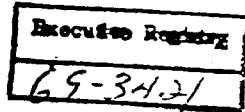


Annex 2
1 copy

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SENSITIVE

30 June 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Tom Charles Huston
Staff Assistant to the President

SUBJECT : Foreign Communist Support of United States
Revolutionary Protest Movements

REFERENCE : Memorandum from Mr. Tom Charles Huston,
Staff Assistant to the President, dated
June 20, 1969 (copy attached)

1. Attached is a paper on the above subject based upon information acquired by this Agency. Also attached is a folder containing samples of pertinent Agency reports which have previously been disseminated to the White House and to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

2. The information collected by this Agency provides evidence of only a very limited amount of foreign Communist assistance to revolutionary protest movements in the United States. There is very little reporting on Communist assistance in the form of funding or training and no evidence of Communist direction or control of any United States revolutionary protest movement. The bulk of our information illustrates Communist encouragement of these movements through propaganda methods.

3. Since the summer of 1967, this Agency has been attempting to determine through its sources abroad whether or not there is any significant Communist direction or assistance to revolutionary groups in the United States. We have been collaborating closely in this effort with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and disseminating information to it. Existing Agency collection resources are being employed wherever feasible and new sources are being sought through independent means as well as with the assistance of foreign intelligence services and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Of course, the Katzenbach guidelines have inhibited our access to certain persons who might have information on efforts by Communist intelligence services to exploit revolutionary groups in the United States.

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4. I feel certain that when Mr. Helms returns from his current trip abroad, he will be happy to discuss the allocation of Agency resources to collecting information concerning the extent and nature of foreign Communist support of revolutionary protest movements in this country.

5. Please advise me if this Agency can be of any further assistance in this highly important and sensitive matter.

Sincerely,

R. E. Cushman, Jr.

R. E. Cushman, Jr.
Lieutenant General, USMC
Acting Director

Attachments: a/s

cc: The Honorable Henry A. Kissinger - *w/ey base MB*
Assistant to the President for National
Security Affairs (without attachments)

Signature Recommended:

(b)(3)

Reddy
Deputy Director for Plans

DDP/CI/SO:ROber:sh(30 June 1969)

Distribution:

Orig. and 1 - Addressee (w/ one set atts)
2 - DDCI (w/o att)

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 20, 1969

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIALMEMORANDUM FOR THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
AGENCYFROM: Tom Charles Huston
Staff Assistant to the President

The President has directed that a report on foreign Communist support of revolutionary protest movements in this country be prepared for his study. He has specifically requested that the report draw upon all the resources available to the intelligence community and that it be as detailed as possible.

"Support" should be liberally construed to include all activities by foreign Communists designed to encourage or assist revolutionary protest movements in the United States.

On the basis of earlier reports submitted to the President on a more limited aspect of this problem, it appears that our present intelligence collection capabilities in this area may be inadequate. The President would like to know what resources we presently have targeted toward monitoring foreign Communist support of revolutionary youth activities in this country, how effective they are, what gaps in our intelligence exist because of either inadequate resources or a low priority of attention, and what steps could be taken, if he directed, to provide the maximum possible coverage of these activities.

I have asked the Federal Bureau of Investigation to submit their response to the President's request to me by Monday, June 30th. I would appreciate it if the Agency would provide their contribution by that date.

Although I realize that the Agency submits all information it has available in this area to the Bureau, I would like to see a broad sample of the raw data which the Agency produces. And I am particularly interested in the Agency's response to the second part of the President's request; e.g., your present ability to collect information of this type.

The President has assigned a high priority to this project, and I know that you will render the utmost assistance in its preparation.


Tom Charles Huston

~~Secret~~

SPECIAL REPORT
FOREIGN COMMUNIST SUPPORT
TO
REVOLUTIONARY PROTEST MOVEMENTS
IN THE UNITED STATES

27 June 1969

~~Sensitive~~
No Foreign Dissem / No Dissem Abroad
~~Secret~~

NO FOREIGN DISSEM/NO DISSEM ABROAD

CUBA

FOREIGN COMMUNIST SUPPORT OF REVOLUTIONARY PROTEST MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Note: In accordance with the terms of reference, this report is essentially limited to information provided by Agency sources. It does not include extensive information available from the Federal Bureau of Investigation on all aspects of the subject; from the Department of Defense on draft resistance/deserter matters; or from the National Security Agency. The relative lack of firm Agency-developed information on the subject may either represent the true situation, i.e., the absence of extensive foreign Communist support, or it may be a reflection of a lack of enough well-placed sources.

