would not do anything in regard to this proposal until he returned to the United States, since he did not want to jeopardize his trip to China in any way.

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

FBI

Date: 8/7/60

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL (Priority or Method of Mailing)

REC-8

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Callahan
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Malone
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Mr. Ingram
Miss Gandy

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

CG 5824-S*, on August 5, 1960, orally furnished the information on the following pages to SA JOHN E. KEATING. This report contains the reason why the Communist Party of the Soviet Union did not permit GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT to go to Ghana and information concerning [redacted]

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3 - Bureau (100-428091)(RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(SOLO)(AMRM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

EX-100

JEK:msb
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100-428091-849

AUG 9 1960

3 ENCLOSURE

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

58 AUG 16 1960

REASON WHY THE CPSU DID NOT PERMIT
GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT TO GO TO GHANA
AND INFORMATION CONCERNING [redacted]

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During July, 1960, NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS, head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, stated that he had a discussion in Moscow with GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT and [redacted] members of the National Committee of the CP,USA. He said that he had given them a brief description of the current ideological differences between the Communist Party of China and the CPSU.

MOSTOVETS stated that LIGHTFOOT wanted to go to Ghana from Russia in order to attend a conference of African women. The CPSU did not give her permission to do this. The reason for the refusal was that the CPSU did not want to create the impression with the governments of either Ghana or the United States that the CPSU had somebody in Moscow whom they had trained for this trip and who went from Moscow to Ghana with instructions, etc.

GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT offered a counter proposal that she be permitted to go to another European country and leave from that country for Ghana. The CPSU also refused this request since LIGHTFOOT would have had to leave for Ghana in a few days after arriving in any other European country. The CPSU would give her permission to go to Ghana only if she first returned to the United States. LIGHTFOOT cried when she was given this information, and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN interceded for LIGHTFOOT, but the CPSU would not change its decision.

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b7C

MOSTOVETS also stated that [redacted] wanted to remain in Moscow for one year for the purpose of going to school. The CPSU also refused this request. [redacted] was told that the CPSU had done all it could do for her medically

ENCLOSURE

100-428071-849

and that they did not want her to remain in Russia for that long a period.

During the last week of July, 1960, GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT and [redacted] were in Prague, Czechoslovakia, on their way back to the United States. LIGHTFOOT admitted that the Russians had a valid argument in not permitting her to go to Ghana.

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b7C

LIGHTFOOT and [redacted] stated that they attended a Communist Party school in Moscow, Russia, during the last two weeks they were in Russia. They took a course in social science and they were very happy that they were permitted to do this. The [redacted] an employee of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU, served as their translator at this school.

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

FBI

Date: 8/5/60

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

CG 5824-S*, on August 5, 1960, orally furnished the information on the following page to SA JOHN E. KEATING. This information is to the effect that JOE NORTH, WILLIAM PATTERSON and LOUISE PATTERSON were in China during July, 1960.

[redacted]

b6
b7C

3 - Bureau (100-428091)(RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(SOLO)(AMRM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

JEK:msb
(6)

REC-5 100-428091-850

16 AUG 5 1960

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

INFORMATION THAT JOE NORTH, WILLIAM PATTERSON AND LOUISE PATTERSON WERE IN CHINA DURING JULY, 1960

During one of the many conversations with NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS, head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, during the period between July 19 and July 27, 1960, he stated that, at that time, JOE NORTH and WILLIAM and LOUISE PATTERSON were in China.

MOSTOVETS said that he did not like the manner in which NORTH had made arrangements to go to China from Moscow, Russia. NORTH had persuaded JOHN PITTMAN, "The Worker" correspondent in Moscow, to take him to the Chinese Embassy in Moscow in order to obtain the necessary permission, visas, etc., for the trip from Moscow to China. Neither PITTMAN nor NORTH notified the CPSU that this was being done.

In a subsequent conversation, JOHN PITTMAN stated that he realized that he had made an error, and, in the future, would notify the CPSU before taking any American to the Chinese Embassy in Moscow.

100-[illegible]-850

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

FBI

Date: 8/2/60

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

Via AIRTEL (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

CG 5824-S* on 8/2/60, called attention to a news item appearing on page one of the Tuesday, 8/2/60, edition of the New York Times. This item is captioned: 'Chou Asks U. S. Peace Pact; Seeks a Non-Nuclear Zone.'

CG 5824-S* particularly pointed out the following quotation attributed to CHOU En lai in this article:

'Some provocateurs have accused China of having given up its policy of seeking peaceful relations with countries with differing social systems. These are slanders and not at all correct.

In the opinion of CG 5824-S*, this statement is a result of the current dispute between the CP of the Soviet Union and the CP of China. The term provocateurs is addressed to the CP, SU, and is as strong a Marxist-Leninist term as CHOU En lai could use. The statement is aimed at the Russians, but is for the whole world to know. The statement is an indication that the CP of China is fighting for the allegiance of other CPs even if this means drawing these parties away from the allegiance to the CP, SU. The statement strongly infers that the CP of China feels that it is being framed by the CP, SU and thus reflects the depth of the current dispute between Russia and China.

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REC- 84 100-428091-851

7 AUG 8 1960

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46 Sub B) (SOLO) (JM)
2 - New York (100-134637)

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50 AUG 15 1960

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

CG 5824-S* referred to the proposal for a peace pact with the US and other proposals made by CHOU En lai as efforts by the Chinese government to maneuver in the international, diplomatic arena.

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

FBI

Date: 8/7/60

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637) (41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

CG 5824-S*, on August 6, 1960, orally furnished the information on the following page to SA JOHN E. KEATING. This report contains information concerning ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (SOLO) (AMRM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

JEK:msb
(6)

100-428091-852

9 AUG 8 1960

REC-84

ENCLOSURE

50 AUG 15 1960

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

INFORMATION CONCERNING ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN stated in Prague, Czechoslovakia, on Saturday, July 16, 1960, that when she first arrived in Russia, she and GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT spent 28 days in the sanitarium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. She said that this was before the U-2 incident, and she believes that the CPSU wanted to keep her and LIGHTFOOT out of sight in contemplation of the visit of President EISENHOWER to the Soviet Union.

FLYNN stated that she had made a short speech at the conference of the Communist Parties in Bucharest, Romania, in behalf of the CP,USA. In this speech, she supported the position of the CPSU as opposed to the position of the Communist Party of China.

BORIS PONOMAREV, head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU, confirmed that FLYNN made a speech at the Bucharest conference, and he praised her for supporting the viewpoint of the CPSU.

Members of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia also confirmed that FLYNN spoke at the Bucharest conference in defense of the position of the CPSU.

FLYNN stated that she plans to be in Europe at least until sometime in November, 1960.

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ENCLOSU[illegible]

1 - [redacted] b6 b7C

SAC, New York (100-106126) August 8, 1960

Director, FBI (100-406102)

MICHAEL AARON CRENOVICH
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950

Attention is directed to New York airtel to Bureau dated 8-3-60 entitled "Solo, IS - C," which sets out information obtained by CG 5824-S* that Mike Crenovich "worked" for an unidentified Russian in the U.S. It is also set out that the unidentified Russian asked what the Communist Party (CP), USA, had against Crenovich and CG 5824-S* commented he heard that Crenovich is under some suspicion in the New York District.

You are instructed to review this case thoroughly and to exert every effort to determine the nature of the "work" performed by the subject for the unidentified Russian. Follow closely efforts to identify the unknown Russian through CG 5824-S*. As soon as his identity has been determined, concentrate on activities of subject during the period the unknown Russian was in this country. It will be recalled that Crenovich's whereabouts was not known during the period February, 1954, until December, 1956.

Consider using every investigative technique to determine whether Crenovich is currently performing any type of assignment for a Russian principal. You should consider reviewing all bank accounts of subject and his wife for current activity and for any unusual deposits during the pertinent period when he was working for the unidentified Russian. Carefully evaluate the trip of subject to British Guiana in 1957 and the trip to Cuba in early 1959 for any connection with the unidentified Russian.

It is noted the recent intensified investigation on subject developed no pertinent contacts relating to this matter. Based on information gained during this surveillance, you are instructed to advise whether you think physical surveillances would now be productive. Advise the Bureau results of efforts to develop a highly confidential source at the subject's residence as noted in New York letter to Bureau dated 6-28-60.

2 - Chicago

JWL:djd (8) 1 - 100-428091 (Solo)

NOT RECORDED
78 AUG 11 1960

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE 2

50 AUG 15 1960

YELLOW DUPLICATE (AUG - 5 1960) MAILED

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You should keep in mind that this is recent information and caution must be used not to conduct any intensified investigation that would expose in any way CG 5824-S*.

Chicago should determine from CG 5824-S* the full meaning of the statements concerning subject being under suspicion in the New York District.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Crenovich was elected to the National Committee, CP, USA, in December, 1959, and was previously a SI subject. He has been a CP member for 13 years; active in Commission on Latin American affairs of the CP; and affiliated with Spanish language publications which support the CP line. Subject attended a conference of the CP youth of Cuba 2/21-24/59. Subject and wife visited British Guiana in July, 1957, where he was in contact with the wife of a CP official. Crenovich appeared before HCUA in New York City on 11-16-59 and invoked the Fifth Amendment. He has refused to be interviewed when approached by Agents of this Bureau. He is currently employed as a printing pressman by Jay Dee Products Company, Inc., Brooklyn, New York.

~~TOP SECRET~~

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Fox

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 05-12-2011

100-428091

Date: August 10, 1960

To: Office of Security BY LIAISON
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: ~~COMMUNIST PARTY, USA~~
~~INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS~~
~~INTERNAL SECURITY - C~~

8/10/60 Delivered by DLB

There is enclosed a Photostat of a summary of an 84-page letter dated June 21, 1960, which was addressed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) to the leadership of all communist parties. This letter was read at the Conference of Communist Parties in Bucharest, Rumania, in June, 1960, and deals with the ideological dispute between the CPSU and the Communist Party of China.

This information, supplied by a source who has furnished reliable information in the past, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA.

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

Enclosure

1 - Director (Enclosure) BY LIAISON
Central Intelligence Agency To A. Dulles 8/10/60

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

REC- 68 100-428091-853

1 - Director of Naval Intelligence BY LIAISON
(Enclosure)

12 AUG 11 1960

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW, PAGE TWO

FFF:ras
(12)

~~TOP SECRET~~

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W.C. Sullivan
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Ingram
Gandy

12 AUG 12 1960

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~~TOP SECRET~~

Office of Security
Department of State

1 - Office of Special Investigations (Enclosure) BY LIAISON
Air Force

Attention: Chief, Counterintelligence Division

1 - Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence BY LIAISON
Department of the Army

Attention: Chief, Security Division
(Enclosure)

NOTE ON YELLOW:

This letter is classified ~~"Top Secret"~~ because disclosure of this information to unauthorized persons may tend to identify our highly placed informant, with resultant grave damage to our national defense.

Letters dated 8/5/60 under a ~~"Top Secret"~~ classification were sent to the White House, the Vice President, the Secretary of State, the Director of CIA and the Attorney General furnishing them with information concerning the ideological dispute which took place at the Conference of Communist Parties in Bucharest, Rumania, in June, 1960, between the CPSU and the CP of China (CPC). At this Conference, an 84-page letter of the CPSU, which was addressed to the leadership of all communist parties, was read. This letter set out the ideological differences between the CPSU and the CPC. It is now believed that a resume of this letter, which was obtained by our informant from a member of the Central Committee of the CPSU while in Moscow, Russia, in July, 1960, should be made available to the "working level" of State, CIA, and the intelligence agencies of the Armed Forces.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Mr. Parsons
Mr. Belmont
Liaison Section
Mr. Baumgardner
Mr. Fox

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DATE 05-12-2011

August 9, 1960

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Dulles:

I thought you would be interested in the following information obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA, concerning statements made in Moscow, Russia, by Nikolai Mostovets and Timmy Dennis during July, 1960. Nikolai Mostovets is head of the North and South American Section of the International Department, Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and [redacted] of Eugene Dennis, National Chairman, Communist Party, USA.

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Mostovets stated that the disagreements between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union involve matters of state as well as ideological differences between the communist parties of the two countries. According to Mostovets, the Chinese have asked the Russians for modern military weapons such as nuclear warheads, missiles and atomic bombs, but Russia has not complied with these requests.

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[redacted] who has many contacts among leading members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, stated that part of the problem between Red China and Russia is the refusal of Russia to grant Chinese requests for modern military weapons. Because the Communist Party of China has not gone along with the ideology of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in regard to peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union, as a state, has hesitated to grant requests of Red China for modern military weapons since Russia cannot anticipate what China might do with these weapons. [redacted] commented the Russians are afraid that perhaps China might drop a nuclear bomb on Formosa or on some other place and thereby trigger a world war.

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Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Mc. Room

100-428091
SEE NOTE ON YELLOW, PAGE TWO

~~SECRET~~

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

EFF:rae (7)

Mr. Allen W. Dulles

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

This information is being disseminated to other appropriate officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

NOTE ON YELLOW:

This letter is classified ~~"Top Secret"~~ because disclosure of this information to unauthorized persons may tend to identify our highly placed informant, with resultant grave damage to our national defense.

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 8/8/60 captioned "Solo; Internal Security - C." PFF:rms.

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

FBI

Date: 8/1/60

REC-14

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

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

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

CG 5824-S*, on August 1, 1960, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING for photostating a 24-page document with the caption "Peace: Key Problem of Today." The author is listed as TODOR ZHIVKOV. It is noted that ZHIVKOV is the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. One Photostat copy of this document is enclosed herewith to the Bureau and to the Chicago Division.

CG 5824-S* advised that he had learned that this article has been approved for the Russian edition of the "World Marxist Review." HARRY GURALNICK, representative from the Communist Party of Canada to the "World Marxist Review" in Prague, Czechoslovakia, stated on Thursday, July 28, 1960, that CHAO YI MIN, representative from the Communist Party of China to the "World Marxist Review" in Prague, stated at a meeting of the Editorial Board of the "World Marxist Review" that if this article was not withdrawn from the Russian edition of the "World Marxist Review," he would leave Prague immediately for Peking. As of the time CG 5824-S* left Prague to return to the United States, it was not known what action had been taken in regard to withdrawing the article or whether or not

3 - Bureau (100-428091)(Encl. 1)(RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(Encl. 1)(AMRM)
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10 AUG 2 1960

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

CHAO YI MIN left Prague for Peking.

As will be seen when additional information from CG 5824-S* is received in regard to the conference of Communist Parties in Bucharest, Rumania, in June, 1960, this article supports the position taken by the CPSU at this conference in regard to the possibility of peaceful coexistence and the non-inevitability of war. The article also answers criticisms directed toward the position of the CPSU. These criticisms were voiced by representatives of the Communist Party of China at the Bucharest conference.

While it is felt that the entire document is highly significant, particular attention is called to the following statements which appear on pages eight and nine:

"Its ultimate aim--world-wide victory of socialism over capitalism in peaceful competition between the two systems--stands out more clearly than ever. Marxist-Leninists never maintained that the two systems, not only different but actually antagonistic, would co-exist eternally. The Communists have never granted capitalism the privilege of eternal existence. They have always fought and will continue to fight for the establishment of the new,progressive social system on our planet. The laws of social development are such that class struggle in the capitalist countries will inevitably lead to socialist revolution in one form or another."

Attention is also called to the following statements on pages nineteen and twenty:

"The conclusion that peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism is possible has greatly helped the Communist Parties to rally the mass of the people round the working class and has exploded the myth that the Communists believe that socialism can only be achieved by armed force. At the same time, the Communists stress that it is inadmissible

"to make absolute the thesis on peaceful transition to socialism; they do not exclude the possibility of armed struggle, should the capitalists, during a ripening revolutionary crisis, resort to the use of force."

Also, the following statements on pages twenty-one and twenty-two:

"The Communists maintain that the Leninist concept about just and unjust wars is still valid. They welcome any war of liberation when it becomes inevitable and are always ready to support with all means at their disposal the peoples fighting for freedom."

PEACE: KEY PROBLEM OF TODAY

Todor Zhivkov

The representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries who attended the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party met in Bucharest in June and discussed the international situation.

Over recent years the meetings and conferences of fraternal parties have become the normal practice of the international Communist movement. The Communist parties have a single aim and a common ideology -- Marxism-Leninism. It is quite natural, therefore, that they regard it as their duty to consult each other and exchange views. "...It is expedient," reads the Declaration of the Moscow (1957) meeting, "besides bilateral meetings of leading workers and exchange of information to hold, as the need arises, more representative conferences of Communist and Workers' parties to discuss current problems, share experience, study each others' views and attitudes and coordinate action in the joint struggle for the common goals -- peace, democracy and socialism."

The Bucharest meeting was also attended by the representatives of thirty-eight Communist parties from the capitalist countries who unanimously approved its communiqué. So the Bucharest communiqué reflects the common views of the world Communist movement on the fundamental problems of today.

The main world problem today is that of war and peace. And they were the principal item on the agenda of the Bucharest meeting. It is nearly three years since the policy documents of the world communist movement -- the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto -- were approved. During that time many changes have taken place in the international field. Do these changes confirm the general course of development of our times, as indicated by the Declaration and the Manifesto? Have the basic conclusions set out in those documents withstood the test of time? The answers to these questions, on which depends the correct orientation of the Communist parties, were provided by the Bucharest meeting, which has thus rendered great service to the world communist movement.

The Basic Features of the Epoch

The participants in the Bucharest meeting arrived at the unanimous conclusion that international developments and the progress of the socialist countries had fully confirmed the soundness of the concepts of the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto on the possibility of preventing wars in our epoch, on the need to be on the alert against the danger of war -- since, as long as imperialism exists, there will always be conditions for aggressive wars, -- as well as on the various forms of transition to socialism.

The concepts of the Moscow Declaration have proved to be correct precisely because they are based not on accidental or transient factors but on a comprehensive Marxist-Leninist analysis of the basic features of our epoch and a profound

understanding of the essence of the objective economic and social processes. "The main content of our epoch," reads the Declaration, "is the transition from capitalism to socialism which was begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. Today more than a third of the population of the world -- over 950 million people -- have taken the socialist road and are building a new life.... With regard to the greater part of mankind, imperialism has lost its one-time domination." This extremely concise and at the same time all-embracing characterization indicates the main direction of mankind's development today. It also enriches Marxism-Leninism with a new theoretical conclusion generalizing the great changes that have taken place since the war.

It is common knowledge that in elaborating their strategy and tactics Marxist-Leninists were guided for many years by the definition of our epoch as an epoch of imperialism, wars and proletarian revolutions. This concept, which was of incalculable value to the theory and practice of Marxism, was put forward in the period of imperialism's undisputed rule, when its laws determined both internal and international relations throughout the world.

The most important conclusion that followed from this definition was that wars were inevitable. The law of uneven economic and political development of capitalism, which constantly produces conditions leading to military conflicts, is an inexorable law of imperialism. When this law knows no restrictions, when imperialism dominates the world, wars are inevitable. Under these conditions the aggressive nature of imperialism gives rise to military cataclysms with the irresistible force of a volcanic eruption.

But the dialectics of history lie in the fact that the self-same laws of monopoly capitalism which are the cause of wars lead in the final analysis to its destruction. The increasing unevenness of the imperialist economic and political development makes it vulnerable to proletarian revolution. In view of this the imperialist front is broken at its weakest link where conditions favourable for the victory of the proletariat have been created.

The October Revolution put an end to the rule of imperialism on one-sixth of the globe. This started the irreversible historic process of the transition to socialism. After the Second World War a whole group of European and Asian countries took the socialist road. Imperialism was unable to prevent the rise of the socialist world system and the spread of <u>laws and international relations of a new type</u> to a large part of the world.

The socialist countries occupy a vast territory; they have inexhaustible natural resources; their population numbers nearly a thousand million; they account for over one-third of the world's industrial output. Socialism is a rising and victorious system, the prototype of a new civilization, the future of all mankind. The economic potential of the socialist countries lies in rapid, planned development, in the uninterrupted growth of their industrial might. Socialism has demonstrated, for all to see, its great advantages over capitalism in all spheres of life, and above all in its main sphere -- material production. Its rate of economic development is much higher than that of capitalism, it leads scientific and tech-

nological progress and has expanded its productive forces on a gigantic scale. The Soviet scientific and technological discoveries have determined the main directions of the modern scientific and technological revolution, they represent the revolutionizing element in the development of productive forces, which has a great influence on the relationships between people and changes their traditional views and concepts.

On the development and strengthening of socialism depends the scope of the national-liberation movement which has inflicted a serious defeat on imperialism in its rear -- the colonies. In 1939 the population of the colonies and semi-colonies amounted to about 1,500 million, i.e., almost two-thirds of the world's population. Today the overwhelming majority of these countries with a population of 1,400 million are developing independently. Although the young Afro-Asian countries which have won independence remain for the most part within the framework of the capitalist economy, many of them, far from being a political reserve of imperialism, are carrying on a determined struggle against it, thus forming, together with the Socialist States, a vast zone of peace.

The growth of the socialist forces and the rise of the national-liberation struggle have rapidly shrunk the sphere of imperialist domination and the sphere of operation of its laws. Moreover, the power of imperialism is being increasingly sapped by its internal and external contradictions -- the rivalry between the imperialist powers, the anarchy of production, crises and the class struggle. All this indicates that in the future, too, imperialism will continue to decline and the contradictions underlying this process will continue to sharpen.

Such being the conditions, would it be correct to characterize our epoch simply and solely as an epoch of imperialism, wars and revolutions? No, this view would be one-sided and dogmatic, nor does it take into account the new balance of forces.

Lenin taught us, in defining an epoch, to take into account its fundamental characteristics, and not the laws and tendencies which are doomed by history to be relegated farther and farther to the background. "There are and there will be in each epoch," he wrote, "separate, partial movements now forward, now backward, there are and there will be various deviations from the average type and the average rate of the movements. We cannot know how rapidly and how successfully the separate historical movements of the given epoch will develop. But we can know and we do know which class is the pivot of a particular epoch, determining its main content, the main direction of its development, the main peculiarities of the historical scene of this epoch, etc."* These Leninist concepts are the key to the definition of our epoch as well. In assessing it it is wrong to ignore the changes, not to see which social force is now in the centre of the historical events.

In the spotlight is the community of States with the working-class dictatorship which, in the final count, wields a decisive influence on world politics. And this means that

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*V.I. Lenin, Under a False Flag.

our epoch is not simply an epoch of imperialism and wars. It is an epoch of the disintegration of imperialism, an epoch of revolutions, of transition from capitalism to socialism, of the rise, consolidation and victory of the socialist world system.

But such being the case, the laws of imperialism which lead to wars can no longer have the same scope for their development which they had in the past. They are pressured, restricted, relegated to the background and cede the historic arena to the laws of socialist society. The operation of these laws leads to the consolidation of peace, to the establishment of international relations of a new type, relations that know no wars and no violence.

The General Line In International Relations

The assessment of the basic features of our epoch given by the international communist movement is the theoretical point of departure in providing a correct solution to the main problems of world politics. An analysis of the character of the epoch has demonstrated that certain Marxist-Leninist concepts which were absolutely correct in the past can no longer be applied without qualification to the new situation. The conclusions drawn by the Twentieth and Twenty-First congresses of the C.P.S.U. and by the Moscow Meeting of the Communist parties have enriched the theory of Marxism-Leninism and have had a tremendous impact on the entire work of the Communist Parties.

In our times the rate of social development has been enormously accelerated. The more complicated conditions make it more urgent than ever for the working-class parties to find the decisive link in the chain of events and define their main tasks. The world communist movement has arrived at the conclusion that the alternative -- war or peaceful coexistence -- is the fundamental issue of world politics today. "The defence of peace is the most important world-wide task of the day," stressed the Moscow Declaration.

The possibility of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems has been confirmed even before the rise of the socialist world. For twenty years the Soviet Union successfully went ahead in spite of the capitalist encirclement. But at that time the law inherent in the epoch of imperialist domination -- the alternation of war and peace periods -- was still valid. Only now have conditions appeared which make this alternation no longer inevitable.

