

24 August 1950

PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

and

THE ROLE OF AMERICAN COMMUNISTS

IN THE EVENT OF WAR

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For your information in evaluating the attached document, the data contained therein represent the composite observations of ten substantial and highly reliable informants of the FBI concerning the topics listed. All informants contacted have held or are currently occupying positions of prominence within the framework of the Communist Party. In view of these circumstances, it is not possible to divulge their identities at the present time.

SECRET CONTROL

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I. GENERAL STRATEGY AND OBJECTIVES OF THE SOVIET REGIME AND SATELLITE COMMUNIST PARTIES IN RECENT YEARS AND AT PRESENT.

Without exception, all informants agree the ultimate Soviet objective continues to be complete world domination. Their purpose is the overthrow of all capitalistic countries as enemies of the working class through internal or revolutionary methods, thereby establishing and perpetuating Communism throughout the world. To further this strategy the Communists advocate the building up of Communist strength inside capitalistic countries until such time as they are sufficiently strong to strike a blow in their own behalf, as exemplified by the present situation in Korea. This general strategy has worked so well its value is self-evident, obviating the necessity of any direct attack by Russia.

In furtherance of this objective, the Soviet Regime employs the tactic of sapping U. S. strength, both militarily and industrially, through attempted conquests by Soviet Russia in countries receiving U. S. aid and assistance, thus diverting our attention to those countries and leaving the U. S. vulnerable to attack. Present concepts of the Soviet and Communist Party leaders are based upon what they consider a constant process of further economic and industrial disintegration which would be facilitated by Communist inspired economic crises, mass unemployment and strikes.

In effecting the over-all strategy, Russia's conquest of many satellite nations was designed to protect her borders leaving the country as inaccessible as possible in the event of war.

All talk of peace on the part of Soviet leaders is for the purpose of allaying suspicion. They will utilize any method which will further their goal of complete world domination until such time as Russia feels the world is ripe for plucking.

One informant described the tactic outlined above as "creeping blitzkrieg," and added that the Russians have now entered the second phase, namely, attacks upon countries from which American Forces have been withdrawn. The present general strategy is necessary to weaken the United States to a point where the Soviets can attack us. This informant also stated the Soviets always have alternatives in strategy and he and another informant agree that the weakening process does not preclude the possibility of sudden atomic bomb attack. The first informant feels such attacks would be considered if the Kremlin is of the opinion the growing strength of U. S. Military Forces requires such action. The second informant claims immediate armed attack would be sudden and ruthless and the Communist leaders would not hesitate to use the atom bomb if the possibility of success was sufficiently great to preclude retaliation.

A third informant refers to a secondary objective, namely, that Russia emerge in the world Communist government as the most powerful nation. The Kremlin is not anxious for success if that victory results in a strong satellite nation. Assuming the Soviets, having won China, are now interested in shifting the action back to Europe, the next phase in the general strategy would be the gaining of Western Europe. This gives rise to three possibilities:

- (1) The activity in Korea was a trial balloon to test U. S. reaction;
- (2) Russia wants all out war this year; and
- (3) The strategy is to involve the United States in a series of actions over wide points where the Soviets

SECRET CONTROL

to use American troops while we are forced

This informant considers the latter to be the most likely possibility.

II. GENERAL MILITARY PERSPECTIVES TO KEEP IN MIND AS BACKGROUND FOR EVALUATION OF COMMUNIST SABOTAGE AND OPERATIONS IMMEDIATELY BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER OUTBREAK OF WAR BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES.

In the event of conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, every Communist will do everything possible to injure this country and aid the Soviets. Such a war would be characterized as "undemocratic," "unjust," "criminal," "useless" and "bankers' war." The war effort would be intensely opposed in any and all phases and the Communists would seek to mobilize mass defeatism. In particular, infiltration of the Armed Forces would be attempted by various youth groups upon Party instructions. Communist Party members would seek strategic positions in the Armed Services in such branches as publicity, public relations, personnel advisement and the editorial staffs of magazines published for the troops. They would tend to create disaffection and mutinous conduct among the military.