General

The information collected by this Agency provides evidence of only a very limited amount of foreign Communist assistance to revolutionary protest movements in the United States. There is very little reporting on Communist assistance in the form of funding or training and no evidence of Communist direction or control of any United States revolutionary protest movement. The bulk of our information illustrates Communist encouragement of these movements through propaganda methods and exploitation of international conferences.

For the purposes of this report these movements are defined to include militant Black groups, radical student and youth groups, anti-Vietnam war groups, and draft resistance/deserter groups.

Support given to these movements by Cuba, the USSR, and Communist China is discussed in the following pages.

NO FOREIGN DISSEM/NO DISSEM ABROAD

The Afro-Asian Latin CUBA and People's Solidarity Organization (AA-PSO) has been identified as having received Cuban assistance has been provided primarily to Black militants and to radical student groups.

Aid to Black Militants

Aid to Black militant groups has included:

- a. Providing asylum to militants, the most important of whom is Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party;
- b. Providing sustenance to such militants, at least 55 of the during their lengthy stays in Cuba; and
- c. Providing alias documentation to selected militants are reported to facilitate their travel abroad.

The Cuban Embassy in Paris has been used as a base for contacting Black militants in Europe, both directly and indirectly, but the purpose of these contacts is not known. The Prensa Latina representative in Paris said in January 1968 that Cuban-supported propaganda outlets would be used to spread Black Power ideas to Black U. S. military and civilian personnel in Europe; the extent of the actual effort since then is not known.

There is one unsubstantiated report that in June 1968 the Cuban intelligence service dispatched an agent to the United States with instructions to encourage American Blacks to defect to Cuba.

Although there was Cuban refugee reporting in 1967 on alleged training in Cuba of American Blacks for subversive operations in the United States, these reports have not been substantiated. Since 1967 at least 15 to 20 Black militants are known to have travelled to Cuba, but details of their activities there are not known. When Stokely Carmichael visited Cuba in 1967 his "interpreter" was a Cuban intelligence service officer who was subsequently assigned to the Cuban Mission to the United Nations in New York.

One American Black militant visited Cuba at Cuban expense in January 1969 to receive an "Heroic Guerrilla" award for winning a Radio Havana contest.

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NO FOREIGN DISSEM/NO DISSEM ABROAD

The Afro-Asian Latin American People's Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO), headquartered in Havana and supported by Cuba, mails propaganda to the United States seeking to exploit the racial situation. AALAPSO showed a particularly fast reaction capability after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King.

Aid to Radical Students

Cuba has encouraged travel by radical student groups and individuals to Cuba for propaganda and orientation purposes. Good coverage of such travel exists. At least 110 identified American members of Students for a Democratic Society or its affiliates are known to have visited Cuba, at least 55 of them at the expense of the Cuban Government. The bulk of this travel was in 1968. Many U. S. youths and students have applied for visas to visit Cuba this summer, but the Cubans are reportedly denying some of these requests.

Deserter Support

The Cuban Embassy in Tokyo provided asylum in April 1967 to a U. S. Army deserter. It permitted him to remain there until March 1968 when he travelled clandestinely to the USSR with the help of the pro-Communist Japan Peace for Vietnam Committee (Beheiren).

Aid to Puerto Rican Independence Movement

Two Puerto Ricans were reported to have received guerrilla training in Cuba during 1967 and 1968. This report has not been independently substantiated.

There is no evidence of direct Soviet support to militant Black, radical student, or anti-Vietnam war groups in this country.

In Japan, the Soviet Embassy actively assisted a number of U. S. armed forces deserters to reach safehaven in Sweden via the USSR during 1967-68. In Europe, several Communist

NO FOREIGN DISSEM/NO DISSEM ABROAD

NO FOREIGN DISSEM/NO DISSEM ABROAD

party front groups and radical leftist groups with Communist party members have aided American deserters and draft resisters, particularly in France, the Netherlands, and Sweden.