The content of peaceful coexistence has thus been enriched and deepened. Its ultimate aim -- world-wide victory of socialism over capitalism in peaceful competition between the two systems -- stands out more clearly than ever. Marxist-Leninists never maintained that the two systems, not only different but actually antagonistic, would co-exist eternally. The Communists have never granted capitalism the privilege of eternal existence. They have always fought and will continue to fight for the establishment of the new, progressive social system on our planet. The laws of social development

are such that the class struggle in the capitalist countries will inevitably lead to socialist revolution in one form or another.

Nor does peaceful coexistence mean a repudiation of struggle on the international arena. Since the time when the first socialist State appeared and the world was divided into two systems, the struggle between them has never ceased, and it cannot cease, since this struggle is a form of class struggle on a world-wide scale. But should it necessarily develop into a military conflict? The Marxist-Leninists maintain that this is not inevitable. Peaceful coexistence presupposes that military means should not be used in deciding the issues; it does not imply the cessation of struggle between the two systems either on the ideological, political or economic fronts. Economic competition can and should be the principal field of this struggle.

That the struggle between the two camps will continue is certain. The question now is -- what forms of this struggle are in the best interests of the working class, of socialism and of mankind as a whole? At present the balance of forces is such that the socialist countries are in a position to crush imperialism by force of arms. But this way to the victory of socialism is utterly alien to the spirit of Marxist-Leninist ideology and to the nature of socialism as the most humane social system. A nuclear war would take the toll of hundreds of millions, would cause tremendous destruction of the productive forces and the cultural values created through the centuries. Everybody knows that a nuclear war is fraught with frightful consequences for future generations. The socialist countries have never been nor will they ever be initiators of war.

The superiority in armaments attained by a particular imperialist country has always been a stimulus to aggression. In the socialist countries military superiority serves the aims of defence and is a powerful factor in preventing the unleashing of war -- a factor for peace. For, to use the words of Khrushchov, even the madman Hitler, had he realized that war against the U.S.S.R. would end in his crushing defeat, would not have taken his fatal decision.

Marxist-Leninists are politicians who think realistically. They do not shut their eyes to the difficulties in the fight for peaceful coexistence, they see clearly and recognize the depth of the main contradiction of our epoch. They are aware that the policy of aggression and war is as inherent in imperialism as the policy of peace is inherent in socialism. The Communist and Workers' parties have never associated, nor can they associate, their confidence in the possibility of averting war with the hope that the nature of imperialism will change. Illusions of this kind have nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism. But in order correctly to answer the question about the possibility of peaceful coexistence and the prevention of war it is not enough to take into account only the character of imperialism. This would be a dogmatic approach which could lead only to one conclusion -- that even under present conditions war is still inevitable. Lenin said repeatedly that the answer to the questions posed by life should be sought not in empty generalization but in the analysis of the actual situation. "Only an objective consideration of the sum-total of reciprocal relations of all the classes of a given society without exception, and, consequently, a

consideration of the objective stage of development of that society and of the reciprocal relations between it and other societies," he wrote, "can serve as a basis for correct tactics of the advanced class."+

Our confidence that the principle of peaceful coexistence will triumph is based precisely on this objective analysis of the present stage of social development.

One cannot fail to see that although the content and aims of imperialist policy have not changed, the possibilities of their implementation are far from being what they were in the epoch when imperialism dominated the world. Marxists have never taken a fatalistic view of objective social laws, including those which engender wars. They maintain that the struggle of the masses can restrict the operation of these laws, become a serious obstacle blocking the way to the unleashing of war. Even in the past the imperialists did not, on every occasion, succeed in realizing their own plans. Circumstances were often stronger than their desires. Now that the sphere of imperialism has shrunk and the world balance of forces has changed fundamentally in favour of socialism, the contradiction between the aims of imperialist policy and the possibilities of their implementation has so deepened that the solution of questions of war and peace depends less and less on the will and desires of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The peace forces, the bulwark of which is the socialist camp, now have everything at their disposal

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+ K. Marx and F. Engels, Karl Marx

to force the imperialists to abandon war and impose on them the policy of peaceful coexistence. "He who does not understand this," said Khrushchov in a speech at the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party, "does not believe in the strength and creative abilities of the working class, underrates the might of the socialist camp, has no trust in the great attractive power of socialism, which has demonstrated its obvious superiority over capitalism."

The confidence that peaceful coexistence is possible, confidence which is based on scientific foundations, makes the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and of the entire socialist camp dynamic and purposeful. All Soviet actions in the international field are aimed at easing tension, at settling outstanding issues by negotiation. The Soviet Government's proposals on general and complete disarmament and for a ban on nuclear weapons point the way to peaceful coexistence. The Soviet sincere stand on disarmament, a stand which is always backed up by practical deeds and proposals, blows up all the arguments of the cold-war men who spread slanders about "the aggressive nature" of socialism.

The slogan that war can be prevented and banished for ever from the world has a great mobilizing force. It rouses the masses to fight the war danger and inspires them with confidence that this struggle is not futile and can realize the ancient dream of mankind -- eternal peace. On the other hand, to say that war is inevitable in our times is to doom the peoples to passively waiting for the nuclear holocaust, to paralyze their will to fight for peace, to sap their

belief in the possibility of peaceful coexistence. An attitude of this kind does not promote the cause of peace.

Since the Moscow Declaration was accepted the might of the socialist camp -- the chief bulwark of peace -- has further increased. The participants in the Bucharest meeting noted with a feeling of profound satisfaction that "the great commonwealth of the countries of socialism is developing and gaining strength day by day. The camp of socialism is flourishing." In 1959 industrial output in the socialist countries exceeded by more than 5.7 times the prewar level, and in the past three years it has shown a 33.7 per cent increase, whereas in the capitalist countries the increase was only 5 per cent.

The people of the Soviet Union have started work on the great seven-year plan, thereby opening a new stage in the history of their country -- the all-out building of communist society. The rate of economic development in all the People's Democracies is also high. The great Chinese people are successfully carrying out the task of catching up with Britain in the output of the chief industrial goods in the next ten years or less. Several of the People's Democracies have already laid the foundations of socialism, others are approaching the solution of this task. Socialist production relations have triumphed in the Czechoslovak economy. The economic basis of socialism has been built in Rumania. In their struggle to build socialism and communism the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries are guided by the main laws, formulated in the Declaration, for all the countries which have taken the road to socialism.

The people of Bulgaria are also making their contribution to the growing might of the socialist camp. During the years of people's power Bulgaria, hitherto an economically backward country, has developed into a socialist State with advanced industry and modern agriculture. Socialism has triumphed in town and countryside, it holds undisputed sway in all spheres of the country's life. The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party laid down the Party's general line -- to complete, in the next few years, the building of the material-technological base of socialism and the building of socialist society in Bulgaria. Our people are working to fulfil the third five-year plan ahead of schedule. Last year industrial output increased 24.9 per cent compared with 1958, agricultural output also showed a marked increase. This year, too, our national economy is making rapid headway. Never in the history of our country has economic development been so rapid, and never have the creative energies and activities of the masses acquired so wide a sweep.

The successes of the socialist countries and their peace policy have an ever-increasing effect on the international situation. Because of this the principle of peaceful coexistence advanced by the first socialist State is gaining wide support and is becoming a standard of relations between the States. It is the guiding principle in the foreign policy of most of the newly-liberated countries and even of some of the old bourgeois States.

The aggressive U.S. circles, it is true, have succeeded in torpedoing the summit conference on which the people placed

great hopes for the peaceful solution of the issues. But this aggressive action has boomeranged on to its initiators -- the U.S. reactionaries. The Soviet Government has exposed them as treacherous enemies of peace. And it is no accident that the shameful failure of their provocation was followed by a series of crushing defeats for the U.S. Administration and an unprecedented decline of its prestige. The foreign policy of the U.S. imperialists is nothing but an example, in the new conditions, of those "frenzied ravings of the bourgeoisie" of which Lenin spoke in his time. He said that these "ravings" had to be taken into account and could not be ignored, that the working class and its Party must march firmly along the road charted by history itself.

The aggressive actions of the U.S. rulers are yet another reminder that the imperialists have not abandoned their attempts to wreck the cause of peace and unleash war. For this reason it is necessary for the peoples to be constantly on the alert and always be ready to repel the aggressors. But the events which have taken place do not by any means change the objective situation, nor do they alter the present world balance of forces and the main direction in the development of international relations. To succumb to the provocations of the aggressors would mean to erase the gains of recent years in the struggle for détente and to follow in the wake of the imperialists and surrender the initiative in foreign policy.

The socialist countries and the world communist movement do not intend to deviate from their chosen course. Peaceful

coexistence is not a temporary policy depending on circumstances, but a general line of development of international relations, the road to world socialism.

Prevention of War and the Class Struggle

Peaceful coexistence is not simply an official policy of the socialist countries but an important principle of the communist movement as a whole. "The Communist parties regard the struggle for peace as their foremost task," said the 1957 Declaration. Guided by the lofty principles of humanism in the fight for peace the Communists act in full accord with the class interests of the working-class movement. The growing interdependence of the struggle for peace and for the class interests of the working people is an essential feature of the anti-war movement of today. That is why Communists are confident that the lessening of tension and the ending of the cold war help the working class to fight with greater success for both its immediate and long-term aims. Is this confidence well placed? The answer to this question can be found in the results and the nature of the activities of the Communist parties in the capitalist countries to put into effect the ideas and principles of the 1957 Declaration. Representatives of these parties said at the Bucharest meeting that their parties, being the most consistent and resolute organizers of their people's fight for international détente, for peaceful coexistence, had improved their contact with the masses, had gained still greater influence and prestige. The same conclusion was confirmed by the decisions taken by the C.C. meetings of many parties held after the Bucharest meeting.

Hardly anyone can now deny that the cold war strengthens the rule of aggressive monopoly capital, is an instrument for dividing the working class and all democratic forces and is the mainstay of reaction in its attack on the working people. The cold war helps the reactionaries to deceive the workers and prejudice them against socialism. Any aggravation of international tension always lets loose a spate of anti-communist slander, encourages the fascist elements and is accompanied by attacks on the rights of the people. On the other hand even a slight thaw in the international climate furthers the class struggle and the working people's fight for their social and political demands. There is no doubt that the defeat of McCarthyism in the United States in the mid-fifties was caused by a certain easing of tension. It is not without reason that the most reactionary regimes like those in Western Germany and Spain are sensitive even to a slight easing of tension.

It is extremely important that the periods of international détente become closely associated in the minds of people, even those led astray by imperialist propaganda, with the peace policy of the Soviet Union. Thanks to this policy the idea that war is inadmissible becomes more deeply rooted in people's minds. This is an invaluable contribution to the cause of peace. To a great extent this is due to Khrushchov's personal initiative, his visits to the countries of Asia and Europe, to the United States and France, his close contacts with people in capitalist countries. The Soviet peace efforts have produced another important result. They have been responsible for the fact that the ideas of peace are being associated

more and more with the activities of the Communists and with their ideology -- Marxism-Leninism. The working people can see the clear-cut class differences and the stands taken by the different parties. The knowledge that in this age of atom and hydrogen bombs human progress above all requires peace, dispels the prejudice against the Communists who tie up their political and class aims with peaceful coexistence and the struggle against war and aggression. The determination to prevent war and secure peace has facilitated the spread of Marxist-Leninist ideas, the growing prestige of socialism and the strengthening of the positions of the Communist parties. This has been a vital factor in developing the class struggle and the democratic movement in the capitalist countries.

It is argued that peaceful coexistence hinders the successful development of the class struggle, ideologically disarms the working-class movement and strengthens the positions of the bourgeoisie. This view stems from a misunderstanding of the peculiarities of the present stage in the struggle for socialism, of the contradictory nature of the class relations and their complexity in the capitalist countries. The point is that the rapid concentration of capital and the rapid growth of state-monopoly capitalism objectively set the interests of the shrinking group of the monopoly capitalists sharply up against the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people. The power of the monopolists involves drastic deterioration in the economic position of the masses and is also a source of political reaction and arbitrary action. The ruling groups of monopoly capitalists are the

chief enemies of peace, and the main hindrance to the easing of tension. This being so, the peace movement today inevitably takes the form of mass actions against monopoly domination, which brings it still closer to the struggle of the working class and the working people generally for democratic liberties and rights.

The struggle for democracy is linked by a thousand ties with the struggle for socialism. Profound democratic changes undermining and limiting the power of the monopolists are a guarantee of success in the class struggle waged by the proletariat for socialism. Peace is now the demand of the masses, a demand near and dear to millions of common people in all parts of the world. It enables the working class to rally around it broad sections of the people including those who are ready to fight the monopolists but are not yet ready to accept the ideas of socialism.

In this way conditions are being created which enable the working class to establish broad class alliances, to win over the bulk of the people and completely isolate the monopoly capitalists, and this makes the peaceful transition to socialism possible in a number of capitalist countries. This new theoretical conclusion of the world communist movement, reaffirmed by the Bucharest meeting, is closely linked with the idea of the possibility of preventing wars, with the policy of peaceful coexistence and the easing of international tension. All these concepts are based on a new understanding of the existing situation and proceed from the fact that socialism is more and more gaining the upper hand over capitalism.

The conclusion that peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism is possible has greatly helped the Communist

parties to rally the mass of the people round the working class and has exploded the myth that the Communists believe that socialism can only be achieved by armed force. At the same time the Communists stress that it is inadmissible to make absolute the thesis on peaceful transition to socialism; they do not exclude the possibility of armed struggle, should the capitalists during a ripening revolutionary crisis resort to the use of force.

Thus, an analysis of the relationship between the fight for peace and the revolutionary movement of our times reveals that any counterposing of them means, in essence, a negation of the independent significance of the democratic tasks in the attainment by the working class of its fundamental aims. This counterposing leads to sectarianism, to isolating the working class and, in the final analysis, does harm to the cause of socialism. In this connection the resolution of the Rome meeting of the 17 Communist parties of the European capitalist countries is of great significance; basing itself on current developments, this meeting mapped out a comprehensive programme of action in the spirit of the indivisible unity of the main trends of the mass struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. This programme contained an Appeal to All Workers, to All Democrats, confirmed and further developed the main ideas of the 1957 Declaration and the Peace Manifesto within the context of capitalist Europe.

The struggle for peaceful coexistence and an international détente has a positive effect not only on the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries but also on the growth and consolidation of the national-liberation

movements. During the years of the great "peace offensive" of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries the process of disintegration of the colonial system has been greatly accelerated. The zone of peace has been extended, activized and strengthened. Victorious revolutions have taken place in Iraq and Cuba; Africa is in ferment -- over ten newly independent State have appeared on its map. All this testifies that the basic factors enabling the progressive forces to impose peaceful coexistence on imperialism -- the growth of the economic might and military potential of the socialist camp, its active and far-sighted foreign policy, the development of the mass struggle in the imperialist countries -- create a climate in which it will be more and more difficult for the colonialists to carry out their military gambles, to suppress the national-liberation movements, unleash "local wars" against the nations which have won independence.

Peaceful coexistence implies that war should be repudiated as a means of settling differences, and makes it incumbent on all States to observe the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other nations. Standing guard over this principle is the mighty Soviet Union and the whole socialist camp, which protect the newly independent States against imperialist encroachments. Thanks to the growing might of the socialist countries, the former colonies are now in a position to achieve independence in a less painful way, without war. This, of course, does not mean that the just wars of liberation have become a thing of the past. The Communists maintain that the Leninist concept about just and unjust wars is still valid. They welcome any war of liberation when it

becomes inevitable and are always ready to support with all means at their disposal the peoples fighting for freedom.

The aid given by the socialist countries is of tremendous importance in strengthening the sovereignty of the newly liberated countries, in abolishing their economic backwardness and in developing their productive forces. When helping these countries the socialist States proceed from the fact that not all the national bourgeoisie in power in these countries are reactionary, in many cases they continue to voice the interests of the country as a whole. Secondly, the foreign policy of the young independent States, which form part of the peace zone, makes an active contribution to peaceful coexistence and the anti-imperialist struggle. The main principle of the policy of the socialist camp in relation to the former colonies is non-interference in their internal affairs. The main aim of this policy is to help the underdeveloped nations sweep away the vestiges of colonialism and assist in their regeneration.

This proves that the implementation of the principles proclaimed in the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto, the struggle of the Communists for an international détente and peaceful coexistence facilitate progress in all spheres of life in the world today.

x x x

The strength of the Communists lies in their unity. This unity calls for the unshakeable solidarity of the community of the socialist States and the mutual support of all the national detachments of the world-wide army of Communists. The great

significance of the Bucharest meeting lies in the fact that it has counterposed this monolithic unity to the attempts of the imperialist aggressors, after frustrating the summit conference, to rekindle war psychosis, to intensify the slander campaign against the socialist countries and increase the pressure on the democratic and working-class movement.

The Communist parties of the whole world have unanimously supported the decisions of the Bucharest meeting, thereby demonstrating their determination to fight to the end for the realization of the working class ideals.

A meeting of the Central Committee of our Party in the middle of July expressed in its resolution complete support for and solidarity with the political assessments and conclusions of the communiqué. Our Party fully supports the fundamental concepts of the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto concerning the nature of the present situation and the tasks arising from it for the entire communist movement. "The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party declares," says the resolution adopted on July 13, "that the Party, the Government and the whole of the people support and will continue to support with all their forces the peace policy of the Soviet Union, they are fighting and will continue to fight for the triumph of the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence of the States with different social systems both throughout the world and in the Balkans, they will make their contribution to the victory in peaceful competition with capitalism, while building up the might of socialist Bulgaria."

Together with the world communist movement the Bulgarian Communist Party is fully determined to combat both revisionism

which distorts the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and dogmatism which hinders the creative development and application of the Marxist-Leninist theory in the situation as it is today. While revisionism, being a manifestation of unprincipled opportunism, leads to the destruction of the revolutionary essence of the working-class movement and the betrayal of its interests, dogmatism, fixed ideas and the substitution of the trite reiteration of old formulas for a concrete analysis of reality are breeding grounds for sectarianism and political adventurism. To achieve success in the struggle for socialism it is necessary constantly to fight on two fronts -- against revisionism and against dogmatism. Narrow nationalist tendencies can also be a serious danger to the communist movement.

The world communist movement rests firmly on the basis of creative Marxism. Active theoretical work, the search for new bold solutions to questions posed by life on the basis of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism -- these are the characteristics of Communists. Creative approach to the Marxist-Leninist theory enabled the Communist parties in 1957 to elaborate a programme of action which has been fully justified by subsequent events. The whole history of the communist movement shows that only this approach to theory can serve as a basis for a stable and active unity of the genuinely revolutionary parties and the world communist movement as a whole. Our unity is a guarantee of the final victory of our great cause.

FD-36-4Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

Date: 8/6/60

Transmit the following in _____ REC 89
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO :DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM :SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT (O) SOLO
IS-C

CG 5824-S* orally furnished the information on the following pages to SA JOHN E. KEATING on 8/5/60.

This report concerns a discussion between TIM BUCK and MORRIS CHILDS in Toronto, Canada, on 8/3 and 4/60.

[redacted]

b6
b7C

cc Chicago
cc NY 134-37

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46 Sub B) (SOLO) (AM) (RM)
1 - New York (100-134637)

JEK:mzg
(6)

REC 89 100-428091-856

5 AUG 5 1960

134-37

3 ENCLOSURE

52 AUG 16 1960

DVP SEC.

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

Discussion Between Tim Buck, General Secretary of the CP of Canada and Morris Childs, Chairman of the International Affairs Department of the CP, USA

Morris Childs, Chairman of the International Affairs Department of the CP, USA, arrived in Toronto, Canada, during evening of August 3, 1960, and registered at a hotel. Childs telephonically contacted Tim Buck, General Secretary of the CP of Canada, and was at Buck's residence from approximately 11:30 p.m. until 3:30 a.m. on August 4, 1960. Prior to Child's departure from Toronto, for New York City, in the early evening of August 4, 1960, Buck came to Childs' hotel room where the discussion was continued.

Childs had made this trip to Toronto, to see Tim Buck as a result of a conversation in New York City, on August 3, 1960, with Bess Mascolo, Buck's common-law wife. She had stated that Buck wanted to convey a message to Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CP, USA, that he had reached a conclusion similar to that of Hall in regard to the current ideological dispute between the CP of the Soviet Union and the CP of China. Buck's conclusion was based on a reading of Chinese documents and not on any other information. Mascolo stated that Buck knew that Childs had firsthand information concerning this dispute. She stated that Buck was anxious to receive this information, but he had to leave Toronto on Friday, August 5, 1960, for a CP school in Western Canada. Mascolo complained that the CP of Canada gives the CP, USA plenty of assistance, but that it seems to be a one way street since the CP, USA does not reciprocate and help the CP of Canada.

Childs briefed Buck on two items only and these were the conference of Communist Parties held in Bucharest, Rumania, in June, 1960, at which there was a running debate between Nikita Khrushchev and Peng Cheng, and the letter of the CP, SU to other Communist Parties which dealt with the ideological dispute between the CP of the Soviet Union and the CP of China.

MRS. HARRY ~~GURALNICK~~ ANNIE ~~GURALNICK~~

Buck stated that he had received a note from Annie ~~Fuller~~ in Prague, Czechoslovakia, in which she stated that Childs would brief him on these matters.

Buck stated that five days previously, he had visited with the First Secretary to the Soviet Ambassador to Canada (Amazasp F. Arutyunyan).

100-4-C(11 866

ENCLOSURE

Buck said that he had asked him about the current Russian-Chinese problems. Buck stated that this guy said that he knew nothing. Buck said that he could not get one word from him on the Soviet-Chinese situation or what had happended in Bucharest, Rumania.

Buck then pledged Childs to secrecy and told him the following:

Buck had arrived at a conclusion similar to Gus Hall. That conclusion was that there is something wrong with the Chinese position. Then Buck stated, however, my chief helper, Leslie Morris fell for the Chinese position. Buck said that it took him days to convince Morris to shift away from the Chinese position. CANADA CUBA

Buck said that he had written an article dealing with the ideological dispute between the CP, SU and the CP of China, but the Secretariat of the CP of Canada, advised Buck to withhold the printing of the article. Buck said that as a result of the information he received from Childs, he is now sorry that he had not released the article for publication, and that Childs had saved his (political) life since there are still a few leftists around in the CP of Canada.

Buck stated that presently there are two CP schools in progress in Canada. One is in Winnipeg and the other is in Vancouver. Buck stated that he was leaving on Friday, August 5, 1960, to lecture at the school in Winnipeg. He plans to be in Winnipeg for four or five days and then return to Toronto. Sometime later, he will make a trip to the West Coast of Canada.

According to Buck, Leslie Morris is teaching at the other school in Vancouver. Morris plans to attend the Congress of the Partida Socialista Popular, the CP of Cuba, which is scheduled to start on August 16, 1960. Morris plans to go to Havana, from Vancouver. Buck stated, however, that he will get to Morris the information that he, Buck, had received from Childs prior to the departure of Morris for Havana.

Buck mentioned that on August 5, 1960, a delegation of 23 Canadians, mostly Ukranians, was leaving Canada for the Soviet Union by boat. Buck said that he could send a message to the CP, SU for Childs with the head of this delegation. It was agreed, however, that it would take too long for this message to get to the CP, SU since the delegation was travelling by boat. Then Buck stated that on August 9, 1960, the Soviet Ambassador to Canada (Arutyunyan) will return to Russia by air for a few days. Buck said that he could get messages to the CP, SU through the ambassador. It was agreed that Buck would send the following message for Childs: Childs arrived safely in the United States and immediately discussed with Gus Hall and Eugene Dennis the political problems he had discussed in Moscow. The National Executive Committee of the CP, USA is scheduled to meet during the weekend of August 6-7 to discuss these problems. Childs also delivered the Russian camera to Hall and the 18 karat gold watches from the CP, SU to Hall, Dennis and Foster and they wish to express their thanks to the CP, SU. The message also states that Childs had contacted Tim Buck of the CP of Canada and conveyed to him information concerning the Bucharest conference and the letter of the CP, SU concerning the ideological dispute between the CP, SU and the CP of China. Childs also told Buck that there will be a conference of Communist Parties in Moscow in November, to deal with these matters.