Intervention in industry, with special attention to bottleneck industries, and production of vital war materials may be expected in the form of strikes and slowdowns.

According to one informant, the first objective in any sabotage operation would be to halt the flow of replacement parts, particularly in the electrical and electronics field. Communist Party leaders have stated that members must be pulled out of so-called "pickle" plants and placed in heavy industry.

The Communists would also seek to antagonize the civilian population against the war effort and possible war controls by emphasizing as grievances the food shortages, housing problems, high prices and similar inconveniences. It is not unlikely that efforts would be made to impair the nation's financial structure by whispering campaigns to start "runs" on banks and like institutions. Diversionary tactics, such as race riots, may be designed to divide central aims.

III. SUMMARY OF COMMUNIST UNDERGROUND APPARATUS AND PLANS FOR LEADERSHIP IN EVENT OF WAR, INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN COMMUNIST OFFICIALS ON MOVES TO EXPECT BY GOVERNMENT ON OUTBREAK OF WAR.

The informants generally agree the Communist Party will go underground in the event of war. They expect the Government to round up all known Party members and possibly outlaw the Party itself. However, the informants disagree as to the action to be taken against the Party leadership. One informant believes those constituting the leadership will remain at liberty, having been placed in secret locations afforded by other members, many of whom are not believed to be known to the authorities. The Party contemplates the continuance of substantially the same leadership upon the outbreak of any conflict. Party members have been questioned concerning their resources for harboring members of the Party leadership in the event of an emergency. This informant was so approached in 1947 and was also asked if he would be in a position to serve as courier between members of the Party leadership who might be compelled to go underground.

Contrarily, a second informant believes there exists dual apparatus of leadership in the Communist Party from the national

organization to the lowest branch. The second echelon of the leadership would step into action when the existing leadership stopped functioning in whole or in part. Either the decision of the Supreme Court upholding the conviction of the eleven Communist leaders or a war between the Soviet Union and the United States, whichever comes first, would automatically determine "D-Day" for the Communist Party to go completely underground. On a national, district and section basis, there is a wide secret mail drop, telephone and telegram communications system. There are also available secret printing presses and supplies in hiding places for the use of the Party when it goes underground.

A third informant is in complete agreement with the second informant. In the mid-1930's this informant reports arrangements were effected for dual leadership throughout the Party in the event of an emergency. Arrangements also were made for district organizers to hide out and possibly escape to Mexico. Small printing shops and weekly newspapers were purchased to insure a continuous flow of propaganda. Distribution thereof was to be made by mail and by leaving literature in public places. During the period in question, important communications between the national office of the Communist Party and district officers were handled through business mailing addresses which were changed about every three months. Operating funds were placed in the custody of reliable Party members so that they would not be subject to confiscation by the Government. In 1941 this informant was advised that couriers were being utilized and mail communications were being reduced to a minimum.

A fourth informant stated underground preparations by the Party in World War II were conducted on the theory that a complete shadow leadership was to be developed. Public leaders in an office became mere figurreheads while the actual leadership was underground. There was also set up a substitute leadership to be used in event of apprehension of the present leaders. Branch meetings were no longer held and gatherings were confined to three to five members, the general principle being to spread the connections as much as possible so that apprehension of any one line would not destroy the chain of conspiracy. The primary philosophy behind these tactics is to maintain the core of leadership in spite of any closing of Party offices and publications.

A fifth informant stated that during 1948 and 1949, considerable emphasis was placed by the Communist Party on the formation of a "group captain system" under which the entire membership of the Communist Party was broken down into units of three to five individuals, each functioning under a group captain. The purpose in so doing was to eliminate the possibility of any substantial number of members being picked up at any one time.

A sixth informant stated that in his opinion the Communist Party, as an entity, would never go underground but the "hard core" of professional revolutionists would do so. This group would number possibly 450 and would constitute the real danger to this country. They would be in charge of sabotage and other efforts to provide aid to Russia, would meet secretly and would act only under orders.