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

The Government of Guinea, whose intelligence service is in liaison with the Soviets and which is friendly with the Soviets, is providing safehaven for Stokely Carmichael, former Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. However, although Carmichael still has contact with radical American Blacks at international conferences and during his other travels, his primary concern now appears to be in forming a united Black African movement.

American Blacks were reportedly being given training in late 1968 in a special camp in Algeria, the Government of which is very friendly with the USSR. This report has not been substantiated, and recent information indicates that the Algerian Government is reluctant to become involved with American Black militants.

COMMUNIST CHINA

The only evidence of Chinese Communist support to revolutionary protest movements in the United States, other than propaganda broadcasts, is discussed below.

In 1966, the Black militant Robert Franklin Williams moved to Peking from Havana where he had been granted asylum in 1961 and had been helped in setting up "Radio Free Dixie." Williams has been supported in Peking by the Mao regime and has been aided in the production of a Black militant periodical, The Crusader. The latter is distributed by mail to recipients in a

NO FOREIGN DISSEM/NO DISSEM ABROAD

N FOREIGN DISSEM/NO DISSEM ABROAD

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

Williams, who is the head of the Republic of New Africa (RNA), a Black militant American organization, visited Tanzania, the Government of which is friendly with Peking, from June to September 1968 and again in May 1969. Two key leaders of the RNA travelled from the U.S. to Dar es Salaam during Williams' 1968 stay in Tanzania to consult with him. There have been unsubstantiated reports that American Black militants were being trained in Tanzania.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

members of the...
Sub... Exploitation of international Communist front conferences is discussed in Attachment A of this report. American representatives of radical groups participate regularly in such conferences, which seek both to mobilize world opinion and to encourage revolutionary protest movements. There is no evidence that these conferences have been used as covers for direct foreign Communist control of domestic movements.

revolutionary front.

PROPAGANDA

The Communist powers use press and radio propaganda to encourage radical protest movements. Foreign Broadcast Information Service coverage of the propaganda output of Moscow, Peking, Hanoi, and Havana, which affects such movements in the U.S., is analyzed in detail in Attachment B to this report. Appended to Attachment B are selected transcripts of propaganda, separately grouped for each of the four countries.

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Approved for Release: 2017/01/18 C01475735

FOREIGN DISSEM/NO DISSEM ABROAD

SENS

Soviet propaganda in the future will probably be guided primarily by the 17 June 1969 declaration of the conference of Communist parties. The declaration sets forth the U. S. as the main enemy, and views favorably the opposition of radical U. S. youth and students to the Vietnam war, the draft, racism, and "monopoly control of universities." It expresses strong support for "the struggle of the Negro population of the U. S. for their rights." It urges Communist parties to devote considerable attention to work among students. The CPUSA has enthusiastically endorsed this line. Until the fall of 1968 when the Soviets tried to formulate a more positive approach to the youth movement, Soviet propaganda sought to explain all U. S. protest and unrest in classical Communist terms, and avoided giving publicity to extremist groups. The Soviets were noticeably concerned over the threat of contagion from undisciplined Western youth movements and over the disruptive impact of such groups on orthodox Communist parties.

Havana media publicizes statements and articles by members of the Black Panthers, the Students for a Democratic Society, and such prominent individuals as David Dellinger and Mark Rudd. However, there has been a marked abatement of such propaganda in the past six months as a result of media preoccupation with domestic issues. Cuban broadcasts generally avoid detailed accounts of U. S. student activities, but stress that the rebellion of American youths is symptomatic of the sickness of U. S. life and institutions. The emphasis in youth-targeted propaganda is on Vietnam and Che Guevara-type revolutionary feats.