The Russian camera and the watches referred to above were made available to Childs through the efforts of Nikolai Mostovets, Head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the CCCPSU for delivery to Hall, Dennis and Foster. It should be noted that this is an effort on the part of the CP, SU to offset the presentation of gifts to leaders of various Communist Parties by the CP of China. Buck stated that he would also send a message to Prague, Czechoslovakia, to Annie Buller and her husband, Harry Kuralnick, to the effect that Childs had delivered to him the details of the Bucharest conference.

Buck stated that in the event he is not in Toronto, and Childs wants to deliver an urgent message to the CP of Canada, that Childs should deal with William Kashtan, who is the National Organization Secretary of the CP of Canada, and is also the person in charge of finances for the CP of Canada.

Buck also suggested that in the near future, he and Childs consider working out a code so that first names will refer to cities in Canada, where Buck can be located if he is not in Toronto, For example, Ann could refer to Windsor, etc. Thus Childs might meet Buck in another Canadian city if Buck is not in Toronto.

Buck said that he is not feeling well and is having trouble with his legs. He plans, however, to attend the conference of Communist Parties in Moscow, in November, 1960.

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

FBI

Date: 8/5/60

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

CG 5824-S* orally furnished the material on the following pages to SA JOHN E. KEATING on 8/5/60. It consists of comments concerning the current dispute between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China and between the USSR and China.

[redacted]

b6
b7C

3 - BUREAU (100-428091)(RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)(SOLO)(RM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ENCLOSURE

JEK:mfd
(6)

REC-76 100-428091-857

10 AUG 6 1960

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

Comments on the Current Dispute Between
the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
and the Communist Party of China and
Between the USSR and China

It will be recalled that during the running debate between NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV and PENG CHEN at the Conference of Communist Parties in Bucharest, Roumania, in June, 1960, KHRUSHCHEV indicated that this dispute was more than an ideological argument between the CPSU and the CP of China. KHRUSHCHEV referred to the fact that China had not given permission to Russia to build a radio station on Chinese territory for the purpose of maintaining contact with the Russian Submarine Fleet. Also that China had not given permission to Russia to land military planes in China in case it might become necessary to do so. There were other statements by KHRUSHCHEV such as whether KANG CHENG violated an agreement in publishing a speech he had made at a Warsaw Treaty Conference, that indicated that the disagreements between China and Russia involved matters of state as well as ideological disputes between the Communist Parties of the two countries.

In private discussions with NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS, Head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the CCCPSU, he would occasionally make an offhand reference or a carefully guarded statement, a sentence or so in length that there are other than ideological differences between Russia and China. That is, that the Chinese have asked the Russians for modern military weapons such as nuclear warheads, missiles, atomic bombs, etc. and that Russia has not complied with these requests. It will be noted however that at the Bucharest Conference, NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV stated to the Chinese present, we never refused you any request.

857

In a private conversation with [redacted] EUGENE DENNIS, he also very carefully infer[redacted] part of the problem was the refusal of Russia to grant [redacted] request for modern military weapons such as missiles a[redacted]. [redacted] has many contacts among the leading [redacted] of the CPSU and frequently discusses matters with this [redacted] more freely than do persons such as MOSTOVETS who are [redacted] with this source in an official capacity.

b6
b7C

It cannot be said that the CP of [redacted] started an ideological dispute with the CPSU becau[redacted] differences over matters of state or because of problem[redacted] have developed in the relations of the Government of [redacted] with the Government of China. The differences in state to[redacted] relationships may have developed because of already exi[redacted] ideological dispute. The two are so intertwined that it ca[redacted] said that one was the cause of the other.

To be more specific, the C[redacted] China has disagreed with the CPSU in regard to the possibility of peaceful co-existence between capitalism and Communism. While the CPSU states that peaceful co-existence is possible the CP of China states that "to sit at one conference table with the imperialists would mean to desert the whole of mankind." The CPSU states that war is not inevitable and that "the forces of peace have so grown that there is real possibility of [redacted]ing war." On the other hand, the CP of China states tha[redacted] present epoch is characterized by wars and revolution[redacted] that "as long as the imperialist system exists, the wo[redacted]ld not at all be rid of the most acute form of violen[redacted]r." Further, that "until the complete abolition of capitali[redacted] imperialism throughout the world, the alternation of war and [redacted] will be a constant and inevitable phenomena."

Since the CP of China has not gone along with the CPSU ideologically in regard to peaceful co-existence and the non-inevitability of war, Russia, as a state, has hesitated to grant requests of China for modern military weapons since Russia cannot anticipate what China might do with these weapons. [redacted] commented, perhaps China would drop a nuclear bomb on Formosa or some other place and thereby trigger a world war. b6 b7C

Thus it can be seen that the current ideological dispute between the CP of China and the CPSU is interwoven with the current problems of state between China and Russia.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont DATE: August 8, 1960

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

My memorandum 7/7/60 sets forth in detail the receipts and disbursements of funds by the Communist Party (CP), USA, from 5/16/60 to 6/30/60. These funds have been received from the CPs of the Soviet Union and Red China. The following schedule shows the present status of these funds, together with the receipts and disbursements subsequent to 6/30/60.

SUMMARY

Total Rec'd from Soviets 9/58 to 7/31/60	$409,885	
Total Rec'd from Red China 2/60 to 7/31/60	50,000	
Grand Total Received to 7/31/60	$459,885	
Total Disbursements 10/58 to 7/31/60	278,919	
Balance of Fund 7/31/60		$180,966 *

DETAILS

Total Rec'd from Soviets 9/58 to 6/30/60	$397,885	
Total Rec'd from Red China 2/60 to 6/30/60	50,000	
Grand Total Received to 6/30/60	$447,885	
Total Disbursements from 10/58 to 6/30/60	263,044	
Balance of Fund 6/30/60		$184,841
Receipts 7/1/60 to 7/31/60		
7/26/60 - from Soviets		12,000 **
		$196,841

Disbursements 7/1/60 to 7/31/60

EX 109

7/5/60 - [redacted] travel expenses for [redacted] to USSR — $ 750

7/5/60 - Isadore Wofsy; for use of national CP office 15,000

REC-76

7/26/60 - Elizabeth Mascolo; travel expenses for transporting funds from Canada to U.S. 125

100-428091-858

AUG 12 1960

15,875

Balance of Fund 7/31/60 $180,966

58 AUG 1

100-428091
1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Fox

FFF:ras (5)

5-7

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
RE: SOLO
100-428091

* $66,921 maintained by NY 694-S* in safety deposit box, New York City, and $114,045 maintained by CG 5824-S* in safety deposit box, Chicago, Illinois. Of the amount being maintained by CG 5824-S*, $6,000 has been given to Jack Kling of Chicago for safekeeping.

** From Soviet Embassy, Ottawa, Canada, delivered by Elizabeth Mascolo, courier, Canadian CP, to NY 694-S*, New York City.

ACTION:

None. This memorandum is being submitted for your information and an up-to-date accounting of these Solo funds will be brought to your attention each month.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: August 9, 1960

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Our informant, CG 5824-S*, at the instructions of Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, left Chicago, Illinois, 7-9-60 on the sixth Solo mission to Czechoslovakia and Russia. He returned to the United States on 7-31-60.

My memorandum 8-5-60 pointed out that the informant met with two members of the "Secret Department" of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) during the week of 7-17-60 in Moscow, Russia. Arrangements were made at this meeting for informant to have clandestine contacts in New York City with undisclosed Soviets. The New York Office has been attempting to identify these two "Secret Department" members.

New York airtel 8-5-60 discloses that CG 5824-S* identified from a photograph one of the two "Secret" members. He is [redacted] a Soviet national, who departed the United States on 9-28-59. [redacted] was employed as a Counselor, Advisor, Political Affairs, Soviet Delegation to the United Nations. While in the United States, there had been no indication that [redacted] had been involved in any espionage activities. (~~100~~ 105-36596-84)

b6
b7C

OBSERVATION: The New York Office is continuing its efforts to identify the second "Secret Department" member of the CPSU.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. We will follow closely all contacts made by the Soviets with our informants in New York City and will keep you immediately advised of pertinent developments.

100-428091

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Fox

FFF:lel
(5)

X 109

REC- 25

5 - Fox

100-428091-859

10 AUG 16 1960

50 AUG 18 1960

MEMORANDUM TO MR. A. H. BELMONT
RE: SOLO
100-428091

2. As soon as the second member of the "Secret Department" of the CPSU is identified by the New York Office, you will be immediately advised.

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

FBI

Date: 8/10/60

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

CG 5824-S* orally furnished the information concerning [redacted] on the following page TO SA JOHN E. KEATING on 8/10/60.

(1) [redacted]

(2) [redacted]

(3) [redacted]

b6
b7C

3 - Bureau (100-428091)(RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(SOLO)(AMRM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

JEK:msb
(6)

REC-3 100-428091-860

AUG 11 1960

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

62 AUG 15 1960

INV. SEC.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: August 9, 1960

FROM : MR. F. J. BAUMGARDNER

1-Mr. Parsons
1-Mr. Belmont
1-Mr. J.S.Johnson
1-Mr. Baumgardner
1-Mr. Fox

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

SUBJECT: SOLO *
INTERNAL SECURITY - Communist

Assistant Special Agent in Charge McCabe, of the New York Office (NYO), advised by telephone today (8/9/60) that Chicago (CG) 5824-S* is going to attend the Cuban Communist Party Congress which begins on 8/16/60 in Havana, Cuba. This Congress will be immediately followed by a meeting of Communist Parties from all Latin-American countries. This meeting will also be held in Havana.

ASAC McCabe said that CG 5824-S* plans to leave New York on 8/11/60, in order to attend both of the aforementioned functions. It is anticipated the informant will be gone for approximately ten days. It was suggested to CG 5824-S* by the Soviets, during his recent trip to Moscow, that he might want to attend the functions in Havana. ASAC McCabe stated it appears at this time that the informant will travel under his assumed name, as a security measure. He asked whether the Bureau had any objection. I told McCabe that if the informant felt he should travel under his assumed name, for security reasons, then the informant should do so.

ASAC McCabe requested authority to advance the informant $250.00 to cover expenses on the trip to Cuba. I authorized Mr. McCabe to advance this sum to the informant.

ACTION:

This matter will be followed closely and you will be kept advised of pertinent developments.

FJB:LL
(6)
100-428091

* Informant who has made solo trips to Cuba

REC-22

100-428091-861

59 AUG 17 1960

SENT DIRECTOR
8-9-60

11 AUG 16 1960

EX-108

FD-36 (1 [redacted] 3-56)

FBI

Date: 8/10/60

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

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

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

CG 5824-S* orally furnished the information on the following page to SA JACK E. KEATING on 8/10/60. This report concerns plans for the celebration of May Day, 1961.

3 - Bureau (100-428091)(RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(SOLO)(AMRM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

JEK:msb
(6)

REC-8 100-428091-862

12 AUG 12 1960

EX 100

ENCLOSURE

INT. SEC.

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

CELEBRATION OF MAY DAY, 1961

NIKOLAI V. MOSTOVETS, head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, stated during July, 1960, that next year Moscow will have a special celebration on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of May Day.

MOSTOVETS stated that the May Day celebration in the United States in 1961 should be in step with the May Day celebration in Russia in 1961.

100-443691-

ENCLOSURE

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

FBI

Date: 8/3/60

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

Via AIRTEL (Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Callahan
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Malone
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Trotter
Miss Sullivan
Tele. Room
Mr. Ingram
Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

CG 5824-S* orally furnished the information on the following pages to SA JOHN E. KEATING on 8/2/60. This report concerns meetings in Russia with two members of the "Secret Department" of the CP of Soviet Union at which arrangements were made for future contacts in the US.

Efforts are being made to obtain photographs of likely suspects in order to exhibit them to CG 5824-S* in an attempt to identify the two Russians mentioned in this report.

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (Solo) (RM)
2 - New York (100-134637)

JEK:mzg
(6)

EX 100
REC-8
100-428091-863
AUG 15 1960

3 ENCLOSURES

Approved: 50 AUG 18 1960 Sent _____ M _____ Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

Meetings in Russia with Two Members of the "Secret Department" of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

During the week of June 17, 1960, two members of the "Secret Department" of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union came to the apartment of MORRIS CHILDS at 26 Katosovski (phonetic) Prospect, Moscow, Russia.

One seemed to be superior in rank to the other. He referred to himself as [redacted] (phonetic). He can be described as follows:

b6
b7C

Race	White
Age	Approximately 40
Height	5 feet 8½ inches to 5 feet 9 inches
Weight	150 to 155 pounds
Build	Medium
Hair	Dark Brown, full head of hair
Characteristics	Wears glasses, nose is a little bulbous, neatly dressed with striped business suit probably of American make, does not speak English well.

He stated that he had observed CHILDS in New York City, during one of CHILDS meetings with VLADIMIR BARKOVSKY. He knew details of the construction of the flat iron building in New York City, where the office of JACK CHILDS is located.

The second person acted as an interpreter and can be described as follows:

Race	White
Age	Approximately 42
Height	5 feet 8½ inches to 5 feet 9 inches
Weight	170 pounds
Build	Stocky
Hair	Light and practically bald
Complexion	Light.

100-428091-863

ENCLOSURE

He stated that he had observed CHILDS on his first effort to contact BANKOVSKY in the Spring of 1948. He too was familiar with the details of the layout of the flat iron building in New York City. He does not speak English too well.

The conversation dealt with the need to improve the methods of contact in the United States. Both of these men stated that members of the Russian Diplomatic Corps in the United States will not use assumed names when they travel in the United States. Since this is so, they will not make arrangements for any meetings outside of New York City, since they would be followed if they left the city.

Concerning meeting places in New York City, they asked MORRIS CHILDS what makes him think that JACK CHILDS is not well known to United States Intelligence Agencies and what makes MORRIS CHILDS think that the office of JACK CHILDS is not wired. MORRIS CHILDS stated that he thinks that the activities of JACK CHILDS are not known to United States Intelligence Agencies because he is very careful in everything he does. Furthermore, even if the office of JACK CHILDS is wired, it could still be used since usually there is no conversation when there is any type of meeting with the Russians in his office.

Since the Russians will not travel outside of New York City, and since MORRIS CHILDS is located in Chicago, they suggested that he have a third party in New York City, who could act as an intermediary from time to time or could be utilized in case of an emergency situation. They also pointed out that it is too risky for CHILDS as a leading member of the CP, USA, to engage in too many meetings of this sort. CHILDS said that he had discussed this problem with GUS HALL and EUGENE DENNIS. While they had made a suggestion or two, the people they suggested also resided outside the New York City area. (It is noted that at one time, HALL had suggested [redacted])

b6
b7C

CHILDS stated that he understood that from time to time, some members of the Russian Delegation to the United Nations had been visitors at the residence of

MARCEL and LENA SCHERER. If this is so, then the SCHERERs might be considered as possible third persons to act as intermediaries. These two Russians agreed to give the SCHERERs consideration and CHILD said he would suggest this possibility to HALL and DENNIS. CHILDS also mentioned, but without too much enthusiasm, the possibility of utilizing MARTIN YOUNG as an intermediary. CHILDS stated that he thought ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG is not a good person to utilize for delivering messages because he immediately runs to the National Office of the CP, USA, after receiving any message.

The [illegible] Russians utilizing maps of New York City, agreed to the following arrangements for the next contacts in New York City (probably involving VLADIMIR BARKOVSKY).

On Monday, August 15, 1960, between 10:00 a.m. and noon, JACK CHILDS may receive a telephone call. He will be asked "Is Mr. BROWN there". If JACK CHILDS replies "Mr. BROWN is not here", this will mean that everything is alright. If JACK CHILDS replies "Mr. BROWN is dead", this will mean that the FBI is "standing over him."

On August 17, 18 or 19, 1960, at 2:30 p.m. or thereabouts, someone may come to the office of JACK CHILDS for one half minute or less. The visitor may or may not have a package of money to deliver. The visitor may also say that on September 8 or 9, 1960 is alright.

Starting on Wednesday, September 7, 1960, with alternate Thursdays of September 8 or 9, MORRIS CHILDS is to be at the elevated stop at 204th Street and Webster Avenue, in the Bronx at approximately 1:00 p.m. in the afternoon. He is to walk past a shoe store, cross Hull Avenue and Decatur Avenue, and proceed to Bainbridge Avenue and 207th Street. Russians will be observing from a number of places, his approach to Bainbridge Avenue and 207th Street from 204th Street and Webster Avenue. The Russian who appeared to have superior rank drew a freehand sketch of this area.

There is a men's shop in the vicinity of 207th Street and Bainbridge Avenue. Near this men's shop someone will approach CHILDS and say tomorrow is alright or tomorrow is not alright or CHILDS may be handed an evelope containing a message or instructions, also CHILDS may be handed a package of money.

On 9/10/60, MORRIS CHILDS is to go to the place where he last met BARKOVSKY (the Willard Theater). CHILDS is to follow the usual procedure of going into the theater about 20 minutes before 7:00 p.m. and walking out of the theater at 7:00 p.m., turning to the left, etc. CHILDS will be met on 9/10/60, by BARKOVSKY or by possibly someone else.

It was agreed that previous arrangements for telephone calls to set up an emergency meeting are still alright, and that CHILDS should not hesitate to use these arrangements at any time if he feels that it is necessary to do so. Both of the Russians said that they would like to know how to obtain an American passport without applying in person for the passport. CHILDS did not give any information on how this might be done.

They suggested the use of microfilming for the transmittal of any CP, USA documents to BARKOVSKY or whoever might meet with CHILDS.

They stated that after the U-2 incident, Russians in the United States were instructed to lay low and to take it easy. They commended CHILDS for not trying to go through with a meeting with BARKOVSKY after the U-2 incident.

A few days after this meeting the person who acted as the interpreter at the first meeting, appeared alone at the apartment where CHILDS was staying and went over the previous arrangements. During the conversation, he said to CHILDS, until you came along, your party leadership did not cooperate with us very well. We are not asking for military espionage, but we are not getting full cooperation in regard to the passing on of CP, USA information.

Also during this conversation, he stated that MIKE GRENOVICH had worked for him in the United States.

100-406102 Key Figure N.Y. ON SJ

He asked what the CP, USA, had against CHERNOVICH, CHILDS replied that CHERNOVICH was elected to the National Committee of the CP, USA because it was thought that he was a Latin-American. Later it was learned that he is a Slav, who lived in Latin-America. CHILDS said that he had heard that CHERNOVICH is under some suspicion in the New York district. The Russians said that he might get into trouble for having worked with such a guy as MIKE CHERNOVICH.

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

FBI

Date: 8/5/60 REC-8

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

ReNYairtel, 8/3/60, containing information from CG 5824-S* concerning meetings in Russia during July with two members of the "Secret Department" of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

On 8/5/60, several photographs of likely suspects were exhibited to CG 5824-S* by SA JOHN E. KEATING in an effort to identify these two individuals.

CG 5824-S* identified a photograph of [redacted] as being the person who referred to himself as [redacted]

b6
b7C

CG 5824-S* was unable to identify the other individual from the photographs exhibited to him. He stated in general appearance the unknown individual resembles A. K. MARTYNOV, but that he is certain that the unknown is not MARTYNOV. The unknown individual mentioned to CG 5824-S* that he might see the informant in the United States some day.

Efforts will continue to attempt to identify the unknown member of the "Secret Department" of the CPSU.

3 - BUREAU (100-428091)(RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)(SOLO)(RM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

JEK:mfd
(6)

REC-8 100-428091-

EX-101

16 AUG 6 1960

50 AUG 18 1960

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

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

F B I

Date: 8/11/60

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL REC-79
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

CG 5824-S* orally furnished the information concerning MAURICE HALPERIN on the following page to SA JOHN E. KEATING on 8/10/60. It is noted that HALPERIN was a member of the BENTLEY espionage ring.

3 - Bureau (100-428091)(RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(SOLO)(AMRM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

JEK:msb
(6)

REC-79 100-428091-866

EX 100 AUG 12 1960

50 AUG 18 1960

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

INT-SEC

INFORMATION CONCERNING MAURICE HALPERIN

JOHN PITTMAN, Moscow correspondent for "The Worker," stated during July, 1960, that MAURICE HALPERIN, who "cannot go back to the United States," is presently teaching in Moscow, Russia, and is very respected because of his knowledge of Latin American affairs.

PITTMAN said that HALPERIN at one time was a teacher at the University of Oklahoma, later was in Mexico, and is a friend of ALFRED K. STERN.

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

FBI

Date: 8/5/60 REC-6

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637) (41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

CG 5824-S*, on 8/5/60, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following pages. This report deals with the Friendship of the Peoples University, Moscow, Russia. The information was received from NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS.

[redacted]

b6
b7C

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (SOLO) (AMRM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

JEK:msb
(6)

3 ENCLOSURE

100-428091-866

REC-6

16 AUG 6 1960

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

FRIENDSHIP OF THE PEOPLES UNIVERSITY,
MOSCOW, RUSSIA

It will be recalled that GUS HALL, General Secretary of the CP,USA, requested that information be obtained concerning the Friendship of the Peoples University, Moscow, Russia. This matter was discussed during July, 1960, with NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS, head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Present during this discussion was a translator, whose first name is [redacted] (phonetic). He is approximately 27 years of age, 6 feet in height, and has served as a translator for NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV. He works in the Foreign Office of the USSR, but is also utilized by the CPSU. He has been stationed in Germany and speaks German. He has recently completed a course in English in Moscow. While MOSTOVETS speaks English, he utilizes a translator when he wants his remarks to be very precise. b6 b7C

MOSTOVETS gave the following information concerning the Friendship of the Peoples University:

This university will open during September, 1960. It is a regular university. The object of the university is to train people from backward and dependent countries, or countries that have recently obtained their independence. The course at the university will last for six years. Among the subjects which will be taught are those offered at any university; such as, medicine, engineering, the sciences, the arts, dentistry, law, etc.

Thousands of applications have been received for attendance at this university. Between 500 and 600 applications have already been accepted, and there will not be more than 600 students during the first year. The CPSU will decide who will attend the university. It will ask the various Communist Parties to make recommendations. Those recommended should be Communist

[illegible]-866

Party members or close friends of the Party. It is realized that in some countries there will not be sufficient Communist Party members of the age level to attend such a school; therefore, friends of the Party or non-Party members recommended by the Communist Party in the country involved will be acceptable. The prospective students will have to be recommended. Probably eight out of ten students will be Communist Party members or close friends of the Communist Party.

The plan is to train these students to become the future leaders and technicians in their native countries. These students will be trained as doctors, lawyers, biologists, chemists, etc.

The CPSU goes on the basis that there will be some "enemies" sneaking into the university.

The university is not designed for colored people, as such, and was not designed with the view in mind that American Negroes might attend this university. It is felt that if a Negro in the United States is so inclined, he can obtain an education in the United States. This is not the case in some of the backward or dependent countries for which this university was designed.

However, if the CP,USA does find that it has an extreme case where it wants to recommend at the most a handful of students to attend this university, they will be given special consideration. It must be borne in mind, however, that this is not the purpose of this university.

The above information was furnished to JAMES JACKSON on August 3, 1960.

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

FBI

Date: 8/12/60

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plain text or code)

Via ~~AIRTEL~~
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C
(OO: NY)

CG 5824-S* orally furnished the information on the following page concerning HYMAN LUMER and CLARENCE HATHAWAY to SA JOHN E. KEATING on 8/10/60.

REC-74 100-428091-867

~~AUG 18~~ 1960

EX 104

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46 subB) (RM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

JEK:mml
(6)

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

62 AUG 18 1960

Information Concerning HYMAN LUMER and
CLARENCE HATHAWAY

During July, 1960, NIKOLAI V. MOSTOVETS, head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, asked MORRIS CHILDS what he knew about HYMAN LUMER. MOSTOVETS said that "somebody" (possibly this was WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) had sent to the CPSU information attacking LUMER. It was stated that LUMER made a terrible speech on disarmament at the 17th National Convention of the CPUSA. CHILDS replied that LUMER is a member of the National Executive Committee of the CPUSA in good standing and that the CPUSA has no political problems with LUMER.