In 1947, according to a seventh informant, a complete survey was made by the Party of the major industrial centers in the United States, including the strategic points to be captured or destroyed in the event of war. The survey was double checked in 1948 and this informant was told by Communist Party officials that similar surveys were made in every industrial city in the United States.

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IV. POSSIBLE MEANS OF ORGANIZED AND SPONTANEOUS SABOTAGE AND ESPIONAGE DURING FIRST STAGES OF POSSIBLE WAR WITH USSR

The informants generally agree that one of the means of organized sabotage is the program of industrial concentration, which is one of Communist infiltration in essential industry with the motive of using these members for agitation, slow downs and strikes. This program, according to one informant, is emphasized at all Party meetings and handed down to members at each subsequent meeting. It is also possible that there would be individual and isolated instances of sabotage by zealots among the Party members who have not been taken into the confidence of the leaders. Among the zealots would be the so-called "trigger-happy boys" or those radical individuals of a temperamental nature. However, there is a diversity of opinion among the informants concerning other means of committing sabotage which may be utilized by the Party, as indicated below.

The same informant stated there would be an apparatus for sabotage which would be used on a large scale and not for "petty jobs." If the major program breaks down, resort then will be had to a program of petty and spontaneous sabotage in order to cripple plants and destroy public morale.

Another informant stated that organized or spontaneous sabotage to be expected during the first stages of war would be minor if not completely nil. However, as the war progresses and the Communist Party is not successful in its efforts to develop a mass public objection to the war, the danger of sabotage, both by individuals and groups, would become more probable. This informant also stated that espionage, comprising the gathering of information concerning industries, docks and Armed Forces, would be a daily continuing matter and a constant task for every Communist. All information so obtained would be relayed to Communist Party leaders and then forwarded to top Soviet contacts.

A third informant stated the Party undoubtedly has an organization set up to commit acts of organized sabotage but such a plan would be hampered if the Party is outlawed, probably requiring the formation of a new plan. This informant believes that as a result of the survey made of industrial cities in 1947 (referred to in Caption III) facilities which are considered vital and subject to sabotage are known to the Party.

A fourth informant stated sabotage would be handled only by the "professional revolutionists" or those who are trained and trusted. This informant had no knowledge of any schools in Russia set up for the sole purpose of training espionage and sabotage agents. In the opinion of this informant, two-thirds of the Communist Party membership would cease their activity in the event of war and would do nothing to assist Russia or deter the United States in the war effort. It is believed there would be a concerted campaign among the professional groups in following their instructions to carry out acts of sabotage and to recruit others for this purpose in plants producing war materials.

In 1945 and again in 1949, during a series of lectures on Marxism, sabotage was briefly discussed with a select group including a fifth informant, all of whom were members of the Communist Party Educational Commission. Great secrecy surrounded these sessions and the identities of those present were not permitted to be made known to one another. Each class member was expected to pass along the training he received during subsequent classes in which the member would preside. The material used was derived from a book dealing primarily with sabotage committed during the Spanish Civil War. Members were advised that small action groups of two or three persons should operate against such key points as water works, tunnels, communication and power cables, railroad control tower and switching points, power plants and public utilities. Instructions concerned the type of utilities to be

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sabotaged rather than the actual means by which the sabotage was to be accomplished.

While in Moscow in 1928, a sixth informant advised he was permitted to examine material pertaining to physical sabotage with evaluation of the most important phases of sabotage and the methods by which they might be accomplished. The informant now recalls that emphasis was placed on the sabotaging of ships, munition factories, fuel lines, transformers, lines of communication and ammunition depots. It was suggested that telephone exchanges, as one of the most vital points in any community, should be put out of operation or physically captured, if possible. It was believed radio stations were susceptible to surprise attacks and sudden seizure and the use of such facilities for broadcasting propaganda would result in a tremendous demoralization of any community.

Sabotage plans have always emphasized the study of those industries which would disrupt the economic life of the community and military activities. Careful consideration was devoted to the chemical field and in the late 1920's and early 1930's efforts were initiated to organize chemists and other scientists. Those in the chemical field could do much to paralyze the United States in the event of war with the Soviet Union and could inform the Soviets of American discoveries.