NO FOREIGN DISSEM/NO DISSEM ABROAD

Approved for Release: 2017/01/18 C01475735

~~Confidential~~

SPECIAL REPORT

ATTACHMENT "A"

EXPLOITATION OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

IN ENCOURAGEMENT OF

REVOLUTIONARY PROTEST MOVEMENTS

IN THE UNITED STATES

27 June 1969

~~Sensitive~~

No Foreign Dissem / No Dissem Abroad

~~Confidential~~

Attachment A

EXPLOITATION OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES IN
ENCOURAGEMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY PROTEST
MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

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World Assembly for Peace, East Berlin, June 1969	1
Bratislava Conference, Czechoslovakia, September 1967	2
Ninth Youth Festival, Sofia, Bulgaria, 28 July to 6 August 1968	3
Budapest Conference, Hungary, September 1968	4
Western Hemispheric Conference Against the Vietnam War, 28 November to 1 December 1968	5
Stockholm Conference on Vietnam Emergency Action, Sweden, 6-19 May 1969	6-7
International Conference of Lawyers for Vietnam, Grenoble, France, July 1968	8
Anti-War Conferences in Japan, August 1968	9-10
Havana Cultural Congress, Cuba, 4-11 January 1968	11

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West Assembly for Peace and Human Rights, June 1971

**EXPLOITATION OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES IN
ENCOURAGEMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY PROTEST
MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES**

Introduction

American representatives of radical student and Black groups, draft resistance/deserter support groups, and anti-Vietnam War organizations participate regularly in international Communist front conferences, meetings, and activities. These conferences seek both to mobilize world opinion and to encourage pertinent revolutionary protest movements. There is no evidence that they are used as covers for direct foreign Communist control of domestic movements.

The conferences discussed in this report are representative.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SENSITIVE

World Assembly for Peace, East Berlin, June 1969

Currently, a number of U.S. delegates are attending the World Assembly for Peace in East Berlin. This gathering constitutes the de facto Eighth Congress of the World Peace Council and is a convocation of all international Communist front leaders behind a facade of some 900 invited "supporters of peace." The delegation from the U.S. consists largely of representatives of the CPUSA and CPUSA fronts, but also includes such organizations as the Women Strike for Peace (WSP), the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Black Panthers. The WSP representatives were also invited to attend the International Women's Conference which is scheduled subsequently for Helsinki, Finland. Expenses for the trip to Helsinki are to be paid by the East German Women's Congress.

The East German Women's Congress is a "proletarian" organization. A report concluded: "The Czechoslovak Peace Council has been over/king required to make this meeting possible." In 1967, Dr. Heger led a massive "peaceful demonstration" at the ...

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SENSITIVE

Bratislava Conference, Czechoslovakia, September 1967

About forty representatives of various U. S. organizations (including the National Mobilization Committee Against the War in Vietnam, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Students for a Democratic Society, the American Friends Service Committee and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference) met in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, with representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and with South Vietnam National Liberation Front (NLF) officials. According to a Czechoslovak press agency report, the conference discussed "the future development in the anti-war movement." The report added that the U. S. group was organized by David T. Dellinger, Tom Hayden, and Nick Egleston (the latter two being former SDS Chairmen). The NLF delegation was headed by Mme. Nguyen Thi BINH (currently head of the NLF negotiating team in Paris and "Foreign Minister" in the recently established provisional "Government." The Czechoslovak press agency report concluded: "The Czechoslovak Peace Committee provided everything required to make this meeting possible." Soon after his return from Czechoslovakia on 21 October 1967, Dellinger led the massive "peaceful demonstration" at the Pentagon.

Ninth Youth Festival, Sofia, Bulgaria, 28 July to 6 August 1968

The American delegation consisted of 85 persons, 11 of them members of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The conference was sponsored by the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students. North Vietnamese and NLF representatives were present at the Festival along with American deserters. W. E. B. DuBois Club members, through a minority of the delegation, effectively controlled it. Great propaganda attention was focused on the U. S. role in Vietnam. Willaim Cathbert, Chairman of the American Deserters Committee in Stockholm, announced that the Bulgarian government had financed the attendance of the American deserters who held several press conferences and appeared jointly with the members of the NLF. After the conference, and in response to a Soviet request, the delegation leader (also president of the DuBois Clubs) selected eight Black delegates to tour the USSR.

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Budapest Conference, September 1968 in Vietnam War.

Twenty-eight Americans opposed to the war in Vietnam travelled to Hungary to meet with representatives of North Vietnam and the NLF to discuss strategy on the U.S. campuses. This meeting was arranged by David T. Dellinger, head of the National Mobilization Committee. Vernon Grizzard, former national vice-president of the SDS/USA and one of the participants, stated that this meeting centered on the Paris peace talks, on prospects of further student unrest, and on furthering unrest among U.S. military personnel. Grizzard stated that the Vietnamese gave no direction for activities in the U.S., but that they were pleased and interested in "our" plans.