CHILDS asked MOSTOVETS if the CPSU has any concrete information concerning CLARENCE HATHAWAY in addition to what was previously furnished to the CPUSA. MOSTOVETS replied negatively. CHILDS said that in view of this he could not see how the CPUSA could take any action on the material it was given concerning HATHAWAY.

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

FBI

Date: 8/6/60

REC-4

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

Via AIRTEL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Callahan
Mr. McGrath
Mr. Malone
Mr. [illegible]
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. [illegible]
Mr. W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Mr. Ingram
Miss Gandy

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT : SOLO
IS-C

CG 5824-S* orally furnished the information on the following pages to SA JOHN E. KEATING on 8/5/60. This report pertains to the second formal meeting with BORIS PONOMAREV and others in the Headquarters of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union.

It is noted that this meeting deals almost entirely with the critique of a speech on the current international situation which was made by GUS HALL at an enlarged meeting of the Secretariat of the CP, USA, on Saturday, 6/25/60. The report of CG 5824-S* on this meeting of the Secretariat of the CP, USA, is contained in Chicago airtel dated 6/30/60, and captioned "CP, USA ORGANIZATION; IS-C, CINAL."

b6
b7C

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46 Sub B) (SOLO) (AM) (RM)
1 - New York (100-134637)

JEK:mzg
(6)

3 ENCLOSURE

100-428091-868

REC-4 10 5 AUG 17 8 1960

62 AUG 25 1960

Approved _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

Second Formal Meeting with Boris Ponomarev and Others in the Headquarters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

The second formal meeting with Boris Ponomarev in his office in the Headquarters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union took place on or about July 26, 1960. In addition to Ponomarev, who is in charge of the International Department of the CCCPSU, others present were D. Shevlyagin, who is now an assistant to Ponomarev; Nikolai Mostovets, Head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the CCCPSU; two Russians, whose identities are not known; one [redacted] (phonetic) Lnu, who was present in the capacity of a translator and Morris Childs.

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Remarks of Boris Ponomarev

Childs had previously furnished the CCCPSU with a typewritten copy of a speech on the international situation. This speech had been delivered by Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CP,USA, at an enlarged meeting of the Secretariat of the CP, USA, held in New York City, on Saturday, June 25, 1960. Ponamarev had a translation of this speech before him. While Ponomarev opened the meeting, he subsequently let Mostovets do most of the talking. Almost the entire meeting was devoted solely to Hall's speech.

Ponomarev said, the speech of Hall is a very good speech. It contains some very correct ideas. Since the CP, USA did not have the details of the conference of Communist Parties at Bucharest, Rumania, in June, 1960, he is amazed that the main line of Hall's speech is correct. Thus, the main line of the National Committee of the CP, USA is correct and good and the CCCPSU is glad to see that the CP, USA has been able to analyze the international situation as well as it did on its own.

Ponomarev emphasized, that by all means, the CP, USA must have a representative in Moscow, in November, 1960, to attend the conference of Communist Parties. This conference will discuss the current ideological dispute between the CP, SU and the CP of China. The 1960 meeting of CP representatives in Moscow, in November, might be more important that the 1957 meeting of Communist Parties in Moscow. It might be more like a congress of the old Comintern. It is important that all Communist Parties have a say at this conference.

100-[illegible]-868

ENCLOSURE

The reason why he is putting such stress on this conference is that not since the end of World War II has unity of the world Communist movement been so important and yet so threatened. In brief, this conference in Moscow, in November, involves the unity of the Communist movement.

Continuing, Ponomarev said the CP, USA is carrying out the correct Marxist-Leninist line. The participation of the CP, USA in the conference in Moscow, in November, is important not because of the number of members in the CP, USA. Some Communist Parties in smaller countries have a larger membership than does the CP, USA, but your CP in the US represents an important country. Therefore, the viewpoint of the CP, USA is very important.

Then Ponomarev said let Mostovets carry on. I have the written speech of Gus Hall before me. We have discussed it. What Mostovets will say represents our opinions.

Remarks of Nikolai Mostovets

Mostovets spoke with a copy of Hall's written speech before him. This copy was well marked in red pencil.

Mostovets said that what Hall says about the possibility of the United States retreating from military bases overseas is very important. If Hall would consent to writing an article dealing especially with this problem, the CP, SU would consider it important and might print it in the "Kommunist," theoretical organ of the CP, SU or in some other journal. If the quality is high, the article would be printed in the "Kommunist."

Parenthetically speaking, it is considered the highest honor in the international Communist movement to have an article printed in the "Kommunist."

Mostovets repeated the remarks of Ponomarev that the general theses of Hall's speech is correct. He referred to that portion of the speech in which Hall stated that there is a greater need to emphasize the growth of peace forces in the United States. Mostovets said that this emphasis might be of some benefit to Peking.

In the speech, Hall states that some circles of the capitalist class understand the need for co-existence such as Cyrus Eaton and others. Mostovets stated that they were very glad to see this statement in Hall's speech. He said, the CP, USA must learn to use contradictions in the capitalist class, contradictions in the Republican Party and the Democratic Party, etc. The statements of Hall is certainly different from the attitude of the CP of China, which says that you cannot sit at the same conference table with capitalists. If any political party or any candidate for office in the United States is for peace and civil rights, the CP, USA should support that party or candidate in a way that is tactically advisable.

In Hall's speech, he raised the question of the national purpose and continuous growth of the United States. Mostovets said that they are of the opinion that this question was placed correctly by Hall, and that the Communists in the United States must use this to strengthen the party. Mostovets emphasized that the main political resolution of the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA is correct even though there have been some changes in the world situation since the time of the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA.

Then Mostovets went into that part of Hall's speech in which he starts with the idea that the United States has reached the apex of its influence in the world. Mostovets said that the CCCPSU is of the opinion that maybe it is too early to say that the United States has reached the heighth of its influence. It is true that internationally United States imperialism finds itself in difficulties, but the American government may still utilize different methods and different approaches in order to recoup its loss of prestige.

Continuing Mostovets said, the CCCPSU is of the opinion that it is too early to just emphasize the negative, that is, the declining phase of the United States. That while it is true, historically speaking, that American imperialism is on the decline, it is quite possible that the United States may still obtain some success although this may not hinder the historical decline. If the CP, USA keeps on emphasizing the retreat and decline, it will be harder to

mobilize people to fight. In this speech, Hall had said: "The outlook (for the US) is certainly not for continued expansion." Mostovets said that in the opinion of the CCCPSU, this is too positive a statement because the United States, while it may seem beaten now, is going to try to expand. Hall is correct in saying and even emphasizing that imperialism has not changed. At the same time, it is necessary to keep in mind that the United States is going to try to expand. Mostovets said that Hall's speech correctly exposed the role of United States imperialism and its defeat in Korea, Cuba, Turkey and Japan.

In Hall's speech, he used the phrase, "United States imperialism is beginning to crumble in its periphery." Mostovets stated that the CP, SU states that the United States will continue to try to expand and the CP, SU believes that there should be more emphasizes on the efforts of America to expand rather than emphasis on retreat by America. For example, look at Africa at the present time. In different ways, with different methods, the United States is trying to expand in Africa. The CCCPSU is of the opinion that at this moment, the United States is in a better position in Africa than it has been before. Certainly the United States is in a better position in Africa than is Great Britain, France, Belgium and other countries. Perhaps, the United States is gaining in Africa, at the expense of the aforementioned countries, nevertheless the United States is doing it. Expansion may be more difficult for the United States now, but it will continue to try to expand. Somehow or other there seems to be a contradiction in this thesis of Hall.

In the speech, Hall had used a quotation from Lenin regarding the regrouping of forces. Mostovets stated that Hall had used the wrong quotation from Lenin. The quotation is not applicable to the international situation, and Hall was referring to the international situation. What Lenin had in mind was movements of workers and parties and the regrouping of forces of the working class. Therefore, the CP, SU would recommend that Hall strike this out of the written speech since the quotation is not applicable to the present United States situation.

Mostovets said that, speaking for the members of the CCCPSU who read the speech of Hall, the characterization of United States imperialism in the speech is correct, however, it needs to be filled in somewhat. This does not mean filling in details, but does mean

proving the thesis.

In the speech Hall made a proposal in regard to foreign bases of the United States. Hall had proposed the sending of "peace fighters" to talk to the people in the countries where the United States has overseas bases. Mostovets said that the CPSU thought that this was a good proposal. If Hall could develop this idea and if some world wide movement like this could be set in motion it would be of utmost importance. However the CPSU is of the opinion that it would be difficult and even impossible to do this. But the CPSU does want to emphasize that the section of Hall's speech which deals with United States bases overseas and the need for the United States to retreat from these bases is very important. On the other hand, the CPSU wants to emphasize that every time Hall minimizes the expansion of United States imperialism he weakens his general thesis.

In regard to that part of Hall's speech in which he talks of the peace struggle to prevent war, the CPSU thinks that this section of the speech is correct and good. Hall's conclusion that even if the United States retreats it will be without war is also alright. But when Hall states that war can be prevented, "not without struggle and not without movement", this is too soft. There is a need to emphasize mass struggle and to emphasize pressures in order to prevent war.

Concerning that portion of Hall's speech in which he says that the present relation of forces in the world is compelling the United States to retreat here and there, Mostovets stated that this is correct. It is a principled question and needs to be emphasized. Yet while emphasizing it, to again restate the idea that the character of imperialism has not changed.

Hall had stated that perhaps for selfish interests United States imperialism may decide to retreat. Mostovets said that this statement can lead to the thought that United States imperialism is willingly planning to retreat. This is not so. At this very moment United States imperialism may start another offensive some place.

Mostovets said, in Cuba, the United States was compelled to retreat for the obvious reason that it is faced with all of Latin America; but elsewhere or just to generalize and say that the United States is willingly planning to retreat is wrong. In fact, this might be turned into an interpretation that the policy of retreat by United States imperialism is slightly defended by the CP, USA because it is a conscious policy of United States imperialsim.

Mostovets said that what Hall said about new factors for peace as a result of the strength of the socialist system, and what is happening in the colonial countries is absolutely correct. Hall is correct when he states that there is a new relation of forces in the world today which does impel United States imperialism to act differently and unlike it might have acted in the past.

Mostovets praised Hall's emphasis on maintaining the foundations for peace and that part of Hall's speech in which he says that one should never set policy on non-existing facts. If Hall could develop this fact into an article, it would be welcome.

Mostovets also stated that Hall's thesis that even parts of the ruling classes in the United States do not want war if they cannot see success is a correct thesis.

Also Hall's idea that wars cannot happen just by accident is very much correct. Before wars happen, or before one can predict war, the relation of all forces needs to be considered. This too the CP, SU would like Hall to develop into a separate article.

Mostovets said that a reference by Hall to the selfish interests of the imperialist class is not clear to the CP, SU.

The thesis on the united front, as Hall presents it, is correct. The CP, USA has to mobilize liberals progressives in fact everybody to fight for peace sp the united front is most important and Hall is right in this.

One final suggestion was made by Mostovets. In Hall's speech, which he intended to be printed as an

article, he names some leading Communists such as Palmiro Togliatti, Wladyslaw Gomulka, Mao Tse Tung, etc. In the future, it would be well to leave out names in written articles, theses, etc.

Parenthetically speaking, it is believed that this suggestion would not apply to the names of Marx and Lenin and probably not to Khrushchev.

The final conclusion of Mostovets was that what Hall says in his speech concerning the united front and the need to fight to prevent war is correct and it is possible to do this. If this is done it might help our "Chinese friends" to sit up and take notice and maybe learn something.

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

FBI

Date: 8/10/60

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL REC-4
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134647) (41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

CG 5824-S* orally furnished the information on the following page concerning [redacted] to SA JOHN E. KEATING on 8/10/60.

b6
b7C

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (SOLO) (AMRM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

JEK:msb
(6)

100-428091-869

REC-4 10 15 AUG 12 1960

ENCLOSURE

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

53 AUG 22 1960

INFORMATION CONCERNING [redacted]

During July, 1960, NIKOLAI V. MOSTOVETS, head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, stated that the CPSU is waiting for [redacted] It is suggested that he be in Russia in September to enter high school.

b6
b7C

During the second week of August, 1960, PHIL BART, National Organization Secretary of the CPUSA, stated that [redacted] was visiting [redacted] in Puerto Rico but would be ready to travel to Russia so as to be there in September.

100-[illegible]-869

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

FBI

Date: 8/12/60

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

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

REC-83

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: (SOLO)
IS-C

CG 5824-S* orally furnished the information on the following page to SA JOHN E. KEATING, August 10, 1960. This report contains information concerning ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN at the celebration of the INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY in Copenhagen, Denmark.

[redacted]

b6
b7C

(3) - BUREAU (100-428091) (RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B) (RM)
1 - NEW YORK (100-134637) (#41)

REC-83 100-428091-870

EX 109

AUG 13 1960

JEK:DJG
(6)

INT. SEC.

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

51 AUG 22 1960

U.S.A.

In Prague, Czechoslovakia, on July 16, 1960, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, Vice Chairman of the Communist Party, USA, stated that the Russians are translating her book. She said that if she obtains royalties from the sale of the book in Russia she will turn the money over to the CP, USA.

FLYNN said that she has a lot of documents in the United States. She would like to donate them to some museum in Russia or Czechoslovakia. However, she wondered if the CP, USA would be willing to pay to have them Photostated before she does this.

FLYNN also wanted to know if the CP, USA is making payments on her fine.

Concerning the celebration of INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY in Copenhagen, Denmark, in April 1960, FLYNN said that this was a very conservative meeting. Most of the delegations were composed of women whose only interest was to promote peace. The most radical delegation at the meeting was that from the United States. The Russians were afraid that the Americans would make too radical remarks in their speeches at this celebration.

FLYNN said that she and GERALDINE LIGHTFOOT U.S.A. could not get individual visas to visit Moscow while they were in Copenhagen. They had to travel to the Soviet Union as part of the delegation going to Moscow from Copenhagen. When they first arrived in Moscow they stayed at the Ukraine Hotel with the rest of the delegation from Copenhagen. After about one week she, FLYNN, and GERALDINE LIGHTFOOT were moved out of this hotel. While they were in the Ukraine Hotel their expenses were paid by the INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S COMMITTEE FOR PEACE.

105-42,807 1 .870

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

FBI

Date: 8/12/60 REC- 83

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

CG 5824-S* orally furnished information concerning the "World Marxist Review" on the following page to SA JOHN E. KEATING on August 10, 1960.

3 - BUREAU (100-428091)(RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)(SOLO)(RM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

EX 109
REC- 83 100-428091-871

JEK:mfd
(6)

ENCLOSURE

57 AUG 22 1960

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

INFORMATION CONCERNING THE WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

[redacted] stated during the week of July 10, 1960, that A. RUMYANTSEV, Editor-in-Chief of the "World Marxist Review", is very ill and is in Russia.

[redacted] who is a member of the Polit Bureau of the CP of Czechoslovakia, is currently in charge of the "World Marxist Review". b6 b7C

[redacted] described the current ideological dispute between the CP of the Soviet Union and the CP of China as sharp and tense.

871

ENCLOSURE

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

FBI

Date: 8-1-60

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

Via AIRTEL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

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

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

There appears on the following pages a report from CG 5824-S* concerning the first of two formal meetings between CG 5824-S* and BORIS PONOMAREV and others in the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The information was furnished by CG 5824-S* to SA JOHN E. KEATING on 7/31/60.

3 - BUREAU (100-428091) (RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B - SOLO) (AM RM)
1 - NEW YORK (100-134637) (#41)

JEK:DJG
(6)

3 ENCLOSURE

10 AUG 16 1960

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

FIRST FORMAL MEETING WITH BORIS PONOMAREV AND OTHERS IN THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

During the week of July 17, 1960, there was a formal meeting in the office of BORIS PONOMAREV in the Headquarters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This was the first of two formal meetings with PONOMAREV, who is in charge of the International Department of the CCCPSU. Also present was D. SHEVLYAGIN, who is now an assistant to PONOMAREV. It will be recalled that about three years ago SHEVLYAGIN was listed as the author of an article which criticized WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN of California for revisionism. Also present at this meeting was NIKOLAI VLADIMIROVICH MOSTOVETS, Head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the CCCPSU. One [redacted] (phonetic), who has acted as an interpreter for NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV and accompanied KHRUSHCHEV on his recent trip to Austria, acted as the interpreter at this meeting. In addition to MORRIS CHILDS, two other Russians were present. They were not identified and did not participate in the discussion.

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REMARKS OF BORIS PONOMAREV

PONOMAREV, who had been to the Congress of the Communist Party of Roumania during the latter part of June, 1960, and to the Conference of Communist Parties which followed this Congress, stated that he was glad to see CHILDS and asked if CHILDS had talked with ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, who was also at the congress and conference in Bucharest, Roumania. CHILDS said that he had seen FLYNN in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and had obtained from her details of the developments in Bucharest.

ENCLOSURE

Parenthetically speaking CHILDS had talked with FLYNN by phone when he arrived in Prague, Czechoslovakia. When she stated that she wanted to see CHILDS immediately in order to give the details of the dispute between the CP of China and the CP of the Soviet Union, which was brought out at the Conference in Bucharest, CHILDS willingly agreed to wait for FLYNN to come to Prague from Budapest, Hungary, for this purpose. This was done because CHILDS did not know at this time whether or not the CPSU would give him any information or the complete information in regard to this dispute. Before meeting with PONOMAREV, CHILDS had submitted to the CCCPSU a written report of the remarks of GUS HALL in regard to articles which appeared in Russian and Chinese publications and indicated an ideological dispute between the CPSU and the CP of China.

PONOMAREV stated, many things have happened since the last time we talked. At the time of our last discussion events were moving toward the easing of tension. Since the U-2 overflight, some of these good things have stopped. In fact, during recent days, the question of peace and war has again been placed on the agenda. To some extent we can say that the guns are speaking, but I want to emphasize that the tensions are on a small scale despite the bad things which have been happening.

3/10

You will receive a document and this document contains the essence of our differences with the Chinese CP and other Communist Parties. At Bucharest it was quite clear that not all the Communist Parties agreed with the CP of China. Now we are beginning to receive resolutions from various Communist Parties all over the world. These resolutions show that these Parties do not agree with the CP of China. These differences are not a good thing. The CPSU and the Soviet Union cannot benefit from these differences. But the fact remains that

these differences do exist. The comrades of the CP of China have expressed themselves and have shown that they have differences with some of our policies. At Bucharest we decided to set up a commission. The purpose of this commission will be to explore these differences, talk them out, and see what can be done. Perhaps this will only result in a big argument. We do not know. We think that your Party, the CP of the United States, should send a representative of the National Executive Committee to participate in the work of this commission.

What will we be able to say after this conference in Bucharest? We do not know. The letter from the CPSU was given to the Chinese and to all other Communist Parties and Workers Parties of the socialist countries. The Chinese comrades continue to write articles such as those which have appeared in the Chinese theoretical organ, "Red Flag". Sometimes the Chinese seem to be flexable, but in the main their arguments are one-sided. They continue to emphasize that the nature of imperialismhas not changed. Further that war is possible and even inevitable. In their provincial press, the Chinese are even more critical of the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

Do you know what the Chinese comrades have been doing? For six months they have been training 50 Latin American comrades. They filled them full of their propaganda. They expressed themselves in a very hostile manner against the CPSU. They did not always do it openly, but in some surreptitious way, or by insinuations, they did it in their lectures to these Latin American students.

The Chinese keep on propagandizing that United States imperialism will resort to arms - to war. That to talk of co-existence is to create illusions. That the same can be said of talk about disarmament. To expect the imperialists to disarm, the Chinese say, is like talking fairy tales.

Do you know that the Chinese comrades even suggested to the Latin American comrades that there should be armed struggle and guerrilla warfare in Panama. The Chinese kept on telling the students that at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, we had suggested that there is only one road to socialism and that is the peaceful way. This is not so. If you recall the documents of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, you will recall that we recommended that some Parties may have to use the other way to socialism. At one time we criticized the CP of Brazil for putting too much emphasis on the peaceful path to socialism. But the Chinese comrades have been preaching to the Brazilian comrades, and some of the Brazilian comrades agreed with them, that they need to resort to armed struggles, uprisings, etc. Of course, I must tell you that the Brazilian Party did accept this emphasis that the Chinese placed on armed struggle.

The Chinese comrades, in their continued talks with various Parties, have been suggesting that the CPSU has a line, a one-sided line of peaceful transition to socialism.

Prior to the meeting in Bucharest, some comrades from the various Communist Parties asked us why we do not talk things over with the Chinese. We had two conferences with the Chinese comrades prior to Bucharest and later on when the Chinese delegation passed through Moscow on the way to Bucharest we met with them one day for ten hours. Later on when we arrived in Bucharest, we met with them for six hours and comrade KHRUSHCHEV was present at this meeting.

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There is a peculiar paradox in this situation. We spent hours trying to convince them that they did not understand us. That they are wrong. We quoted from Comrade [redacted] speeches and the speeches of others at the 20th Congress of the CPSU. The Chinese comrades replied that quoting from the 20th Congress of the CPSU is like the devil

quoting from the scruptures.

At Bucharest, comrade KHRUSHCHEV repeated our parties' position and pointed out to the Chinese that the peaceful road to socialism is not the only one. We cannot understand why the Chinese comrades will not believe us.

We have been meeting with the Latin American comrades who have just returned from China. Some of them are good comrades and have a good outlook. But some are still under the influence of the Chinese, especially since the Chinese placed emphasis on the fight against United States imperialism.

We are not telling the Latin American comrades not to fight United States imperialism. Perhaps we do not preach the same methods but the Chinese did something more than preach against United States imperialism. They inculcated the Latin American comrades with an anti-CPSU spirit. This is bad - very bad!

The Chinese have complicated the problem of the relation of Parties. All parties have been appealing to the Chinese. NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV has been appealing to them. He has said he has asked them, why don't you use criticism in the manner of friends to each other? All of this has been to no avail. We are now in the process of informing our Party of the recent developments. We just finished a meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU. There were two points on the agenda and these were:

1. The question of agriculture in the USSR;

2. The problems at Bucharest.

In our press we do not criticize the CP of China. We talk in general in our press. We stress the importance of co-existence, disarmament, etc. Those who study the situation know that in this we differ with the Chinese Communists.

How will it be in the future? It really depends on the Chinese comrades. Some Central Committees of the various Communist Parties are sending letters to the CP of China. In these letters they complain to the Chinese about the methods they used in criticizing other Parties and policies of other Parties.

At Bucharest the leaders of the socialist countries told us of some of the methods used by the Chinese comrades in talking to some of their leaders, diplomats, etc., who have been visiting China. The Chinese talked behind the backs of the leaders of the various Parties. The Czechoslovakian comrades had to send the Chinese comrades a very sharp letter about this. The French Party also sent a letter to the Chinese Party complaining in the same vein.

In our press, or at our meetings, we do not criticize the CP of China concerning their inner problems. We certainly had plenty to criticize and disagree with. Yes, we did, from time to time, criticize them privately and in some closed meetings. Comrade KHRUSHCHEV criticized them on some of the internal policies they pursued.

In 1958, you will remember, I took a trip to China with Comrade KHRUSHCHEV at the time MAO TSE TUNG first suggested the organizing of communes. Comrade KHRUSHCHEV disagreed with the plan to organize communes and reminded MAO TSE TUNG that even in LENIN's time, Soviets rejected communes.

The Chinese are having great difficulties in the provinces right now. In the cities there are many shortages of commodities and goods. The peasants destroyed most of their livestock and produce - they consumed them - before joining the communes. When we began our collectivization in the USSR, the peasants destroyed half of their cattle and consumed them, or put them in storage. They would not give them to the

collective. The Chinese peasants did something even worse. It was easy for them to eat their pigs, chickens, etc., before joining the communes.