During 1927 to 1930, Communists endeavored to place members in the Armed Forces where disruptive action would be most effective in time of war and would appear to be spontaneous and not necessarily identified as Communist inspired or directed. The Communists' primary duty was to create dissatisfaction by magnifying petty grievances and organizing campaigns concerning them. Members were instructed to discuss constantly those conditions which aroused the greatest antagonism among servicemen and to attempt to instigate a condition under which military discipline ceased to exist. Points of concentration in the order of their importance were the Panama Canal, Hawaii and the Army posts around American port cities.

During this period, it was well known among Communist Party functionaries that selected Party leaders were members of the Russian Secret Police. It was also general knowledge among the Party leadership that the secret police maintained within itself an apparatus for liquidating Communists who left the movement and whose knowledge might prove embarrassing and dangerous. This apparatus is believed to be quite extensive both inside and outside the ranks of the Communist Party and has developed the mechanism for continued operations under any conceivable condition. In 1928 or 1929, the head of this apparatus was chiefly interested in the possibility of securing blank American passports and directed that every effort be made to place members in the State Department for this purpose.

The Soviet Government and its apparatus charged with sabotage and espionage would not hesitate to sacrifice the lives of American Communists in the interest of the Soviet Union, according to this informant. Most responsible American Communists would regard respect and consideration for their own lives by the Soviet Union as an unpardonable weakness.

V. SOME POSSIBLE UNFORESEEN EFFECTS OF SOVIET RUTHLESS PHILOSOPHY ON MILITARY CALCULATIONS, ESPECIALLY RANGE OF BOMBERS WITH ATOMIC BOMBS.

All informants agree that Soviet philosophy is notoriously ruthless, based upon the principle that the end justifies any means and, accordingly, the Soviet Government would not hesitate to deliver atom bombs upon any target even though such an attack involved suicide missions. The basic philosophy of Russia is the expendability of human lives on a large scale, if necessary, to reach a goal.

According to one informant, not only would there be suicide planes with atom bombs, but there would also be a large-scale attack of suicide paratroopers carrying small bombs or other destructive devices, who could be assisted by Communist Party members if successful in landing. Practically every Russian child is believed by the informant to be trained in the art of paratrooping.

Another informant stated the Soviets are sufficiently ruthless to kill anyone, including American Communists, since the latter are used only to further "the cause." The Soviets would attempt conquest of countries bordering the United States to eliminate possible support therefrom before striking at the United States as the main objective.

Once having decided she is strong enough to wage war with America, Russia, according to a third informant, will use any and every means at her disposal to win the war. This may include bacteriological warfare, if required to successfully complete the conquest.

A fourth informant made the observation that practice plane flights have been made from Murmansk to Siberia, the same distance as from Russia to New York. There also exists the possibility of importing atom bombs and transporting them to strategic points to be detonated by remote control or by individuals willing to sacrifice themselves. No consideration of humanity would hinder the Soviet Union in any way.

VI. RELATIONSHIP OF CIVILIAN DEFENSE AND CORRECT EVALUATION OF POSSIBLE SOVIET SURPRISE ATTACK AIDED BY UNDERCOVER AGENTS IN THIS COUNTRY.

The informants agree that Communist groups would operate against any civilian defense organization. Since infiltration always has been one of the primary strategic weapons of the Party, there is no reason to believe such tactics would not be applied to a civilian defense organization as an effective means of impeding its efforts. During World War II, Communist Party members were active in the civilian defense programs. An estimated 20,000 devoted members of the Communist Party, comprising the core of the Party, are willing to follow implicitly the instructions of the Soviet Government.

The theory was advanced that there are not sufficient underground agents in this country to effectuate a successful internal surprise attack. Therefore, a war would be initiated by a Russian surprise attack, either by airplane or submarine. The informants recommended that America prepare a complete civilian defense mechanism which could be mobilized at a moment's notice. One informant advised a program of educating the American people so that there will be a realistic understanding and alertness to surprise attacks.