... representatives of ...
 ... youth ...
 ... Party of Canada (CPC) and the CPUSA worked closely ...
 ... to North Vietnam and the ...
 ... to Latin America. The ... however, ...
 ... to include all aspects of imperialism, ...
 ... to be a part of ...
 ... the Soviet Union concluded ...
 ... to support this conference.

SENSITIVE

Western Hemispheric Conference Against the Vietnam War,
Montreal, 28 November - 1 December 1968

This conference was first proposed by the CPUSA at a secret meeting of Western Hemisphere Communist parties during the Consulative Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties in Budapest, Hungary, 26 February - 5 March 1968. It was decided at this time to hold the conference during October when it would have the greatest impact on the 1968 U.S. elections. It was also suggested at this meeting that each country send 10 - 20 delegates, except the United States and Canada, which would be expected to send 500 - 1,000 delegates. Gus Hall, chairman of the CPUSA, stated that delegations should include representatives of anti-imperialist groups such as pacifists, church groups, and youth and trade union groups. Throughout the summer of 1968 the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) and the CPUSA worked closely together to set up the conference. A dispute arose when the CPC wanted to limit its scope to questions of Vietnam and the danger of U.S. imperialism to Latin America. The CPUSA, however, wanted to broaden its scope to include all aspects of imperialism, including its implications in U.S. domestic developments. These two positions continued to be a point of disagreement throughout the conference. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union contributed a substantial amount of funds to support this conference.

The conference was held at the Sheraton Hotel in Montreal, Quebec, Canada, from November 28 to December 1, 1968. It was the largest anti-war demonstration since the 1967 New York anti-war march. The conference was a success in that it brought together a large number of anti-war groups from across the Western Hemisphere and provided a platform for their views on the Vietnam War and U.S. imperialism. The conference was a significant event in the anti-war movement and helped to build a sense of solidarity among anti-war activists from different countries.

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Stockholm Conference on Vietnam Emergency Action, 16-19
May 1969

The conference was planned and requested jointly by the NLF and DRV delegations to the Paris Peace Conference. Assisting in the coordinating and setting up of the conference was the Swedish International Liaison Committee (ILC). Among the leaders of the ILC are Carl H. Hermansson, chairman of the Swedish Communist party, and Dr. John Takman, Communist head of the Swedish Peace Committee. The ILC has been partially funded by the World Peace Council.

Approximately 350-400 individuals attended from 52 nations. The primary purpose of the conference was to promote acceptance of the NLF/DRV Ten Point Peace Plan, proposed at the Paris peace talks among the world intellectual community. The NLF and the DRV reportedly hoped thereby to use the influence of these intellectuals in their respective countries to develop world opinion in support of their proposed solution to the war.

The head of the NLF delegation in Paris, Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, indicated privately during the conference that Hanoi was considering having prominent U.S. Black militants, particularly those opposed to the war, visit Hanoi some time in the next four or five months. Both the NLF and the DRV delegations showed considerable concern over the deteriorating anti-war movement in the U.S. They indicated that without public opinion in the U.S. calling for American troop withdrawal, their efforts to achieve victory would be handicapped. They urged those attending the conference, particularly those from the U. S. to revitalize the deteriorating anti-war sentiment.

Besides representatives from the NLF and the DRV, there were delegations to the conference from some other Bloc countries (GDR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the USSR).

The American delegation consisted of about 25 individuals representing at least eleven organizations. Two Americans addressed the conference. Professor John B. Nielands, of the University of California at Berkeley, spoke critically on U.S. "Chemical Warfare in Vietnam," and Professor Franz Schurman gave a speech on "The Nixon Administration and the Vietnam War." American

Intellectuals in attendance included Anatol Rapaport, Noam Chomsky, and Gabriel Kolko. American organizations represented included the American Friends Service Committee, the National Lawyers' Guild, Women Strike for Peace, Resist, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, and the War Resisters' League.