The Chinese comrades claim that they are now confronted with a terrible drought. Actually there is no drought of the kind they claim. The terrible situation is really due to their policies which we believe to be wrong. It reminds us of the period of STALIN. Instead of looking facts in the face and telling the people they are looking for some excuse to cover up. If the Chinese population presently is receiving a pound of meat a month, that is a generous estimate. Drought, my eye.

We are not turning our Party cadre into being anti-Chinese. In Bucharest, Comrade KHRUSHCHEV said, we will continue to work for the best of relations with the Communist Party of China and all Communist Parties, but we will not give in on principles. This he, KHRUSHCHEV, emphasized.

In Bucharest, the Chinese said that they would present their views, but if the majority is against them they will admit that they are wrong and will join with the majority. Although they signed what we now call the Bucharest Declaration, or Communique, they have not changed their views and they hold to their previous position. We utilized their signature to this declaration in the hope that it may present to the world a unanimous position and may move the Chinese, if not now, later on. But the fact is that the cleavage is as wide as ever. Of course there are other things involved. Things we do not go into here, but which NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV referred to in Bucharest. These are problems of state, including the question of arms, modern weapons, etc., which the Chinese want but this is not a problem for discussion at this meeting.

General Discussion

BORIS PONOMAREV then asked CHILDS where the CP, USA obtained its material on the viewpoint of the CP of China. CHILDS explained that various Chinese publications, such as the "PEKING REVIEW" are mailed to the U.S. and it is from these publications that the CPUSA learns of the viewpoint of the CP of China.

PONOMAREV pointed out to CHILDS that it is extremely important for the leadership of the CP, USA to know immediately all of the facts concerning the dispute between the CP of China and the CPSU.

PONOMAREV then asked CHILDS for his impressions of China during his last trip there in October, 1959. He asked CHILDS who he had met with in China and to whom he had talked in China. CHILDS gave PONOMAREV this information and pointed out that he realized in October 1959, that Comrade KHRUSHCHEV received a cool reception in Peking. CHILDS also stated that he noticed that photographs of JOSEPH STALIN were prominently displayed in Peking whereas it was difficult to find a photograph of KHRUSHCHEV during the parade in connection with the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Peoples Republic of China. CHILDS also stated that he had noticed that there was very little applause for the remarks of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV delivered at the banquet held in connection with the 10th anniversary celebration, mentioned previously.

PONOMAREV replied that it is true that KHRUSHCHEV received a rather cool reception in China in October 1959. Since KHRUSHCHEV had just previously returned from his visit to the U.S., the CP of China thought that KHRUSHCHEV was selling out to U. S. imperialism.

PONOMAREV then asked CHILDS if the CP of China talked out against the CPSU while CHILDS was in China in October 1959. CHILDS replied that the CP of China did not speak out specifically against the CPSU while he was there but the representatives of the CP of China to whom he did talk stated that the analysis [illegible] of the CP, USA on the visit of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV to the United States and the reason for the visit in the first place was closer to the viewpoint of the CP of China than to the viewpoint of the CPSU. CHILDS said that now that he looks back on some of the conversations he had in China he can see that at that time differences between the CP of China and the CPSU were developing but that the Chinese comrades never specifically talked against the Soviet in his presence.

CHILDS then told those present at this meeting that in his first meeting with MAO TSE-TUNG, MAO talked very much in favor of Moscow. The only hint from MAO that there was some disagreement was given when MAO emphasized that it is perhaps wrong for some Communist Parties to muddle in the affairs of Communist Parties in other countries. In this connection, MAO used the DUCLOS letter to the CP, USA as an example. However, during this meeting with MAO, he never said anything in connection with any disagreements he might have with the CPSU.

CHILDS also stated that when LUI SHAO-CHI spoke to the various delegations in October 1959, he mentioned the various problems that the Chinese were having at that time. In connection with this, LUI SHAO-CHI made the remark that the Chinese, unlike the Soviet comrades at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, would tell the delegations to the 10th anniversary celebration everything about the CP of China and China itself. LUI SHAO-CHI said, we will hold nothing back from you.

CHILDS commented that these remarks by LUI SHAO-CHI were understood by most of the delegations as a sort of backhanded slap at the CPSU. It should be noted, however, that most of the delegations, including the delegation from the CPUSA, did not think that the CPSU handled the developments at the 20th Congress of the CPSU very well.

PONOMAREV then asked CHILDS when the leadership of the CPUSA had met to discuss the current problems between the CPSU and the CP of China. CHILDS said that these meetings were held during the week of June 19, 1960. CHILDS commented that except for some extreme leftists there would be very little sympathy for the viewpoint of the Chinese in the leadership of the CPUSA.

PONOMAREV then asked how widespread in the U.S. is the fact that there is a dispute between the CPSU and the CP of China. CHILDS replied that very little is known about this at the present time in the U.S. and that what is known came mostly from a reading of the "PEKING REVIEW" and some hints in the capitalist press in the U.S. CHILDS complained that the CPSU had not sent the CPUSA any material dealing with this dispute between the CPSU and the CP of China. CHILDS explained that the viewpoint of the CPUSA in regard to this dispute was arrived at on the basis of the best interests of the CPUSA. That is, the CPUSA believes that it is in its own best interest to support programs for peaceful co-existence, for disarmament and, therefore, goes along with the viewpoint of the CPSU instead of that of the CP of China in regard to these matters. The CPUSA cannot preach a Nuclear War as the Chinese do.

PONOMAREV then said to CHILDS, it is most important that some of these facts be gotten to your party leadership as soon as possible, especially since you do not want to be surprised by having the U. S. State Department or some of the U. S. intelligence agencies leaking to the press the news of the dispute between the CPSU and the CP of China at Bucharest. At this point, CHILDS said that he would arrange for a hurried trip back to the U. S. in order to meet with the leading comrades of the CPUSA in regard to the information he had obtained concerning this dispute.

PONOMAREV then asked how the leadership of the CPUSA feels about ideological differences between the CPSU and the CP of China. CHILDS pointed out that he had furnished to the Central Committee of the CPSU the viewpoint of GUS HALL, which was expressed at two meetings of the National Executive Committee of the CPUSA in June 1960. CHILDS said that while BEN DAVIS complained about centrism in the CPUSA, no one, including DAVIS, voted against the report of comrade HALL, which supported the viewpoint of the CPSU and not that of the CP of China.

PONOMAREV then asked CHILDS if the leadership of the CPUSA is more united now than it was at the time he had last talked with CHILDS. CHILDS replied that the leadership of the CPUSA is more united now.

After asking about the health of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and EUGENE DENNIS, PONOMAREV asked the present size of the CPUSA. CHILDS replied that GUS HALL has stated that the CPUSA has between eight and ten thousand members, however, the organization department of the CPUSA states that there are considerably less than 8,000 dues-paying members in the CPUSA.

PONOMAREV then asked if there are any differences among the leaders of the CPUSA in regard to an analysis of the ticket nominated by the Democratic Party. CHILDS replied that some of the leading comrades in the CPUSA think that [redacted] is an extreme reactionary, however, the majority do not think so. CHILDS also stated that the CPUSA has plans to have ten congressional candidates run in the name of the CP during the 1960 elections. However, difficulties may be encountered because of restrictions against CP candidates as a result of election laws. SHEVLYAGIN then asked CHILDS about the election laws in the U. S. CHILDS told him that the laws with regard to the congressional candidates vary from state to state. Furthermore, if the CPUSA is to carry on the fight for peace it should put emphasis on the election of candidates who will fight for peace instead of spending too much time running CP candidates who would not be elected.

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CHILDS then asked if the CPSU would help the CPUSA to retire ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG with honor. PONOMAREV stated that he agreed with the CPUSA that TRACHTENBERG is an old man and probably should be retired. He said that he thought that while he, TRACHTENBERG, was in the Soviet Union he had expressed a wish to live in the Soviet Union. CHILDS replied that to his knowledge TRACHTENBERG has not mentioned this to the CPUSA. CHILDS also stated that the CPUSA was certain that TRACHTENBERG would not disclose some of the secrets in connection with the operations of INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS unless he was so instructed by the CPSU. PONOMAREV stated that he sees the need to comply with the request of the CPUSA, that he would discuss it with the comrades in the CPSU but that he was not making any promises concerning TRACHTENBERG at this time.

CHILDS then told PONOMAREV that he had been requested by the leadership of the CPUSA to ascertain if there was any possibility of keeping WILLIAM L. PATTERSON in either Czechoslovakia or the Soviet Union. CHILDS stated that he had discussed this possibility with the CP of Czechoslovakia while he was in Prague and they were not willing to have PATTERSON stay in Czechoslovakia indefinitely. PONOMAREV asked why the CPUSA wanted to get rid of a good comrade like WILLIAM L. PATTERSON. CHILDS replied that while PATTERSON is a good propagandist he is getting rather old. Furthermore, he might be able to help the CPSU in regard to the situation in Africa or he might be able to serve as a teacher in the Friendship of the Peoples University in Moscow. PONOMAREV replied that he never knew that the CPUSA had an over-abundance of comrades and that he would suggest that this matter concerning PATTERSON be talked over later.

CHILDS then complained that in his contacts in the U. S. with representatives of the CPSU they were not satisfactory, that they were too slow and that they were cumbersome. PONOMAREV stated that he was in agreement with the complaints registered by CHILDS in this matter. He said he hopes that arrangements can be made for improved contacts and that CHILDS should be prepared to offer suggestions for better contacts in the U.S. He then stated that CHILDS would be given the opportunity to discuss this matter at appropriate meetings while he was in Moscow.

PONOMAREV then stated that since CHILDS should return to the U.S. in order to present to the leadership facts concerning the dispute between the CPSU and the CP of China, he would like to know when CHILDS might return to Moscow. He asked, why don't you come back as soon as possible just for a rest and a vacation? CHILDS replied that he might return to Moscow in a few months or less.

PONOMAREV asked if the leading comrades in the CPUSA still have some difficulties in regard to travel abroad. He also asked when the McCarran Act would come up for decision. CHILDS replied that it was his opinion that the Supreme Court probably would not act on the McCarran Act until after the November elections.

As this discussion drew to a close PONOMAREV asked for complete details of the illness of EUGENE DENNIS. After this information was given to him, PONOMAREV stated, I bet that EUGENE DENNIS would like to see his son. PONOMAREV then stated that if there was any possibility to make some arrangements for [redacted] to visit [redacted] in the U.S. that this might be done. CHILDS told PONOMAREV he would like to see [redacted] while he was in Moscow. This request was granted.

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As the meeting concluded, PONOMAREV gave an order that certain material should be made available to CHILDS, such as, an 80-page letter of the CPSU to all Communist Parties. PONOMAREV stated that he would meet again with CHILDS prior to his departure from Moscow.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 8/3/60

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637 Sub A) (41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 8/2/60, NY 694-S advised that transactions in the Solo account since the last accounting have been as follows:

Credit

On hand 6/29/60	$ 70796.00
Received from foreign source (Soviet) 7/26/60	12000.00
Total	$ 82796.00

Debit

To PHIL BART for travel expenses to USSR of [redacted] 7/5/60	$ 750.00
To ISADORE WOFSY for use of National Office 7/5/60	15000.00
To ELIZABETH MASCOLO for travelling expenses 7/26/60	125.00
	$ 15875.00

Balance

8/2/60	$ 66,921.00

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EX-109 REC-62 100-428091-873

2 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46 Sub F) (Info) (RM)
1 - New York (134-91) (Inv) (41)
1 - New York (100-128861) (CP, USA Funds - Reserve Fund) (415)
1 - New York (100-134637-Sub A) (41)

ACB:mzg
(6)

EX 109 100-428091-873

REC-62

8/8/60

64 AUG 19 1960

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

FBI

Date: 8/2/60

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL (Priority or Method)

REC-62

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On July 31, 1960, CG 5824-S* made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING $13,731.00 in $100 and $50 bills, except for the $31. This money was received by CG 5824-S* in Russia from NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS for WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Chairman Emeritus of the CP,USA, as indicated in the information on the following page, which was received from CG 5824-S* on 8/2/60.

The serial numbers on these bills will be compared with lists of currency issued to Soviet establishments in New York City and Washington, D. C., and the Bureau will be notified by the New York Division of any positive identification of these bills.

A list of the serial numbers of these bills is attached to the Chicago copy of this communication.

3 - Bureau (100-428091)(RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub F)(SOLO-FUNDS)(Attach.)(AMRM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

JEK:msb
(6)

ENCLOSURE

REC-62 100-134637-874

12 AUG 8 1960

58 AUG 22 1960

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

SUM OF $13,731.00 RECEIVED IN RUSSIA
FOR DELIVERY TO WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

During the week of July 24, 1960, NIKOLAI VLADIMIROVICH MOSTOVETS, head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, gave $13,731.00 to MORRIS CHILDS for delivery to WILLIAM Z. FOSTER in the United States.

MOSTOVETS stated that this sum represents money long due to FOSTER on royalties for his written works which have been published in Russia. MOSTOVETS said that he had obtained the money from the publishers involved. Thus, it was being pointed out that the CPSU does not consider this money as Communist Party funds.

MOSTOVETS stated that normally this money would have been sent to FOSTER through International Publishers in New York City. However, since CHILDS was returning to the United States, he was being requested to deliver it to FOSTER. MOSTOVETS stated that it was desired to expedite the delivery since it was understood that some members of FOSTER's family planned a trip to Russia and might need some money for travel expenses. Also, the Russians do not want FOSTER to have any worries about medical expenses or the lack of funds to meet other expenses.

Arrangements will be worked out with GUS HALL, General Secretary of the CP,USA, for delivery of this money to FOSTER.

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4-41 (Rev. 1-11-60)

DECODED COPY

Tolson
Mohr
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Belmont
Callahan
DeLoach
Malone
McGuire
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Ingram
Gandy

☐ **Radio** ☒ **Teletype**

URGENT 8-1-60 1:34 AM EDST AGE

TO DIRECTOR AND SAC, CHICAGO

FROM SAC, NEW YORK 010500

Internal Security - Communist

SOLO; IS-C. THE FOLLOWING ARE SOME OF THE HIGHLIGHTS RECEIVED FROM CG 5824-S REGARDING THE SIXTH SOLO TRIP. INFORMANT ADVISED ON JULY 31 LAST THAT HE HAD RETURNED TO THE UNITED STATES AT THE SUGGESTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION TO INFORM THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CP, USA, THAT THERE IS A TERRIFIC, VERY SERIOUS DISPUTE BETWEEN THE RUSSIANS AND THE CHINESE. THE DISPUTE IS MUCH MORE SERIOUS THAN WAS ANTICIPATED AND IS MORE THAN AN IDEOLOGICAL DISAGREEMENT. INFORMANT OBTAINED DETAILS OF A RUNNING DEBATE BETWEEN NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, PENG CHEN AND OTHERS WHO ATTENDED THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF RUMANIA. SOME OF THIS INFORMATION WAS OBTAINED FROM ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN WHO ATTENDED THIS CONFERENCE. SHE MADE A SPECIAL TRIP TO PRAGUE TO DISCUSS THIS MATTER WITH THE INFORMANT. INFORMANT LEARNED FROM BORIS PONOMAREV, HEAD OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF THE CCCPSU, THAT 50 LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNISTS HAD SPENT 6 MONTHS IN A CHINESE TRAINING SCHOOL AND ARE NOW RETURNING TO LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES. THEY WERE TAUGHT GUERILLA WARFARE AND THE NEED FOR REVOLUTION, PARTICULARLY IN PANAMA AND BRAZIL, AT THIS CHINESE TRAINING SCHOOL. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CPSU MET WITH THESE LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNISTS IN MOSCOW TO TRY TO DRAW THEM AWAY FROM THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHINESE. ON NOVEMBER 9, 1960, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT WILL MEET IN MOSCOW TO DEAL WITH THE DISPUTE BETWEEN THE CPSU AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA. THERE IS VERY LITTLE HOPE ON THE PART OF THE RUSSIANS THAT THIS MEETING WILL BE SUCCESSFUL IN RESOLVING THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA AND THE CPSU. INFORMANT HAS ALMOST THE COMPLETE TEXT OF AN 80 PAGE

REC-62 100-11-021-876

Mr. Belmont

SENT DIRECTOR 8-1-60

16 AUG 16 1960

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

62 AUG 25 1960

4-41 (Rev. 1-11-60)

DECODED COPY

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Gandy

☐ Radio ☒ Teletype

PAGE TWO, NEW YORK 010500

SECRET CPSU DOCUMENT DEALING WITH THE IDEOLOGICAL DISPUTE BETWEEN THE CPSU AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA. THIS DOCUMENT WAS READ AT THE CONFERENCE IN BUCHAREST. INFORMANT MET WITH TWO REPRESENTATIVES OF THE "SECRET DEPARTMENT" OF THE CPSU AND HAS MADE ARRANGEMENTS FOR 3 POSSIBLE CONTACTS WITH THE RUSSIANS IN THE UNITED STATES WITHIN THE NEXT 6 WEEKS. THE FIRST MEETING WILL BE IN AUGUST WITH NY 694-S. INFORMANT MET FREQUENTLY WITH NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS HEAD OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICAN SECTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF THE CCCPSU AND HE HAD 2 FORMAL MEETINGS WITH BORIS PONOMAREV, HEAD OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF THE CCCPSU, AND ATTENDED OTHER MEETINGS WHILE IN MOSCOW AND IN PRAGUE. MEETINGS IN PRAGUE ALSO DEALT WITH THE CURRENT DISPUTE BETWEEN THE CPSU AND COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA. THE CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA BEGINS ON AUGUST 16, 1960. REPRESENTATIVES FROM ALL COMMUNIST PARTIES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WILL ATTEND THIS CONGRESS. AFTER THE CUBAN CONGRESS, THERE WILL BE A CONFERENCE OF ALL LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTIES IN HAVANA. THE CP, USA, MAY BE INVITED TO SEND A REPRESENTATIVE TO THIS CONFERENCE. THERE HAS BEEN TALK IN RUSSIA OF TRYING TO HAVE GUS HALL ATTEND THIS CONFERENCE AND THEN TRAVEL FROM CUBA TO MOSCOW FOR A FEW DAYS AND BACK TO CUBA BY JET ARILINES. THE RUSSIANS WOULD FAVOR THIS IF HALL IS IN AGREEMENT. DETAILS FOLLOW.

RECEIVED: 1:47 AM TELETYPE

1:57 AM CODING UNIT JAL

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

Our informant, CG 5824-S*, left Chicago, Ill., 7-9-60, on the Sixth Solo mission for Czechoslovakia, Russia, other Iron Curtain countries and possibly Red China. He did not plan to return to the United States until 8-19-60.

Complete details are being obtained from our informant concerning this Solo mission and the results will be expeditiously furnished to the Bureau. After analysis is made of this material same will be disseminated to the White House, the Vice President, the Secretary of State, the Director of Central Intelligence Agency and the Attorney General.

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

FBI

Date: 8/2/60

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

CG 5824-S*, on July 31, 1960, and August 1, 1960, orally furnished the information on the following pages to SA JOHN E. KEATING. This information concerns a proposal that GUS HALL, General Secretary of the CP,USA, go to Cuba and then make a flying trip to Moscow for a few days. On August 1, 1960, HALL said that he had nothing to do with originating this proposal and would not go to Cuba.

[redacted]

b6
b7C

UNREC COPY FILED IN

REC-14 100-428091-876

EX 104

15 AUG 3 1960

3 - Bureau (100-428091)(RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(SOLO)(AMRM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

JEK:msb
(6)

57 AUG 22 1960

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

INFORMATION CONCERNING A PROPOSAL THAT GUS HALL GO TO CUBA AND THEN MAKE A FLYING TRIP TO MOSCOW

During July, 1960, in separate conversations with NIKOLAI VLADIMIROVICH MOSTOVETS, head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, Vice-chairman of the CP,USA, it was learned that the congress of the Communist Party of Cuba is scheduled to begin on August 16, 1960. Representatives from all Communist Parties throughout the world will attend this congress. After the Cuban congress, there will be a conference of all Latin American Communist Parties in Havana, Cuba. The CP,USA may be invited to send a representative to this conference.

Both MOSTOVETS and FLYNN stated that there has been talk in Russia of trying to have GUS HALL attend this congress and conference and then travel from Cuba to Moscow, Russia, for a few days and back to Cuba by jet airliner. MOSTOVETS said that the Russians would favor this plan if HALL was in agreement with it.

It should be noted that during the latter part of the week of July 10, 1960, FLYNN was in Prague, Czechoslovakia. She had attended a conference of Communist Parties in Bucharest, Rumania, and was planning to leave Prague for Budapest, Hungary. She stated that she had already engaged in discussion with MOSTOVETS in Moscow.

On August 1, 1960, GUS HALL denied any knowledge of the above proposal concerning him. He denied that he had anything to do with instigating such a proposal. HALL said that this plan must have been concocted by the Russians or by some Latin American comrades.

HALL said that he will not go to Cuba for either the congress of the Cuban Communist Party or the conference of Latin

American Communist Parties. [redacted] said that [redacted] b6 b7C
member of the National Executive [illegible] CP,USA, will definitely go to Cuba [illegible] said that if MORRIS CHILDS does [illegible] meetings, perhaps JACK CHILDS will be asked to attend [illegible] meetings for the purpose of maintaining CP,USA contact with other Communist Parties.

1 - Mr. Fox

SAC, Chicago (134-46-Sub B) August 18, 1960

Director, FBI (100-428091)

SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

According to your letter 7/1/60, copy furnished New York, $1,000 was to be taken from Communist Party (CP), USA, funds and $1,170 of Bureau funds were to be used by CG 5824-S* on the sixth Solo mission to Russia, Czechoslovakia, other Iron Curtain countries and possibly Red China. This trip was to take approximately eight weeks.

After visiting Russia and Czechoslovakia, informant returned to the United States at the instructions of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union--a trip of three weeks' duration. Advise the Bureau whether or not an accounting of funds was made at the termination of this trip and the amount turned back to the Bureau by the informant. If such an accounting was not made, this matter should be taken up with CG 5824-S* upon his return to the United States and the Bureau advised.

By telephone call 8/9/60 the New York Office was authorized to advance informant $250 to cover expenses on the seventh Solo mission to Cuba. New York airtel 8/9/60 captioned "CP, USA, International Relations; IS - C," copy furnished Chicago, discloses that $300 was furnished to each member of the delegation scheduled to attend the Cuban CP Convention on 8/16/60. This money was taken from CP, USA, funds. Advise whether CG 5824-S* was also provided with $300 of the Party's funds for this purpose. The informant should also be requested to make an accounting of Bureau funds expended by him and to return any unused portion thereof.

It is suggested that the above practice be followed after the completion of each future Solo mission.

1 - New York (100-134637)

MAILED 25
AUG 17 1960
COMM-FBI

878

REC-3

19 AUG 18 1960

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Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Ingram
Gandy

FFF:ras
(5)

51 AUG 23

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
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Callahan
DeLoach
Malone
McGuire
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Ingram
Gandy

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: August 16, 1960

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CG 5824-S*, at the instructions of Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party (CP), USA, left Chicago, Illinois, 7/9/60 on the sixth Solo mission to Czechoslovakia and Russia. He returned to the United States on 7/31/60.

My memoranda 8/3, 8/5, 8/8, 8/9 and 8/15/60 set forth information which was obtained by our informant on the sixth Solo mission: (1) the current ideological dispute between the CP of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and the CP of China (CPC); (2) a resume of the 84-page letter of the CPSU addressed to the leadership of all CPs concerning this dispute; (3) evidence of disagreements between Red China and the Soviet Union involving matters of state; and (4) arrangements made for future clandestine contacts between the CPSU and the CP, USA, in New York City.

In addition to the above, the following data was obtained by our informant during this sixth Solo mission:

(1) Nikolai Vladimirovich Mostovets, head of the North and South American Section of the International Department, Central Committee, CPSU, gave CG 5824-S* during the week of 7/24/60 in Moscow, Russia, the sum of $13,731 for delivery to William Z. Foster, Chairman Emeritus, CP, USA. This money represents royalties due Foster for his written works which have been published in Russia.