Government... the "Lawyers Committee on American Policy toward Vietnam" (LCAPV). Among its leaders are William L. Garrison and Carey McWilliams, who have been cited numerous times by the House Committee on Un-American Activities for involvement in Communist fronts. Also on the LCAPV Committee are well-known writers and editors such as James H. Callaghan and Sidney Wright. The new-law delegates representing the LCAPV worked closely with the SNV and NIE delegations, coordinating the proceedings and drafting the resolutions of the association. The LCAPV continues its activities. Recently it has published a "Five-Point Program to End the War in Vietnam" which it presented to the Joint (10-18 May 1969) Strategic Conference on Vietnam.

International Conference of Lawyers for Vietnam, Grenoble,
France, July 1968

This conference was sponsored by the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL), the international Communist front in the legal and parliamentary field. Closely cooperating with IADL has been a U.S. organization called the "Lawyers Committee on American Policy toward Vietnam" (LCAPV). Among its leaders are William L. Standard and Carey McWilliams, who have been cited numerous times by the House Committee on Un-American Activities for involvement in Communist fronts. Also on the Lawyers Committee are well-known professors Richard Falk, Hans Morgenthau, and Quincy Wright. The five-man delegation representing the LCAPV worked closely with the DRV and NLF delegations, dominating the proceedings and drafting the meeting's final resolution. The LCAPV continues its activities, recently having published a "Five-Point Program to End the War in Vietnam" which it presented to the latest (16-18 May 1969) Stockholm Conference on Vietnam.

Walter Dill Scott, Professor, University of California, Berkeley

William E. Fletcher, Writer, Minister of Information, United
Proletarian Party

Richard Glaser, Editor of Radical Lawyer

Kenneth Clark, Lawyer, National Lawyers Guild

John F. Kennedy, International Secretary, Socialist Non-Violent
Coordinating Committee

Ruth C. Kelly, Member of the Executive Committee,
International League for Human Rights

Fred C. ... Editorial Staff, ...

Nicholas ... American ...

Anti-War Conferences in Japan, August 1968

In August 1968 several leftist protest organizations in Japan sponsored conferences attended by American citizens representing a broad spectrum of "New Left" groups. Sponsoring organizations differed with the conference involved but included front groups of the Japan Socialist Party (JSP) and the Japan Communist Party (JCP). American groups represented at the JSP conference included the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Students for a Democratic Society, Women Strike for Peace, the Socialist Workers Party, American Friends Service Committee, and the Quaker Action Group. Americans attending the JCP conferences included CPUSA members and sympathizers, representing such organizations as the Tri-Continental Information Center, the Marx-Lenin Institute, and the Concerned Citizens' Society. The following list of Americans who attended the Kyoto conference shows the variety of groups they represented:

Richard Balzer, Student, Yale University

Brad Cleaveland, Professor, University of California, Berkeley

Eldridge Cleaver, Writer, Minister of Information, Black Panther Party

Kathleen Cleaver, Wife of Eldridge Cleaver

Kenneth Cloke, Lawyer, National Lawyers' Guild

Jim Forman, International Secretary, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

Ruth Gage-Colby, Women Strike for Peace, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Fred Gardner, Editorial Staff, Ramparts

Nicola Geiger, American Friends Service Committee, Quaker Action Group

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SENSITIVE

Survey Conducted on 1/14/68, 4 - 17 February 1968

**Walton Geiger, American Friends Service Committee,
Quaker Action Group**

**Todd Gitlin, Former Chairman, Students for a Democratic
Society**

**Fred Halstead, Presidential Candidate, Socialist Workers
Party**

**Henry Hurlburt, Independent Activist in Peace Movement,
San Francisco Area**

**David Lang, Student, University of California, Los Angeles,
Correspondent, Liberation News Service, Student
Communication Network**

Victor Lippit, Student, Yale University

Raymond Mungo, Liberation News Service

Barbara Reynolds, Hiroshima Friendship Center

Jeofrey Sharlet, Editor, "Vietnam GI" - Monthly Publication

Barry Sheppard, Editor, "The Militant"

Gary Snyder, Poet, Resident of Kyoto City

**Donald P. Stone, Deputy Chairman, Student Non-Violent
Coordinating Committee**

**Walter Teague, Chairman, U.S. Committee to Aid National
Liberation Front of South Vietnam**

**John Wilson, Chairman, National Black Anti-War, Anti-
Draft Union.**

Havana Cultural Congress, 4 - 11 January 1968

Five hundred writers, scientists, performers, artists, journalists, and educators from 70 countries, including about 50 Americans, attended this conference. The final declaration of the congress proclaimed that armed struggle was the only road open to the underdeveloped countries of the world seeking economic development and that "North American imperialism is today the bloodstained representative of oppression, misery, economic backwardness and cultural genocide."

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was well represented. SNCC leaders contended that the conference would be important in the development of the Black movement in the United States.

Other American delegates included David Dellinger, Tom Hayden (co-founder of SDS), Robert Scheer of Ramparts, and Linus Pauling.

~~Confidential~~

SPECIAL REPORT

ATTACHMENT "B"

MOSCOW, PEKING, HANOI AND HAVANA PROPAGANDA
ON REVOLUTIONARY PROTEST MOVEMENTS
IN THE UNITED STATES

27 June 1969

~~Confidential~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Attachment B

**MOSCOW, PEKING, HANOI, AND HAVANA PROPAGANDA ON
ON REVOLUTIONARY PROTEST MOVEMENTS**

**MOSCOW, PEKING, HANOI, AND HAVANA PROPAGANDA
ON REVOLUTIONARY PROTEST MOVEMENTS
Introduction IN THE UNITED STATES**

The official radio and newspaper propaganda of Communist countries are captured and for the Contents of revolutionary protest movements. Direct statements of the movements as

	<u>Page</u>
Introduction	
Soviet Union	1 - 5
Communist China	6 - 7
North Vietnam	8 - 9
Cuba	10 - 12

This report is based on the propaganda of Moscow, Peking, Hanoi, and Havana. The most relevant material is included for this study of revolutionary protest movements in the United States.

Selected examples of Government and FBI coverage of this propaganda are also included as a guide to the propaganda.

The Soviet Union

MOSCOW, PEKING, HANOI, AND HAVANA PROPAGANDA
ON REVOLUTIONARY PROTEST MOVEMENTS
IN THE UNITED STATES

Introduction

The official radio and press media of Communist countries are cautious and for the most part unspecific in their treatment of radical protest movements in the United States. Shunning direct statements of support, they convey their view of such movements as a rule in reportorial coverage of events deemed exploitable in the framework of each Communist regime's approach to revolutionary strategy and relations with the United States.

This report will focus on the propaganda of Moscow, Peking, Hanoi, and Havana, the most relevant of the media sources for this study on revolutionary protest movements in the United States.

Selected examples of documentary FBIS coverage of this propaganda are assembled by country as an appendix to this attachment.

The Soviet Union

Soviet propaganda in the future will probably be guided primarily by the 17 June 1969 declaration of the conference of Communist parties. The declaration sets forth the U. S. as the main enemy, and views favorably the opposition of radical U. S. youth and students to the Vietnam war, the draft, racism, and "monopoly control of universities." It expresses strong support for "the struggle of the Negro population of the U. S. for their rights." It urges Communist parties to devote considerable attention to work among students. The CPUSA has enthusiastically endorsed this line. Until the fall of 1968 when the Soviets tried to formulate a more positive approach to the youth movement, Soviet propaganda sought to explain all U. S. protest and unrest in classical Communist terms, and avoided giving publicity to extremist groups. The Soviets were noticeably concerned over the threat of contagion from undisciplined Western youth movements and over the disruptive impact of such groups on orthodox Communist parties.

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

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

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

The student role in large-scale disturbances in Europe in early 1968, especially in the events of May in Paris, forced the

issue in Moscow of what policy to adopt toward the movement beyond the general sympathy that had always been expressed on the subject of the alienation of youth in the West. The response came in the form of an article in Pravda in May 1968 by commentator Yury Zhukov, who gave a detailed critique of Marcuse's theories and castigated his young followers, including Cohn-Bendit, as "werewolves." Foreign policy considerations, especially the interests of the French Communist party, seem to have largely determined this negative reaction.

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

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

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

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an alliance with the working class--"a more mighty revolutionary force in capitalist society."