(2) Mostovets said that the new Friendship of the People's University in Moscow will open during September, 1960. The object of the University is to train people from backward and dependent countries, or countries which have recently obtained their independence. The CPSU will decide who will attend the University. Those persons recommended by the various CPs will

100-428091

REC-27 100-428091-879

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Fox

18 AUG 18 1960

FFF:ras
(5)

57 AUG 19 1960

be Party members or close friends of the Party. The CPSU will give special consideration to a request made by the CP, USA, in an extreme case where the CP, USA, wants to send a student to this University. We are guiding some of our informants so that one or more of them may be in a position to be accepted as a student in this University.

(3) CG 5824-S* had furnished the Central Committee, CPSU, with a copy of a speech on the international situation which was delivered by Gus Hall at an enlarged CP, USA, Secretariat meeting held in New York City on 6/25/60. Boris Ponomarev, in charge of the International Department, Central Committee, CPSU, commented after reading Hall's speech that the speech was very good and that the main line of the speech was correct--it followed the viewpoints of the CPSU with respect to peaceful coexistence and that war is not inevitable.

(4) Mostovets commented that the CP, USA, would be crazy to have a Negro as the head of the CP in the United States. He requested of CG 5824-S* that the CP, USA, furnish him a copy of the proceedings of the 17th National Convention, CP, USA, if it has been published, and desires to have minutes of the CP, USA, meetings of the National Executive Committee, the National Committee and regional committee meetings.

(5) Information was furnished our informant concerning the activities of certain CP, USA, members who are now in the Soviet Union or who were recent visitors to that country, including Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, National Vice-Chairman; William Patterson, Geraldyne Lightfoot and Charlene Mitchell, all members of the National Committee.

OBSERVATIONS:

The sixth Solo mission has been very productive and much information of value to the Bureau and other agencies of the Government was obtained. CG 5824-S* is now on the seventh Solo mission to Havana, Cuba, to attend the Cuban CP Congress and the Conference of Latin-American CPs, which will immediately follow the Congress. At the instructions of Gus Hall, informant is expected to attend a meeting of CPs to be held in Moscow, Russia, 9/28-29/60 to discuss the current ideological dispute between the CPSU and the CPC.

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
RE: SOLO
100-428091

Information obtained concerning the sixth Solo mission has been disseminated, where appropriate, to the White House, the Vice President, the Secretary of State, Central Intelligence Agency, the Attorney General and the intelligence agencies of the Armed Forces.

ACTION:

We will follow closely the informant's seventh Solo mission to Havana, Cuba, and promptly disseminate information obtained to appropriate agencies of the Government upon his return to the United States.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GC

Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: August 8, 1960

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson
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DeLoach
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Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Ingram
Gandy

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Fox

CG 5824-S*, at the instructions of Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party (CP), USA, left Chicago, Illinois, 7-9-60 on a 6th Solo mission to Czechoslovakia and Russia. He returned to the United States on 7-31-60.

My memorandum 8-5-60 disclosed that an ideological dispute between the CP of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and the CP of China (CPC) took place at the Conference of Communist Parties in Bucharest, Rumania, in June, 1960. New York airtel 8-5-60 discloses that informant spoke with Nikolai Mostovets, head of the North and South American Section of the International Department, Central Committee of the CPSU and with [redacted] Eugene Dennis, National Chairman, CP, USA, in Moscow, Russia, in July, 1960. Mostovets told our informant that the disagreement between Red China and the Soviet Union involved matters of state as well as ideological differences between the CPs of the two countries. According to Mostovets, the Chinese have asked the Russians for modern military weapons but Russia has not complied with these requests.

b6
b7C

[redacted] who has many contacts among leading members of the CPSU, commented that Russia refuses to grant Chinese requests for modern military weapons because the Russians are afraid that China might drop a nuclear bomb on Formosa and thereby trigger a world war.

EX 109

REC- 10 100-428091- 880

RECOMMENDATION:

Attached are letters for your approval under a ~~"Top Secret"~~ classification, incorporating pertinent data furnished by our informant to be transmitted to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, the Vice President; the Honorable Gordon Gray, Special Assistant to the President; the Honorable Christian A. Herter, Secretary of State; the Honorable Allen Dulles, Director, Central Intelligence Agency and the Attorney General.

99 5 AUG 29 1960

Enclosures - 5
FFF:ras
7(6)

SENT DIRECTOR
~~FOR APPROVAL~~
8-10-60

10 AUG 17 1960

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Fox

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 05-12-2011

ADDENDUM ATTACHED HERETO IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

August 9, 1960

D. Garrow
Classified by K78M52 lmg
Declassify on: OADR 2/19/86
NLE 86-120

BY LIAISON

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

My dear Mr. Gray:

I thought the President and you would be interested in the following information obtained as a result of our overall coverage of the Communist Party, USA, concerning statements made in Moscow, Russia, by Nikolai Mestovets and [redacted] during July, 1960. Nikolai Mestovets is head of the North and South American Section of the International Department, Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and [redacted] Eugene Dennis, National Chairman, Communist Party, USA. (U)

Mestovets stated that the disagreements between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union involve matters of state as well as ideological differences between the communist parties of the two countries. According to Mestovets, the Chinese have asked the Russians for modern military weapons such as nuclear warheads, missiles and atomic bombs, but Russia has not complied with these requests. (U)

[redacted] who has many contacts among leading members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, stated that part of the problem between Red China and Russia is the refusal of Russia to grant Chinese requests for modern military weapons. Because the Communist Party of China has not gone along with the ideology of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in regard to peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union, as a state has hesitated to grant requests of Red China for modern military weapons since Russia cannot anticipate what China might do with these weapons. [redacted] commented the Russians are afraid that perhaps China might drop a nuclear bomb on Formosa or on some other place and thereby trigger a world war. (U)

100-428091 (U)
SEE NOTE ON YELLOW, PAGE TWO

REC- 10

~~TOP SECRET~~

10 AUG 17 1960

SENT FROM D.C.

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Mohr
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Callahan
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Rosen
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Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Ingram
Gandy

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~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Gordon Gray

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

This information is being disseminated to other appropriate officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

NOTE ON YELLOW:

This letter is classified ~~"Top Secret"~~ because disclosure of this information to unauthorized persons may tend to identify our highly placed informant, with resultant grave damage to our national defense.

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 8/8/60 captioned "Solo; Internal Security - C." FFF:ras.

~~TOP SECRET~~

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

FBI

Date: 8/12/60

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

REC-39

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
~~IS-C~~
(OO: NY)

CG 5824-S* orally furnished the information on the following page to SA JOHN E. KEATING on 8/10/60. This report contains information concerning JOHN PITTMAN and ALFRED K. and MARTHA DODD STERN.

REC-39 100-428091-882

EX 107

~~ENCLOSURE~~

15 AUG 13 1960

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (SOLO) (RM)
1 - New York (100-134637) (41)

JEK:gmg
(6)

INT. SEC

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

Information Concerning JOHN PITTMAN and
ALFRED K. and MARTHA DODD STERN

U.S.
U.S.S.R

In July, 1960, JOHN PITTMAN, Moscow correspondent for "The Worker," stated that ALEKSEI GRECHUKHIN of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU), told him that he, PITTMAN, is a marked man now, and that the Central Intelligence Agency of the U.S. has alerted other countries to be on the lookout for PITTMAN, who is a Soviet agent. GRECHUKHIN told PITTMAN to be very careful when he is talking with Americans. PITTMAN said that almost every Communist from the U.S. who visits Moscow stops off at his apartment.

GRECHUKHIN also told PITTMAN that ALFRED K. STERN and his wife, MARTHA DODD STERN, visited Moscow recently and asked to be placed in contact with the Central Committee of the CPSU. The CCCPSU resented this request and would not see the STERNS.

PITTMAN complained that he is not learning Russian fast enough. He does not like the translator assigned to him and thinks that the translator may be assigned to watch his activities.

PITTMAN said that he would like the CP,USA to know that he is just now learning his job, so he may have to stay in Moscow for another year.

PITTMAN stated that occasionally, he attends press conferences at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow but does not socialize with American correspondents in Moscow.

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

FBI

Date: 8/16/60

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

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

ReNYairtel, 8/3/60, page 3, paragraph 3, concerning a telephone call that NY 694-S was to receive from a Soviet.

On 8/15/60, NY 694-S advised SA [redacted] that at 10:10 a.m. on the aforesaid date he received a telephone call from a man speaking excellent English, with no trace of an accent. The caller asked whether [redacted] was in, and upon being told that [redacted] was not in at the moment, said he would call again.

b6
b7C

NY 694-S stated that he could not identify the voice of the caller as that of VLADIMIR BARKOVSKY. According to the informant this conversation indicated to the caller that it was safe for NY 694-S to be contacted personally by the Soviets on August 17, 18, or 19, 1960.

3-Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
1-Chicago (134-46 Sub B) (SOLO) (RM)
1-New York 134-91 (INV.) (41)
1-New York 100-134637 (41)

REC- 27 100-428091-883

16 AUG 17 1960

ACB:ume
(7)

56 AUG 22 1960

EX-[illegible]

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

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

FBI

Date: 8/10/60

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

ReNYairtel 8/3/60 setting forth information from CG 5824-S* concerning meetings with two members of the "Secret Department," the CPSU, in July, 1960.

Reference is also made to NYairtel 8/5/60, in which information is set out that CG 5824-S* identified [redacted] as one of these individuals. b6 b7C

On 8/10/60, CG 5824-S* was shown photographs of every Soviet National, in Russian diplomatic service, who was in New York City in 1958. CG 5824-S* has tentatively identified [redacted] (Bufile 105-25223) as the other individual with whom he met twice in Moscow in July, 1960. CG 5824-S* will be shown other photographs of [redacted] b6 b7C

In viewing these photographs on 8/10/60, CG 5824-S* stated that it is possible that PETR PAVLOVICH BORISSOV (Bufile 105-28360) is one of the members of the "Secret Department" of the CPSU with whom he met on a prior trip to Moscow.

3 - Bureau (100-428091)(RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(SOLO)(AMRM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

JEK:msb
(6)

CC - [redacted]

REC-64 100-428091-884 b6 b7C

AUG 11 1960

19

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

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

FBI

Date: 8/11/60

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C
(OO: NY)

NY 694-S* advised on 8/11/60 that CG 5824-S* departed from Idlewild Airport, NYC, at 5:00pm, 8/11/60, on Cubana Airlines flight #999 for Havana, Cuba.

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (SOLO) (AMRM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

JEK:gmg
(6)

100-428091-886

REC-6

15 AUG 19 1960

AUG 24 1960

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

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

FBI

Date: 8/10/60

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

REC-64

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

CG 5824-S* orally furnished the information concerning [redacted] on the following page to SA JOHN E. KEATING on 8/10/60.

b6
b7C

3 - Bureau (100-428091)(RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(SOLO)(AMRM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

JEK:msb
(6)

REC-64 100-428091-886

AUG 11 1960

EX-105

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

62 AUG 24 1960

INT. SEC.

INFORMATION CONCERNING

[redacted]

NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS, head of the North and South American Section of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, stated during July, 1960, that [redacted] of the late LOUIS BURNHAM, had travelled to Russia with LOUISE PATTERSON, wife of WILLIAM PATTERSON.

b6
b7C

In July, 1960, [redacted] was in a Russian summer camp on the Black Sea. She is supposed to be a gifted violinist. The Russians have agreed to permit her to remain in the Soviet Union for extended study. If she does not want to do this during the present year, she can study in Russia next year. However, it is not desired that her mother live in Russia with her while she is there for study.

100-426091-886

ENCLOSURE

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

FBI

Date: 8/15/60

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

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

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

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

SOLO
IS-C

ReBulet 7/14/60, which referred to Chicago letter 7/11/60, containing a briefing given to CG 5824-S* by GUS HALL, General Secretary of the CP, USA. ReBulet requested an explanation of the following statement by GUS HALL which appeared in re Chicago letter: "In regard to trade union approaches in the United States, the CPSU must have a parallel approach to that of the CP, USA. Usually the CPSU is in contradiction to the CP, USA, in this field."

Chicago letter dated 7/15/60 pointed out that the Chicago Division had no additional information concerning this statement by HALL but an opinion was offered as to the probable explanation of HALL's remarks.

On 8/10/60, CG 5824-S* advised that the opinion of the Chicago Division was a correct analysis of HALL's remarks. CG 5824-S* further advised that he did not have an opportunity to discuss this point with the CPSU. CG 5824-S* offered the opinion that the CPSU probably would not have paid much attention to the comments and complaints of the CP, USA in this matter.

REC. 64 100-428091-887

3 - Bureau
1 - Chicago
JEK:jem
(4)

17 AUG 19 1960

EX-

52 AUG 24 1960

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

100-428091-888 IN THIS FILE SKIPPED DURING SERIALIZATION.

AUG 24 1962

WSH

F142

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

FBI

Date: 8/12/60

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

Via AIRTEL (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

CG 5824-S* orally furnished the information on the following page concerning MARCEL and LENA SCHERER to SA JOHN E. KEATING on 8/10/60.

3 - BUREAU (100-428091) (RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46 SUB B) (RM)
1 - NEW YORK (100-134637) (#41)

JEK:DJG
(6)

REC-64 100-428091-889

15 AUG 18 1960

INTSEC

62 AUG 24 1960

Approved _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

INFORMATION CONCERNING
MARCEL AND LENA SCHERER

During the evening of August 9, 1960, MORRIS CHILDS told MARCEL and LENA SCHERER that their names had been given to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and they were to be considered as possible intermediaries for messages from the CPSU to be delivered to MORRIS CHILDS for the CP, USA. Both MARCEL and LENA SCHERER stated that they would be willing to serve in this capacity. They said, however, that they have not had any recent contacts with members of the Russian delegation to the United Nations.

MARCEL and LENA SCHERER stated that they do have social contacts with members of the Roumanian delegation to the United Nations. They are scheduled to attend a Roumanian affair on August 23, 1960. CHILDS said that he saw no reason why they could not maintain their contacts with the Roumanians even though they may be contacted by some Russians.

CHILDS also told LENA SCHERER that in the future she may be utilized to hold some funds for the CP, USA.

100-428091-889

ENCLOSURE

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

FBI

Date: 8/12/60

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED REC-64
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

CG 5824-S*, on 8/11/60, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING for copying, a photograph of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN. The woman in the background of this photograph is a translator whose name is not known.

One copy of this photograph is enclosed herewith to the Bureau and the Chicago Division. The original is being turned over to the National Office of the CP, USA, and a decision will be made as to whether it will be advisable to print the photograph in "The Worker."

The back of the original photograph has the notation "At 3rd Congress, Roumanian Workers Party, Bucharest, Roumania, 6/22/60." FLYNN, who gave this photograph to CG 5824-S*, stated that she was introduced to KHRUSHCHEV by GHEORGHE GHEORGHIU-DEJ, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Roumanian Workers Party, the CP of Roumania.

3 - BUREAU (100-428091)(Encl. 1)(RM)
1 - CHICAGO(134-46 Sub B)(SOLO)(Encl. 1)(RM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

100-428091-890

JEK:mfd (41) REC-64
(6)

19 1960

ENCLOSURE

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

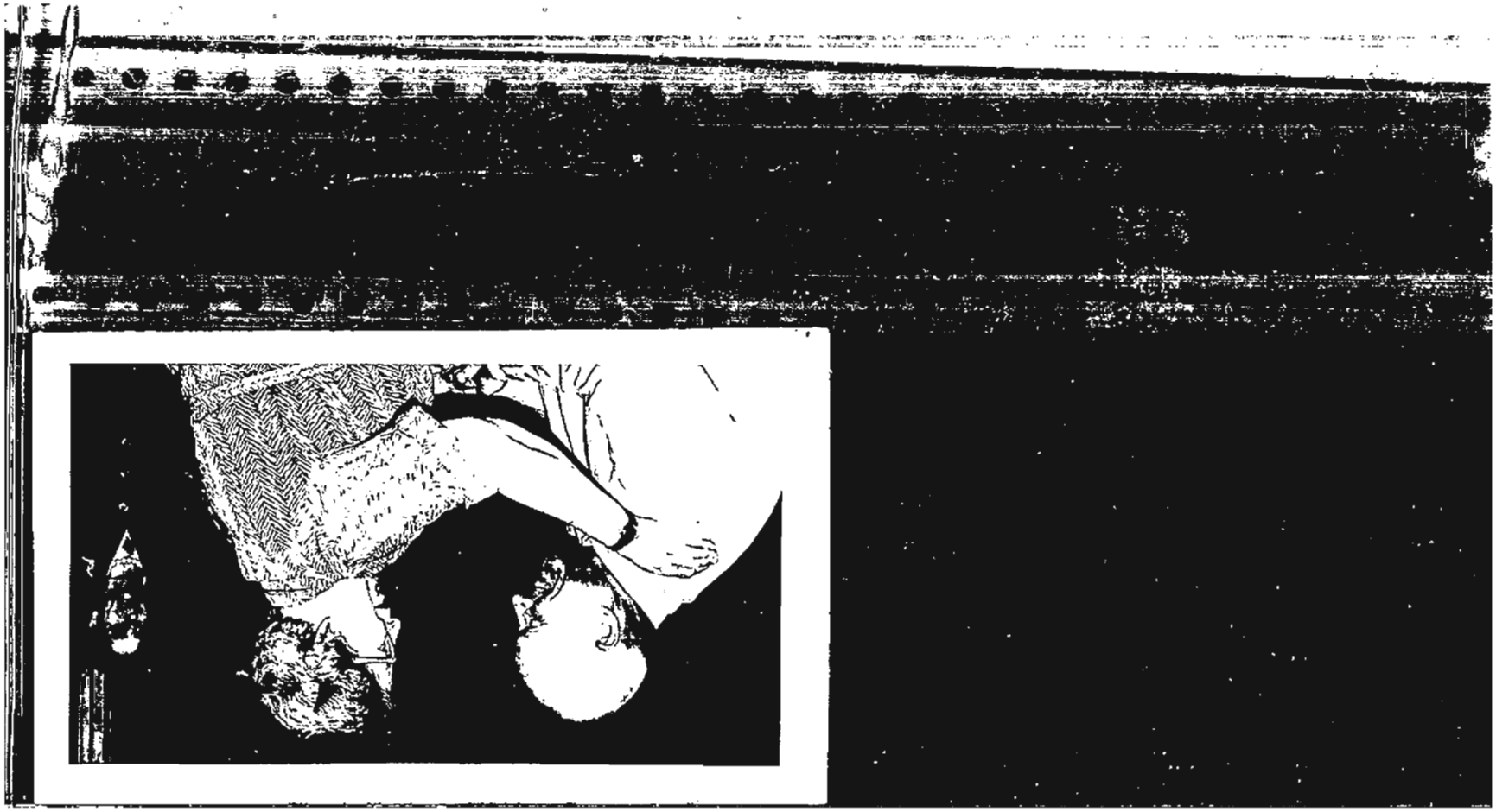
62 AUG 24 1960

ENCLOSURE TO BUREAU (1)

Bufile 100-428091
NY file 100-134637

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-890



OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: August 15, 1960

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CG 5824-S*, at the instructions of Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party (CP), USA, left Chicago, Illinois, 7/9/60 on the sixth Solo mission to Czechoslovakia and Russia. He returned to the United States on 7/31/60.

My memorandum 8/5/60 pointed out that the informant met with two members of the "Secret Department" of the CP of the Soviet Union (CPSU) during the week of 7/17/60 in Moscow, Russia. Arrangements were made at this meeting for informant to have clandestine contacts in New York City with undisclosed Soviets.

My memorandum 8/9/60 discloses that CG 5824-S* identified from a photograph one of the two "secret" members. He is Boris S. Ivanov, a Soviet national who departed the United States on 9/28/59. Ivanov was employed as a Counselor, Advisor, Political Affairs, Soviet Delegation to the United Nations (UN). While in the United States there had been no indication that Ivanov had been involved in any espionage activities (100-36594-84).

New York airtel 8/10/60 discloses that CG 5824-S* has now tentatively identified from a photograph the other "secret" member. He is Sergei Nikolaevich Antonov, a known Soviet intelligence agent, who was employed as a Soviet delegate to the 14th Session of the UN General Assembly. He departed the United States on 11/27/59 (105-25223-84,86).

While viewing photographs to identify Antonov, CG 5824-S* stated that the photograph of one Petr Pavlovich Borissov is possibly one of the members of the "Secret Department" of the CPSU with whom informant met on a prior trip to Moscow in February, 1959. Borissov departed the United States 11/4/58.

100-428091

REC-64

100-428091-89 Enclx

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Fox

EX-108

AUG 19 1960

FFF:ras (5) AUG 24 1960

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
RE: SOLO
100-428091

He was employed as a delegation expert in the Soviet Delegation to the 13th Session of the UN General Assembly.

[redacted]

RECOMMENDATION: Referral/Consult

We will follow closely all contacts made by the Soviets with our informants in New York City and will keep you immediately advised of pertinent developments.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: August 15, 1960

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

New York airtel 8/11/60 discloses that CG 5824-S* departed from Idlewild Airport, New York City, 8/11/60 on Cubana Airlines flight 999 for Havana, Cuba. This is the seventh Solo mission engaged in by our informants.

Informant, together with James Jackson, Editor of "The Worker," Helen Winter, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party (CP), USA, and Pat Toohey, Chairman of the New Jersey CP, comprise the CP, USA, delegation which is to attend the Cuban CP Congress scheduled to be held in Havana on 8/16/60. This Congress will be immediately followed by a meeting of CPs from all Latin-American countries.

Informant, traveling under an assumed name, Martin Camp, will be gone for approximately ten days. During informant's recent trip to Moscow, the Soviets suggested that CG 5824-S* might want to attend the functions in Havana. It is expected that our informant will attend both the Congress and the meeting of CPs of all Latin-American countries and report to us upon his return to the United States concerning its proceedings. Conceivably, the informant will make other contacts while in Havana and report these contacts to the New York Office upon his return.

ACTION:

This matter will be followed closely and you will be kept advised of pertinent developments.

100-428091

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Fox

FFF:ras
(5)

REC-64 100-428091-892

AUG 19 1960

EX-108

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

FBI

Date: 8/11/60

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code) REC-32

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

ReNYairtel 8/10/60 advising that CG5824-S* had tentatively identified SERGEI NIKOLAEVICH ANTONOV as one of the two members of the "Secret Department" of the CPSU with whom he met in July 1960 in Moscow.

On 8/11/60, CG 5824-S* was shown other photographs of ANTONOV and has identified him. CG 5824-S* also positively identified PETR PAVLOVICH BORISSOV as one of the members of the "Secret Department" of the CPSU with whom he met on a prior trip to Moscow.

3 - Bureau (100-428091)(RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(SOLO)(AMRM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

JEK:msb
(6)

REC-32 100-428091-893

AUG 12 1960

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

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

FBI

Date: 8/12/60

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C
(OO: NY)

[redacted] b6 b7C

CG 5824-S* orally furnished the information on the following page to SA JOHN E. KEATING on 8/10/60, It concerns Communists in France who were formerly in the movie industry in Hollywood, California.

[redacted] b6 b7C

REC- (100-428091-894

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46 subB) (RM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

JEK:mml
(6)

57 AUG 24 1960

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

Information Concerning Communists in France
Who Were Formerly in the Movie Industry in
Hollywood, California

JOHN PITTMAN, Moscow Correspondent for "The Worker" stated during July, 1960, that there is a group of Communists in France who formerly resided in the United States. There is at least a half dozen in this group. Among those in this group are: MIKE WILSON and PAUL JERRICO (PH). The members of this group were formerly in the movie industry in Hollywood. They are making all kinds of money in the movie industry in France. They have turned against the Communist Party but have not dropped Marxism. They will subsidize a "real Marxist magazine in the United States."

By way of comment this magazine may be some type of right wing publication.

During the week end of August 6-7, 1960, this information was discussed with DOROTHY HEALEY of Los Angeles, California. Before any names were mentioned to her she said, "Don't tell me that this story involves Mike Wilson and Paul Jerrico. They are fine persons and would never do such a thing."

HEALEY said that she corresponds with MIKE WILSON. She will write a letter to him and see what kind of a reply she receives.

Not to be given to Legat, Paris at this time - might compromise our informant - per FJB

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

FBI

Date: 8/15/60

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

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

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

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

SOLO
IS-C

This airtel and two additional airtels being submitted on this date, complete the information furnished by CG 5824-S* concerning the 6th Solo trip prior to his departure for Cuba on the 7th Solo trip on 8/11/60.

Due to the extremely heavy schedule of CG 5824-S* between the period of 7/31/60 and 8/11/60, it was not possible to obtain all of the information concerning the 6th Solo trip from him. However, the remaining information consists of odds and ends such as individual meetings with V.J. JEROME, CHAO YI MIN, etc. Also, a meeting with representatives of publishing houses in Moscow. CG 5824-S* saw CHAO YI MIN in Prague, Czechoslovakia on two occasions. Both meetings were very brief and there was no discussion of the current ideological dispute between the CPSU and the CP of China.

The remaining information from the 6th Solo trip will be obtained at the conclusion of the 7th Solo trip.

3 - Bureau
1 - New York (100-134637)
1 - Chicago
JEK:jem
(5)

LOPEZ

100-428091-895

REC-64

17 AUG 23 1960

10 19

EX-108

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

57 AUG 24 1960

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

FBI

Date: 8/12/60

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C
(OO: NY)

CG 5824-S* on 8/10/60, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following page, which concerns material on the Negro Question in the US which was left with JOHN PITTMAN by JAMES JACKSON.

[redacted]

b6
b7C

REC-18 100-428091-896

EX 104

AUG 23

3 - Bureau (100-428091)(RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (SOLO) (RM)
1 - New York (100-134637) (41)

JEK:gmg
(6)

INDEXED

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

50 AUG 25 1960

Information Concerning Material on the Negro Question in the U.S. Which Was Left With JOHN PITTMAN by JAMES JACKSON

NH USSR

During July, 1960, JOHN PITTMAN, Moscow correspondent for "The Worker," stated that when JAMES JACKSON was in Moscow in January and February, 1959, to attend the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, he left ~~with~~ for PITTMAN some material on the Negro Question in the U.S. This material was intended for publication in Russia. PITTMAN wrote a preface to the material and a short biographical sketch of JACKSON and submitted all of it to the CPSU. It has not been published and PITTMAN could not find out why it has not been printed.

NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS, Head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU), stated that if JACKSON would rewrite the material in the form of a book, bring it up to date, add some chapters, and delete or re-phrase a resolution on the Negro Question, the CPSU will be glad to publish it. One criticism is that JACKSON incorporated a resolution on the Negro Question which he had written but which was adopted by the CP,USA. The CPSU will not incorporate in a book the complete text of a resolution adopted by a Communist party, even though the author of the book originally wrote the resolution.

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

FBI

Date: 8/11/60

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

REC-78

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

CG 5824-S* orally furnished the information on the following pages to SA JOHN E. KEATING on August 10, 1960. This report contains information concerning [redacted] and ALFRED K. STERN.

b6
b7C

cc 1 dictaphone
1CC 1143

3 - Bureau (100-428091)(RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(SOLO)(AMRM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

JEK:msb
(6)

REC-78 100-428091-897
EX 104
AUG 12 1960

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

62 AUG 25 1960

INT. SEC.

INFORMATION CONCERNING AGE AND BELLE CHAPMAN AND ALFRED K. STERN

During the week of July 10, 1960, [redacted] stated in Prague, Czechoslovakia, that ALFRED K. STERN was not in Prague at that time, but that he would tell STERN that VICTOR RABINOWITZ is willing to serve as the attorney for STERN in the United States. [redacted] will ask STERN to send details of his legal problems to RABINOWITZ.

[redacted] stated that he and [redacted] and their two children, aged [redacted] had spent two years in China. [redacted] is a philologist and teaches at the [redacted]

[redacted] said that Czechoslovakia will not give him citizenship and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will not give him Communist Party membership. [redacted] said that his two children, who were born in the United States, want to be Americans and want to return to the United States, so he is also seriously considering returning to the United States.

[redacted] said that he would like his family in the United States to know that he is alive and is in Prague. His family may write letters to him as long as the letters contain only information about the family. He has a sister who is married to [redacted]

[redacted] did not say why he had to leave the United States originally.

[redacted] asked MORRIS CHILDS to ask the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to make him, [redacted] a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. CHILDS discussed this matter with LADISLAV KOCMAN (phonetic), of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist

100-[illegible] 1-899

- 1 -

ENCLOSURE

Party of Czechoslovakia. CHILDS said that the CP,USA was not pressing the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to make [redacted] a member of their Party. KOCIAN stated that only under extraordinary circumstances will the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia take a non-citizen into the Communist Party. It was felt that [redacted] could do work in peace committees or other work which would be equivalent to what he could do in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

b6
b7C

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: August 17, 1960

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CG 5824-S*, at the instructions of Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party (CP), USA, left Chicago, Illinois, 7/9/60 on the sixth Solo mission to Czechoslovakia and Russia. He returned to the United States on 7/31/60.

In July, 1960, informant met in Moscow, Russia, with three officials of the All Union Council of Trade Unions of the USSR. These leading representatives advised the informant that:

1. The Soviet Union does not expect members of trade-union delegations from the United States to be convinced that socialism is better than capitalism or that there is a Utopia in the Soviet Union. These delegations are useful because it is a fact that they permit contacts and help to break down barriers. To this extent, all trade-union delegations from the United States to the Soviet Union are useful and good.

2. The Soviet Union would prefer "official" as opposed to "unofficial" trade-union delegations from the United States, and that each delegation, limited to six or seven members, be composed of representatives from the same industry.

3. Members of trade-union delegations are not to have their wives accompany them--the women want to go shopping and sightseeing, and the trip becomes more of a pleasure tour than a serious delegation.

4. If necessary, return trip expenses to the United States may be paid for members of a delegation by the USSR.

5. Visiting of relatives by members of trade-union delegations in the Soviet Union will be discouraged, but the USSR is not against it in principle.

100-428091
1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Fox
FFF:ras
(5)

REC 78 100-428091-898

EX 104

51 AUG 25 1960

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
RE: SOLO
100-428091

OBSERVATIONS:

We are aware that a number of official and unofficial trade-union delegations from the United States have visited Russia. Information concerning these trade-union delegations has been disseminated to appropriate Government agencies.

ACTION:

For information. We will follow this matter and keep you advised of pertinent details.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: August 19, 1960

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO [redacted]

b6
b7C

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

Rebulet dated 8/18/60 requesting advice as to whether CG 5824-S* made an accounting at the termination of the sixth Solo trip of funds which had previously been furnished to him.

It is regretted that an accounting was not made by CG 5824-S* at the termination of the sixth Solo trip and that he was not requested to make such an accounting prior to the commencement of the seventh Solo trip, 12 days after the termination of the sixth Solo trip. The Chicago Division and CG 5824-S* are both aware that such an accounting is necessary and it was contemplated that this would be accomplished at the conclusion of the seventh Solo trip.

It has been the practice of the Chicago Division to make an accounting to the Bureau at the completion of each Solo trip. Since CG 5824-S* has as yet not returned to Chicago from the sixth Solo trip this was the first instance where one Solo trip almost dovetailed into a prior trip.

It was pointed out in Chicago airtel dated August 15, 1960, that due to the extremely heavy schedule of CG 5824-S* during the period between July 31, 1960, and August 11, 1960, it was not possible to obtain every last detail of information from the sixth Solo trip, even though well over one complete volume of information was obtained during that period. Because of this fact, and the fact that CG 5824-S* was working night and day with a severe cold and other physical ailments, it was not deemed appropriate to press him for an accounting while he was in New York City.

Referenced Bureau letter points out that $1,170 in Bureau funds and $1,000 in Communist Party, USA, funds was provided to CG 5824-S* for the sixth Solo trip and that it

(2) - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York (100-134637) (RM)
1 - Chicago
JEK:LMA
(4)

REC-64 100-428091

18 AUG 23 1960

107

50 AUG 25 1960

was contemplated that this trip would last for eight weeks, yet on the instructions of the Central Committee of the CPSU CG 5824-S* returned to the United States and the trip lasted for only three weeks.

Chicago letter dated July 1, 1960, sets forth the following estimated budget for the sixth Solo trip:

Round trip plane transportation and ground transportation from Chicago, Illinois, to Paris, France.....	$1,200
Round trip plane transportation from Paris, France, to Prague, Czechoslovakia.....	150
Plane transportation from Prague, Czechoslovakia, to Moscow, Russia.....	150
Hotel rooms, meals and miscellaneous expenses in Western Europe on the way to and from Moscow, Russia.....	270
Miscellaneous items of clothing, etc., needed for the trip since CG 5824-S* was traveling under an assumed name.....	150
A sum of $250 to compensate the parents of CG 5824-S* to move from their apartment to his residence to insure the safety of his residence and reference material and personal property therein.....	250
TOTAL ESTIMATED EXPENSES	$2,170

A review of the above items will reflect that all of the above listed expenses, with the possible exception of the last one, pertain to necessary costs to get behind the Iron Curtain and to return. These costs would be constant whether CG 5824-S* remained behind the Iron Curtain for one day or for ten weeks. Concerning the last item, compensation to his parents, CG 5824-S* has not yet returned to his residence

and in all probability will not return for a period which will be in excess of eight weeks.

It will be noted that the above list of estimated expenses did not provide for expenses for an extended stay in New York City; yet CG 5824-S* spent from July 31, 1960, to August 11, 1960, in New York City, or a period of 12 days, at a minimum cost of approximately $20 per day, except for one day when he took a plane trip to Toronto, Canada. No funds were provided him for the trip to Toronto, although it was in his interests, and therefore in our interests, to have him brief TIM BUCK since in the past CG 5824-S* has received invaluable information from BUCK in regard to developments in the international Communist movement. Since BUCK greatly appreciated this briefing, it can be reasonably expected that he will reciprocate when he has items of information of outstanding importance.

CG 5824-S* had to purchase some items of clothing in New York City since the clothing he had with him for the trip to Russia was not suitable for wear in a tropical climate and he anticipated being in Cuba for approximately two weeks.

In regard to the sudden Solo trip to Cuba, CG 5824-S* advised that he will take from CPUSA funds an amount equal to that given to the other delegates from the CPUSA to the Congress of the CP of Cuba. The $250 given to him in New York City for this trip was to provide for any emergency. It is also anticipated that if he does not return to New York City from Cuba until September 1, 1960, he will remain there for scheduled meetings with the Russians during the period between September 7, 1960, and September 10, 1960.

The Chicago Division again expresses regret that an accounting from CG 5824-S* for the sixth Solo trip has not been submitted and everything possible will be done to rectify this situation as soon as circumstances permit.

1 - Mr. Fox

August 22, 1960

AIRTEL

To: SAC, New York (100-134637)

From: Director, FBI (100-428091)

SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Upon the return of CG 5824-S* to the United States from Cuba, you are instructed to make arrangements to facilitate the obtaining of information from the informant so that it can be immediately furnished to the Bureau. In connection with the seventh Solo mission, you are instructed to carefully review instructions set forth in Bulet 2/4/59 in regard to the necessity of obtaining details of informant's trip at the earliest possible moment and the forwarding of this information to the Bureau by individual subject matter with separate communications for each topic.

This same procedure holds true when [redacted] returns to the United States from Cuba. Of course, the information furnished by this informant is not to be submitted under the "Solo" caption.

b7D

1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)

NOTE ON YELLOW:

CG 5824-S* and [redacted] are part of a CP, USA, delegation to attend the Cuban CP Congress in Havana, Cuba, on 8/16/60 and to attend a Conference of Latin-American CPs which will immediately follow the Congress. CG 5824-S* is an unofficial delegate, while [redacted] from the CP, USA.

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

FFF:ras
(5)

MAILED 25
AUG 22 1960
COMM-FBI

REC-6 100-428091-901

EX-109

AUG 25 1960

MAIL ROOM ☑ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

cc Mr. Parsons Mr. J.Johnson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Fox

August 23, 1960

CODE

TELETYPE URGENT

TO: SAC, CHICAGO

FROM: DIRECTOR, FBI

SOLO, IS DASH C. NEWYORK SIX NINE FOUR DASH S HAS ADVISED CG FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR DASH S WILL ARRIVE IDLEWILD AIRPORT NEWYORK TWO PM AUGUST TWENTY-FIVE NEXT. SPECIAL AGENT KEATING YOUR OFFICE SHOULD PROCEED NEWYORK ARRIVING PRIOR TO TWO PM AUGUST TWENTY-FIVE IN ORDER TO PROMPTLY INTERVIEW AND OBTAIN INFORMATION FROM CG FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR DASH S. NEWYORK OFFICE ARRANGING HOTEL RESERVATIONS FOR SPECIAL AGENT KEATING.

FJB:td (6) REC- 39

902

TELETYPE

AUG 24 1960

AUG 23 1960

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

AUG 25 1960
1.23 PM

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

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☑

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

FBI

Date: 8/22/60

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

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

ReNYairtel, 8/16/60, reporting that NY 694-S had received a telephone call from a man inquiring about [redacted]

b6
b7C

On 8/22/60, NY 694-S advised SA [redacted] that at 10 a.m. on the aforesaid date he received a similar call from a man whose voice, in the informant's opinion, was not identical with that of the former caller. The verbal exchange between NY 694-S and this second caller was the same as that on the occasion of the first call.

It is to be noted that as yet there has not been a personal contact between the informant and a Soviet as was scheduled for the 17th, 18th or 19th of August.

3-Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
1-Chicago (134-46 Sub B) (SOLO) (RM)
1-New York 134-91 (INV.) (41)
1-New York 100-134637 (41)

REC. 39 100-428091-908

ACB:ume
(7)

16 AUG 23 1960

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

62 AUG 25 1960

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

FBI

Date: 8/12/60

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED REC-14
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

CG 5824-S* orally furnished the information on the following pages to SA JOHN E. KEATING on 8/10/60. It consists of miscellaneous items of information obtained in conversations with NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS.

[redacted]

b6
b7C

3 - BUREAU(100-428091)(RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)(SOLO)(RM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

REC-14

15 AUG 24 1960

JEK:mfd (41)
(6)

ENCLOSURE

INTELLIGENCE

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

62 AUG 25 1960

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS OF INFORMATION OBTAINED
IN CONVERSATIONS WITH NIKOLAI V.MOSTOVETS,
HEAD OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICAN SECTION
OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF THE CCCPSU

During the course of several converstions with NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS, Head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the CCCPSU, in July, 1960, he made the following statements:

The CP, USA, would be crazy to have a Negro as the head of the CP in the United States.

CARL MARZANI has applied for a visa to visit Russia. The CPSU wants to know his current political standing and what the CP, USA, knows about him.

The CPSU will agree to invite MIKE GOLD, ERIK BERT and [redacted] to visit the Soviet Union. b6 b7C

In diplomatic circles in the USSR they are planning to invite prominent people from the United States, such as ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, to visit the Soviet Union. The extenting of these invitations may be delayed until after the 1960 election campaign in the United States.

With regard to whether or not the CPSU could use a "Washington Peace Letter", more information concerning the format and more details concerning this proposed publication are needed before a decision can be made. International Books in Moscow would have to be contacted in regard to possible Russian subscribers for this proposed publication.

If the CP, USA, has published the entire proceedings of its 17th National Convention, the CPSU would like a copy of these proceedings.

The CPSU wants articles on co-existence and disarmament written by leading comrades in the CP, USA.

ENCLOSURE - 904

The CPSU is not getting enough CP, USA, material from MORRIS CHILDS. It wants the minutes of CP, USA, meetings of the National Executive Committee, the National Committee, regional meetings, etc.

The Soviet Union has received 6,000 applications for attendance at the Friendship of the Peoples University. Each student will be given 1,000 rubles a month. [redacted] b6 b7C of India, wrote a letter to the Soviet Union in which he very diplomatically opposed the establishing of this type of university in the Soviet Union.

When BLAS ROCA, leader of the CP of Cuba, was in Peking, the Chinese almost had him convinced that they were correct and that the CPSU was wrong in the current ideological dispute between the CPSU and the CP of China. The CPSU had to "work on" ROCA when he passed through Moscow from Peking on his return trip to Cuba.

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

FBI

Date: 8/15/60 REC-4

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

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

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 SubB)

SOLO
IS-C

Re New York airtel 8/12/60, containing information from CG 5824-S* concerning material on the Negro Question in the United States which was left with JOHN PITTMAN by JAMES JACKSON. PITTMAN stated that he had prepared a preface to this material and a short biographical sketch of JACKSON.

On 8/12/60, thereswas received in a blind post office boxiin Chicago, an envelope which had been mailed to this box by CG 5824-S* from Moscow. Included in this envelope were the following four items:

1) A typewritten letter dated 11/22/59, addressed "Comrade LENSKY, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, USSR", and signed by JOHN PITTMAN.

2) A five page typewritten document with the caption "Forward" and signed "JOHN PITTMAN, Moscow Correspondent, The Worker, November 22, 1959".

3) A one page typewritten document with the caption "Contents".

4) A three page typewritten document with the caption "Concerning the Author".

One photostat copy of each of the above listed items is enclosed herewith to the Bureau and the New York Division, the Chicago photostat copies are located in Chicago file A)134-46-Sub B-1A(78). The envelope in which the above material was mailed is also being maintained in the same file. The originals will be given to CG 5824-S*

3 - Bureau (Encls.4)
1 - New York (100-134637)(Encls.4)
1 - Chicago

JEK:jem
(5)

100-428091-905

LOPEZ

REC-4 15 AUG 16 1960

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

ENCLOSURES TO BUREAU FROM CHICAGO

Re: SOLO
IS-C

Photostat copy of the following:

1) A one page letter dated 11/22/59, addressed: "Comrade LENSKY" and signed by JOHN PITTMAN.

2) A five page document captioned "Forward" and signed by JOHN PITTMAN.

3) One page document with caption "Contents".

4) Threepage document captioned "Concerning the Author"

Bufile 100-428091
CGfile 134-46 Sub B

MOSCOW BUREAU -- Gorky Street 9, Flat 8, Moscow, USSR.

November 22, 1959

Comrade Lensky
Foreign Languages Publishing House
Moscow, USSR

Dear Comrade Lensky:

I am distressed by the delay in presenting this material which I promised to deliver several weeks ago. In explanation I can only say that I sadly underestimated the amount of work involved in editing manuscripts for publication in book form. I have had to leave out a great deal of material because of its repetitiousness, and I am not certain yet that the material as delivered is in the correct form for your purposes.

If further work on my part, or information is wanted, please do not hesitate to call on me. My telephone number is Beh 9-00-16.

Comrade Sergei Kuzmin, who brings this material to you, has undertaken to facilitate your work by translating some of the material. I was grateful to him for attempting this work, since I felt I had already caused you enough delay and anything that might speed the process of getting the material into print seemed helpful.

Comrade Kuzmin, in fact, is in a favorable situation for doing the translation, since he is my daily assistant in interpreting and translating, and I am in constant communication with him. I am not in a position, however, to determine the quality of his work, since my speaking and reading familiarity with Russian is still virtually nil. I hope you find his work satisfactory.

There was no suggestion in my conversations either with the author or with you as to the length of the work. I estimate the material delivered here would run to a book of approximately 100 to 125 pages. But in this respect, too, I am not practiced. I mention it merely to say that if there is too much material or too little, I can change the quantity to suit your needs.

Thank you for your patience and consideration.

Comradely yours,

John Pittman

FOREWORD

This winter of 1959-1960, warm winds are blowing everywhere on the earth. Mankind, for the first time in human history, stands on the threshold of a new era -- an era [redacted] of peace and good will among the nations and peoples of the world. The burning issue of the hour for every individual and every nation is whether the peoples can seize this opportunity, which has come into being as a result of an agreement between the heads of the two most powerful states, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to seek peaceful ways of resolving differences. This prospect of lasting peace, of universal disarmament and the diversion of the immense sums and powerful energies used for weapons and war into channels of constructive human progress, lifts the dead weight of pessimism and cynicism from the mind of man, and leaves him free to dream, [redacted] to create, and to build.

At such a moment, the Negro question in the United States of America assumes special importance. It is an auspicious hour for the solution of problems that have long obstructed the advance of peoples, of which the problem caused by the persisting oppression of the eighteen million Negro people of the United States is one of universal concern. The colonial peoples and the peoples of newly liberated countries find in this question striking parallels of their own experience. Persecuted and oppressed minorities in the bourgeois states take heart from every victory won by the Negro people in their struggle to become full citizens in their homeland. There is, moreover, another pressing reason why this question has such importance, even such urgency, today, namely, its strategic

(more)

relationship to, and potential significance for, the present great struggle of the peoples to put an end to war.

All the world knows that the eighteen million Negroes are the most oppressed and exploited minority in the United States. The scale, comprehensiveness, special institutionalized and historically continued forms of their oppression place them in a different category from other minorities in the United States who also suffer disabilities — the American Indians; the Mexican and other Spanish-speaking Americans, particularly the Puerto Ricans; Italians, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino Americans; and also Jewish and Catholic minorities in many sections of the country. But what has so far escaped many a student of the Negro question is this strategically important international character of the Negro people's struggle for full citizenship.

We shall be better able to understand this aspect of the question if we are acquainted with the fact that the oppression of Negroes is the bedrock foundation of the reactionary political forces that dominate the making of U.S. foreign policy. Specifically, it is a principal means by which these forces control the U.S. Congress and many state legislatures, and through them impose upon the nation the extra dangerous policy of arms making and war preparations.

Of the 436 members of the U.S. House of Representatives (1958), 120, or more than 27%, come from states where only 25% of Negroes eligible to vote are allowed to vote. Of the 98 members of the U.S. Senate, 26, or about 25%, come from these states. Although Negroes are one-fourth of the population of these states, none are represented in the U.S. Congress.

These 120 Representatives and 26 Senators form a parliamentary bloc which invariably allies itself with the most reactionary Representatives and Senators from other States, many of whom are elected from districts in which the Negro ghetto has been split into pieces for electoral purposes, so that in none may Negroes have a deciding vote.

This alliance of racist Southerners and hand-picked henchmen of the big monopolies of the North controls the U.S. Congress, dictates the selection of administrative and judicial officials, and even determines — through domination of the party machinery — the choice of nominees for the U.S. Presidency. In addition, it is the source of the worst anti-labor, anti-democratic and anti-peace legislation.

passed by the Congress.

The actual work of preparing legislation, as is commonly known, is done by committees set up for that purpose. But of the 20 standing committees of the House of Representatives, 13 have chairmen from the southern states. In the Senate, of 16 chairmen of standing committees, 10 are from the area of mass Negro disfranchisement. These committees have not only the power of writing and expediting legislation they and the interests they serve desire; they may also throttle or emasculate legislation they do not like. For instance, it is Rep. Howard W. Smith of Virginia, a notorious racist millionaire, who as chairman of the House Rules Committee stifles most of the bills to ensure civil rights to Negroes. It was Smith who was the author of the notorious Smith Act under which Communists, including Smith's fellow-Virginian, the author of this book, are hounded and imprisoned. Again, it is Sen. James O. Eastland, who owns a Mississippi plantation on which slavery-time conditions survive nearly a century after the Emancipation Proclamation, who conducts "investigations" of advocates of peace and civil rights for Negroes, and who proposes legislation to deprive any American daring to advocate such measures of all civil rights, including the right to travel.

Voting records show that this reactionary parliamentary alliance has backed to the hilt the policies of continuing the atomic arms buildup, the expansion of military bases, the rearming of the West German militarists and former nazis, the formation of NATOs, SEATOs and CENTOs, and the senseless and racist-motivated hostility to the People's Republic of China. It is the policies promulgated by this alliance which, on the one hand, give full freedom to Hitler's former scientists and the emigre fascist scum of Eastern Europe to eat, sleep, work, live, and play wherever they can pay the admittance prices in the cities and towns of the Southern states; and, on the other hand, mobilize hoodlums and police forcibly to prevent little Negro children from attending segregated schools in the land of their birth. It is the

power of this alliance which procured for Wernher von Braun, Hitler's rocket expert, the highest government award given to civilians; but, on the other hand, barred Dr. Ralph Bunche, the well-known U.S. Negro member of the Secretariat of the United Nations Organization, from membership in New York clubs; handcuffed and fingerprinted the internationally known scholar and peace advocate, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois; and compelled the universally beloved Paul Robeson to leave America in order to earn a livelihood.

In the light of such facts, it becomes understandable that the struggle of the Negro people for the unrestricted enjoyment of their citizenship rights is at the same time, objectively, a struggle for a foreign policy of peace and friendship with other countries. A fully enfranchised and represented Negro electorate, allied with the millions of whites who are now disfranchised as an offshoot of Negro oppression, would sweep away this reactionary parliamentary alliance and destroy the influence of the most predatory, fascist-minded section of monopoly capital in the making of U.S. foreign policy.

These articles by James E. Jackson, a beloved Communist leader of the United States, convincingly develop this important aspect of the Negro question. In doing so, Jackson renders a service to the cause of a lasting peace, and specifically to his native land and its great people, who desire peace as fervently as the other peoples of the world. Moreover, Jackson's articles bring the reader many new facts and up-to-date data concerning the problem of U.S. Negroes and their struggle to solve it. A research specialist by training and experience, Jackson is also a creative thinker and writer. His observations and generalizations are drawn from his own life-long experience as a leader of the Negro people's struggles. His work has been inspired and infused with the science and spirit of Marxism-Leninism. As he himself expressed it: "The question is not how to compress the phenomena of the Negro people's movement in the United States into the confines of a given Marxist category, but how to effectively use the science of Marxism-Leninism to serve the cause of Negro equality and freedom."

Some of the material in the last three articles will be found to be repetitious. But this can hardly be avoided in a selection of this kind, drawn from different periods of the author's activity and developing different phases of a single theme. I believe, however, that the reader will find here, as I have done, much valuable data, strong and impassioned reasoning, and the noble theme of human freedom, all directed to the realization of man's dearest aim -- peace on the earth.

John Pittman

Moscow Correspondent, The Worker

November 22, 1959

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C O U T E N T S

1. Biography and picture of the author, James E. Jackson.

2. Foreword by John Pittman, Moscow Correspondent, The Worker

3. New Features of the Negro Question in the United States of America

4. The South's New Challenge

5. The Southern People's Common Program for Democracy, Prosperity and Peace

6. On the Course of the Negro Freedom Struggle in the U.S.A.

* * * *

1 — BIOGRAPHY

CONCERNING THE AUTHOR

James E. Jackson, Jr., author of these articles, is a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America, and Secretary for its department of Southern and Negro Affairs. He was born on November 29, 1914 in the Negro ghetto of Richmond, Virginia — a ghetto the former slaveowners malevolently named "Jackson Ward" after the Confederate general, Stonewall Jackson.

Although Jackson's father, a druggist, and mother, one of the first Negro women college graduates, were able to provide better conditions for him than most other Negro children enjoyed, while quite young he began seeking ways to break through the iron curtain of segregation and discrimination which cuts Negro ghetto life off from the stream of the nation. At 11, he organized the first troop of Negro boys to be admitted into the official Boy Scouts of America organization in Virginia. Soon after, however, he resigned when the national Scout executive equivocated on his demand for abolishing segregation in the organization.

At 16, while studying chemistry at an all-Negro college in Virginia, young Jackson discovered Marx and Lenin. Soon he organized a Marxist Club and a Proletarian Students Party on the campus, and led students to join the picket lines of striking workers, the so-called "Hunger Marches," and "Free the Scottsboro Boys" parades. In 1932 he led a delegation of Negro and white students to the Virginia State legislature, and demanded unsegregated schools. Later, while studying at the College of Pharmacy of Howard University in Washington, D.C., Jackson took part in strikes against war, high living costs, and in demonstrations for the passage of a federal anti-lynching law.

During Jackson's last year at Howard University, he was a co-founder of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, an organization which helped organize and lead the struggles of Negroes for their rights as American citizens in the Southern states.

After college, Jackson returned to Richmond and worked by day as a pharmacist, by night as an organizer for the Southern Negro Youth Congress. He helped organize the Negro tobacco workers in Richmond, and led them in successful strikes. In 1940, moving to the steel-producing city of Birmingham, Alabama, Jackson launched a campaign of Negro and white Southerners to end poll taxes and the disfranchisement of Negroes.

During the anti-fascist war, Jackson served with distinction as a sergeant in the 823rd Engineer Aviation Battalion in Burma and other areas of the China-India-Burma theater of war.

Returning to the South after the war, Jackson led Negro veterans to vote for the first time in Mississippi, casting their ballots against the notorious racist Senator Theodore Bilbo at a polling booth on Bilbo's front perch. This act was all the more remarkable since hundreds of Negroes have been lynched in Mississippi, and are murdered even today, for attempting to exercise their right to vote.

Thereafter, Jackson became successively the Chairman of the Communist Party in Louisiana, a leader of the Communist auto workers in the great Ford plant in Michigan, Southern Regional Director of the Communist Party and a member of its National Committee.

Jackson, along with other Communist leaders, was indicted during the wave of McCarthyite hysteria that engulfed the United States as a part of the bourgeoisie's "cold war" against the American working class. The charges against him were later thrown out of court, but Jackson, his wife and two young daughters, and the families of other Communist leaders, live and work today under the shadow of the notorious Smith and McCarran laws, which give "legal" sanction to the hounding, persecution and imprisonment of men and women for the "crimes" of

having ideas and reading books feared and hated by the bourgeoisie. Three of Jackson's comrades, Henry Winston, Gilbert Green, and Robert Thompson are still in prison under these laws. Many other Americans, Communists and non-Party progressives alike, are either waging court struggles to remain at liberty, or stand under the threat of indictment and arrest at any time.

Throughout his life, James E. Jackson, Jr., has used the pen as an instrument of struggle. While in high school, he began to write articles for the school paper. His articles in this book are a few of many. They have been especially selected to give readers a clear understanding of the subject nearest Jackson's heart -- the freedom of the people of America from class oppression, and from the bondage of national and racial oppression, particularly of that virulent form known as Jim Crowism.

#

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

FBI

Date: 8/10/60

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

CG 5824-S* orally furnished the information on the following pages to SA JOHN E. KEATING on 8/9/60. This information pertains to a scheduled meeting in Moscow, Russia, on September 28 and 29, 1960.

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b7C

3 - Bureau (100-428091)(RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(SOLO)(AMRM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

JEK:msb
(6)

ENCLOSURE

REC-4 100-428091-906

NY airtel 8/11/60 advising that Moura advised will attend Moscow meeting on 9/28-29/60

AUG 23 1960

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

INF SEC

60 AUG 29 1960

8/9/60

It has been learned that Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, stated to Morris Childs on 8/9/60 that Alexander Trachtenberg had delivered a message to him. Trachtenberg had received this message on this date from "the Russians." The message is that the first meeting of a commission to discuss the current ideological dispute between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China is scheduled to meet in Moscow, Russia, on September 28 and 29, 1960. The commission will be composed of one representative from each of the socialist countries and one representative from each of fifteen capitalist countries. The CPSU wants someone from the National Executive Committee of the CP,USA to be a representative on this commission.

Hall said that Trachtenberg suggested that Jim Jackson, member of the National Executive Committee of the CP,USA, be sent to Moscow as the representative of the National Executive Committee of the CP,USA on this commission. Hall stated that he asked Trachtenberg if this suggestion was part of the message. Trachtenberg replied that it was not part of the message, but that it was his personal recommendation. Hall said that after this reply, he told Trachtenberg, "Mind your own G-- d--- business."

Hall then said to Childs, I suggest that you go to the meeting of this commission in Moscow.

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100-[illegible]-906

ENCLOSURE

Comments of CG 5824-S*

It would appear at this time that the representative of the CP,USA to this meeting in Moscow will probably be either Morris Childs or Jim Jackson. Jackson will undoubtedly receive information concerning this meeting and will no doubt want to represent the CP,USA. While Hall may have a personal preference for Childs over Jackson as a representative of the CP,USA, Jackson is an official member of the National Executive Committee, while Childs is not. This may cause Hall some difficulty in selecting Childs as the representative of the CP,USA.

It is believed that the passport of Jackson will be due for renewal in the fall of 1960, since he attended a 21st Congress of the CPSU in January, 1959. If he applies for renewal of his passport, the United States State Department might delay the renewal by submitting to him a questionnaire in which he might be asked such questions as; Did you travel to China on your present passport? Did you meet with Latin American Communists in China? etc. In other words, as a delaying tactic, Jackson might be asked questions which would not give him any information, but, at the same time, would give him the impression that the United States Government knows enough about his foreign travel to cause him to hesitate before submitting a lot of false answers.

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

FBI

Date: 8/3/60

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

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

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

CG 5824-S, on July 31, 1960, orally furnished information on the following pages to SA JOHN E. KEATING and Stenographers [redacted] This report contains almost the complete text of an 80 page letter of the CP of the Soviet Union, which was addressed to the leadership of all Communist Parties and was read at the Conference of the Communist Parties in Bucharest, Roumania, in June, 1960. It deals with the ideological dispute between the CPSU and the CP of China.

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b7C

(3) - BUREAU (100-428091)(RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)(SOLO)(RM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

Photostatic made & enclosure sent to State, CIA, ONI, C-2, OSI

100-428091-907

JEK:mfd
(6)

REC-4 15 AUG 23 1960

3 ENCLOSURES

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

cc-1-X 50 AUG 29 1960

LETTER OF THE CP OF THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH WAS ADDRESSED TO THE LEADERSHIP OF ALL COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WAS READ TO THE CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN BUCHAREST, ROUMANIA, IN JUNE 1960

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union made available to this source a copy of an English translation of a letter of the CPSU, which was addressed to the leadership of all Communist Parties. According to ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, this letter was read to the conference of Communist Parties in Bucharest, Roumania, in June 1960. However, copies of the letter were not distributed at Bucharest. The letter was referred to at the Bucharest conference as a letter 84 pages in length. The copy made available to this source for the purpose of making notes from it was 80 pages in length. This copy was marked "secret and strictly confidential." It was numbered "102". It was dated June 21, 1960, and was enclosed in a blue cover. The letter deals with the ideological dispute between the CPSU and the CP of China. The following is a listing of the contents of the letter.

1. On the character of the present epoch.
2. The question of war and peace.
3. On peaceful co-existence.
   On disarmament.
   On the possibility of the so-called "third way" in international relations.
4. On forms of transition to Socialism.
5. The attitude of the Chinese comrades to the activity of the international democratic organizations.
6. Departure of the Chinese comrades from the Declaration and Peace Manifesto.
7. Need for closer unity in the Socialist camp and international Communist movement.

100-[illegible]-907
ENCLOSURE

What follows is almost the complete text of this letter.

For decades the relations of the CPSU and the CP of China were based on the solid foundations of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and fraternal cooperation. The CPSU always gave all-around support and assistance at all stages to the Communist Party of China. There was the closest political, scientific, economic, technical and cultural cooperation. We are rendering China the fullest assistance in the building of Socialism and defense against imperialist aggression. When the U. S. pressured and threatened war against China, Comrade KHRUSHCHEV, in a message to President EISENHOWER, said that the Soviet Union would regard an attack on Peoples China as an attack on the Soviet Union. Also in the United Nations, the Soviet Union took a position on the question of Taiwan, against the policy of two Chinas, etc. The CP of China, on the other hand, supported Soviet foreign policy actions concerning Germany, provocations from the United States, disarmament proposals, on the 4 Power Peace Summit, etc.

In recent times, we noticed a variance regarding the struggle for peace and other problems growing out of the international situation. This is shown in the articles on the 90th Anniversary of LENIN's birth, which appeared in "JEN MIN JIHPAO" and "HUNG CHIA" ("Red Flag") and other periodicals, as well as in organizations, such as the World Peace Council, the Committee for Asian Solidarity, etc., where differences were noted.

In January, CHOU EN LAI in a talk with the USSR Ambassador in Peking said, let things ride. The CPSU in a verbal message said, let's rather talk. Let us not permit piling up of moot questions. Let us find solutions.

In June 1960 in the meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Peking, the CP of China unexpectedly presented some propositions that were contra to the CPSU. LIU NING YI disagreed with some of those Soviet policies and showed or declared extreme dissatisfaction with the policies of the WFTU on peace and disarmament.

LIU NING YI said: "To sit at one conference table with the imperialists would mean to desert the whole of mankind.... war cannot be prevented as long as capitalism exists, etc." LIU NING YI threatened to expose the WFTU and threatened to "expose right wing opportunism."

Before the WFTU sessions began in Peking, LIU NING YI called together some CP members present and gave the views of the CP of China on peaceful co-existence, war and other issues. On June 6, 1960, the Political Bureau of the CP of China had a supper at which LIU SHAO CHI, Deputy Chairman of the CP of China, said, there are different viewpoints on major historical things. He said he found it necessary to speak.

TENG HSIAO PING, General Secretary of the CP of China spoke and charged that "The Moscow declaration has been thrown overboard." He came forward with some critical propositions regarding the 20th Congress of the CPSU and more were to come but these views were rejected by the Fraternal Party delegates present at the WFTU meeting. Therefore, these things that were to come did not come up. Then there were discussions behind the backs of other Communist Parties. There are opinions in all Communist Parties of other countries that the CP of China leaders had criticized major Marxist propositions of the CPSU as well as the peace manifesto signed by all fraternal parties.

The CPSU considers these methods and forms of criticism of the CPSU and other parties as improper and unacceptable. These are opposed to proletarian internationalism.

Now we are being told that the CP of China has been in disagreement with the CPSU for a number of years. This criticism on the part of the Chinese continued in the open meeting of the WFTU, which involved non-Party people. The especially critical speeches were made by LIU NING YI and LIU CHANG SHENG. They tried to make the CP of China line the line of the WFTU. They made an open appeal against the CPSU.

They are circulating documents in all Communist Parties.

The CPSU must state its opinion on:

The question of principle.
The appraisal of the present epoch.
The question of war and peace.
Peaceful co-existence,
The ways of transition to Socialism.

We are surprised because in 1957, all of these propositions were collectively discussed, adopted and incorporated in the Peace Manifesto, which was signed by all the Parties.

I. CHARACTER OF THE PRESENT EPOCH

"The main content of our epoch is the transition from capitalism to socialism, which was begun by the great October revolution in Russia... In our epoch the world development is determined by the course and result of the competition between two diametrically opposed social systems."

But of late the Chinese comrades have been seeing only one aspect of the present epoch, emphasizing most vigorously that the present epoch is an epoch of imperialism, wars and revolution. All other descriptions, they claim, are a departure from Marxism-Leninism and Lenin's characterization of imperialism. The Chinese comrades put forth an erroneous view regarding the present epoch. They do not take into account the many changes in the relation of class forces in the international arena. They misinterpret Lenin's proposition of decades ago. To appraise the present epoch as merely an epoch of imperialism, wars and revolutions does not give comprehensive Marxist-Leninist analysis of modern society, of the aggregate relationship of society in modern times, the major social changes and changes in socialism.

Our epoch is not merely an epoch of imperialism and wars. It is an epoch of the disintegration of imperialism, an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, of formation and consolidation of the world system of socialism.

Lenin said that from 1917 on no world phenomenon could be properly understood unless Soviet Russia was considered as the paramount factor. This means that no world phenomenon can be properly understood unless the world system of socialism is considered as the paramount factor.

The world Socialist System is already a powerful factor of the modern times. It is capable and actually exerts a decisive influence on world politics. The transformation of the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national, i.e., existing in one country and incapable of determining world politics into an international one, i.e., into the dictatorship of the proletariat at least in several advanced countries, one capable of exerting a decisive influence on world politics as a whole." This is taken from V. I. LENIN, Volume 31, page 126.

Imperialism has long ceased to be the dominant force on the world scene today. The Socialist System is the dominant force in the world today. It determines the rate and course of world development. The pillars of imperialism are also being undermined by powerful currents of a world revolutionary movement of the peoples of the colonies and dependent countries.

These circumstances have deprived imperialism of its dominant role on the world scene, of the possibility of doing as it pleases. If this were not so, there would be no such rapid disintegration of the colonial system since 1945. If imperialism is omnipotent, this would be unthinkable. The collapse of the colonial system of imperialism became possible due to the existence and strength of a world Socialist System.

Therefore, defining the present epoch is of the greatest fundamental significance. From different definitions there follow different conclusions regarding basic issues of international development, the strategy and tactics of this CP movement, questions of diverse forms of transition to Socialism, peaceful co-existence, war and peace, disarmament, etc.

The Chinese comrades say that there is taking place a departure from Leninism in defining the character of imperialism and its aggressive character is being glossed over. There is no such thing; no such document of the CPSU or other Marxist-Leninist Party has ever said this. "The CPSU has always educated the people that imperialism is aggressive and we quote from the resolutions of the 20th Congress. The Leninist precept that so long as imperialism exists economic bases giving use to war will also be preserved, remains in force. That is why it is necessary to display the greatest vigilance. As long as capitalism survives in the world, the reactionary forces representing the interest of the capitalist monopolies will continue and drive toward gambles and aggression and may try to unleash war."

At the 21st Congress again warning for vigilance against war we quote:

"The aggressive policy of American imperialism which reflects the ambition of the U. S. capitalist monopolies to gain world domination remains the main source of world danger. The rulers of the U. S. and those of West Germany, Britain, France and other member countries of the aggressive NATO Bloc, continue to stockpile Nuclear weapons, reject all peaceful settlement of international problems and continuously provoke armed conflicts in various regions of the world."

This appraisal and proposition of all Communist Parties is in the 1957 records of the Moscow meeting. In its practical world and activity in the sphere of foreign policy the CPSU gives a strict account of the essence of imperialism and says, "It remains aggressive."

When Comrade KHRUSHCHEV returned from the United States of America, he said that forces there still stand for cold war and the arms race and we cannot answer who will win the upper hand in determining the policy of the United States.

In October, 1959, in confidential information sent to the Parties of the peoples democracies, as well as to the Parties of France and Italy, we pointed to a number of factors that indicated a possible understanding between the USSR and the USA, but we said, "The advocates of the cold war and the positions of strength policy still played a very considerable role in shaping of the foreign policy of the USA".

When Comrade KHRUSHCHEV returned from France, we issued a similar warning about no illusions. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union "sees no differences in the Communist Party Movement on the aggressive character of Imperialism. The point of issue is a different one. Can Imperialism carry out its aggressive plan as it might have done 50 years ago? The position in which Imperialism has been placed by the course of history have changed radically in view of the forces of Socialism and peace and to the detriment of the forces of Imperialist war". When we see these changes, then we see we have a non-dogmatic analysis.

Questions of War and Peace

The 20th Congress of the CPSU saw the possibility of preventing war in the present epoch. All fraternal Parties associated themselves with this theoretical thesis. At the Moscow meeting, all Parties stated their views as follows:

"At present, the forces of peace have so grown that there is real possibility of averting war".

The Chinese comrades were in agreement and at the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China, Liu Chang-Sheng repeated the 20th Congress thesis "the CPSU put forward proposals for the further development of peaceful coexistence and international cooperation and made an outstanding contribution to the relaxation of international tensions".

In recent statements of the Communist Party of China, such as on the occasion of the 90th Anniversary of LENIN's birth and at the World Federation of Trade Unions, the comrades have been departing from this thesis. Now, instead, they talk about illusions regarding the possibility to prevent war.

Judging by their statements, Imperialism can decide whether it shall be war or peace, local war or global war, co-existence, intervention, as Hung Chi said, "On a final analysis, the issue of war or peace is settled by the Imperialists and their general staffs. Of course, whether the Imperialists eventually unleash war does not depend on us - after all, we are not the chiefs of the Imperialist general staffs". This is a quote from an article entitled, "Long Live Leninism". What the Chinese comrades do is overestimate the possibilities of Imperialism and show an underestimation of the forces of Socialism and the world Socialist system. The Chinese comrades are not objective in their analysis. War is not only an economic phenomenon. War depends on many factors in the world arena of classes, of political forces in the Capitalist countries, on the conscious will of the people and the degree of organization, and the purposefulness of their actions, etc.

The chief and most decisive peace factor which provides an objective opportunity to prevent wars, is the mighty world Socialist system. Other important factors are peace-loving countries of Asia, of Africa, the anti-colonial, anti-Imperialist movements, the international working class and its vanguard, the Liberation Movement;these joint efforts have the opportunity to prevent the Imperialists from unleashing war.

Peace cannot be achieved by spontaneous process. It has to be won by united efforts of the people. But the theory that war is inevitable as long as Socialism has not triumphed throughout the world, paralyzes the active will

of the people against Imperialism. World events during the last years prove the validity of the thesis adopted at the 20th Congress of the CPSU. When the USSR becomes the first industrial power in the world, and the Chinese Peoples Republic a powerful industrial power, the new relation of forces will be so powerful that even rabid Imperialists will see the futility of war. Thus, before the complete victory of Socialism in the world, it will "actually be possible to banish war from the life of society". At the 1957 Moscow Conference of Parties, MAO TSE TUNG said, "In the final analysis, the point of the matter for us is to achieve a 15 year peace. Then, we shall be invincible throughout the world; then no one will make war on us and lasting peace will be insured all over the world." Today the Chinese comrades have departed from this thesis. There are many contradictions in the Chinese approach. On one hand Imperialism is a paper tiger, on the other hand Imperialism is all powerful. No forces, according to them, are capable in curbing them from unleashing a war. We say there should be no underrating or Imperialism, but no overrating of Imperialism.

To be against war is to be against wars of liberation, say the Chinese comrades. This is not so. The people fight for liberation. This is part of our thesis. It is difficult for the Imperialists to launch wars against the colonial and dependent countries and so is easier for these people to fight. We saw this during the invasion of Egypt, Lebanon, at the time of the Iraqian revolt and now in Cuba. Co-existence will not harm the people fighting for liberation and does not imply the renunciation of the working class struggle. It does not doom the people to "everlasting slavery", as some Chinese writers say, to fight to prevent wars. Communists always stood for wars of liberation. We support just wars as needed.

On the question of peaceful co-existence, this was proclaimed by LENIN. It is the only alternative to war. This is not a temporary tactical slogan. It is a general

line of foreign policy of all Parties of the Socialist countries. The Chinese Party expressed this view at Bandung at one time. In recent articles, they say this is possible, but as long as the Imperialist System exists, we will not be rid of wars. The Chinese admit that a temporary agreement, even on disarmament and nuclear weapons, is possible, but "however, even in such a situation, as long as the Imperialist System exists, the world would not at all be rid of the most acute form of violence - war." Jenin Jihpao, on April 25, 1960, wrote "Until the complete abolition of Capitalism and Imperialism throughout the world, the alternation of war and peace will be a constant and inevitable phenomenon." At the June meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the same proposition was put forward by Comrade LIU CHANG-SHENG. Disarmament, he said, is an "illusion". This is a violation of the 1957 Moscow Declaration.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union cannot ignore it. As Comrade KHRUSHCHEV said, true to principles of LENIN and peaceful co-existence, "There are only two ways; either peaceful co-existence, or the most devastating war in history. There is no other way."

The vital interests of all the countries of the world's Socialist System and of all mankind imperatively dictate the need to preserve peace.

Peace means gaining time in favor of economic system of Socialism in competition with the economic system of Capitalism. Peace will accelerate the building of Communism. Regarding revolutionary military technique, the weapons of destruction of today, if they were used, would bring disastrous consequences. The destruction would be world-wide, unlike World War One and Two. They would wipe out nations and throw society back hundreds of years.

We cannot allow hundreds of millions of people to be destroyed. We cannot agree with the journal "Hung Chia", "We don't have to be afraid of war; that the atom bomb is