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

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

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

The main document approved by the conference of Communist parties on 17 June 1969 incorporated favorable descriptions of the actions of young American radical elements in its description of the many forces round the world engaged in what the Communists call the struggle against imperialism. The presentation is designed first of all to serve as proof of a basic premise of the conference, that the United States Government is the main enemy of all anti-imperialist forces at home as well as throughout the world, and the universal aggressor against which all forms of struggle should be employed:

"Moreover, the depth of the crisis in the capitalist world is also strikingly revealed by the advance of the mass struggle in the United States itself, that main pillar of world imperialism. A wave of rebellions against racial discrimination, poverty, starvation and police brutality has swept the Negro ghettos"

"Young people, students in particular, black and white, resolutely use various means to oppose the Vietnam war, military conscription, racism, and monopoly control of universities. Reaction replies to this with the assassination of public figures, mounting repression and massive violence."

In the third section of the document, which summarizes the "calls to action" approved by the participating Communist parties, the conference calls, as a part of the general anti-imperialist struggle, for solidarity and support, through protest movements around the world, against

". . . the most ignominious phenomenon of our time, the barbarous persecution of the 25 million Negroes in the USA. . . ."

The so-called "Peace Appeal," unanimously approved by the participating parties at the June Moscow conference equates anti-war manifestations in the United States with the armed attack on our forces in Vietnam, as laudable parts of the kind of "struggle for peace" supported and carried out by all Communist parties:

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"The struggle for peace comprises both the victorious battles fought by the Vietnamese patriots in the jungles of South Vietnam and the anti-war manifestations in Europe and America. The cause of peace is also served by the actions of the working class against . . . monopolies, by . . . Latin American peoples. . . , by anticolonial movements in . . . Asia and Africa, by the struggle of the Negro population of the United States for their rights. . . ."

The Soviet view of these forces in the United States was well expressed at the June conference by L. I. Brezhnev, speaking in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

"Comrades, one of the decisive sectors of the anti-imperialist struggle naturally runs through the capitalist countries themselves. The blows which the revolutionary forces are dealing imperialism in its very citadels are highly important for the whole of the world development. The 1960's have introduced many new elements in this front of struggle as well.

". . . explosions are becoming ever more frequent everywhere, including the United States, where the most acute social contradictions, the struggle against the war in Vietnam and the fight for Negro civil rights are tangled in a tight knot. It is a long time since imperialism has been confronted with such violent forms of social protest and with general democratic action of the present scale and pitch. . . ."

"It is natural that the fraternal parties now devote considerable attention to work among the young people. It is a fact after all that the rising generation in the capitalist countries, including the students, is in revolutionary ferment. Young people are actively coming out in opposition to imperialist wars, to the militarization of bourgeois society, and to the attempts of the bourgeoisie to curtail the working people's democratic rights."

Communist China

Revolution or people's war in any country is the business of the masses in that country and should be carried out primarily by their own efforts; there is no other way.

-- Lin Piao, "Long Live the Victory
of People's War,"
2 September 1965

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

Peking's exploitation of American student unrest, however, indicates that the Chinese view the subject as a target of opportunity through which they can discredit the U.S. image world-wide. Their propaganda portrays student activities as an example of the "unending troubles which have brought the U.S. to the verge of collapse" and "progressive forces struggling against the capitalist system." Lin Piao has stated that, "We firmly support the proletariat, the students and youth and masses of the Black People of the United States in their just struggle against the U.S. ruling clique."

Chinese Communist propaganda seldom refers to individual U.S. groups, the single notable exception being the Maoist-oriented Progressive Labor Party, several articles and statements of which have been publicized by NCNA this year. Apart from the

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general objective of simply blackening the U. S. , the fact that some of these students are self-styled "Maoists" probably increases Peking's incentive to lend verbal support to such "progressive elements."

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

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

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

North Vietnam ... to the American people on its first anniversary ...
...
... Vietnamese Communist media emphasize anti-war attitudes among the American people and frequently quote anti-war statements by members of Congress and other prominent U.S. personalities, but have given relatively little publicity to anti-war demonstrations. During 1967 and 1968, Hanoi and Liberation Front media publicized South and North Vietnamese "people's committees" for solidarity with "progressive" American groups and individuals and aired messages of greetings both to "the American people" and to specific U.S. groups. The only message of this kind during 1969, however, has been an appeal to the SDS from the "South Vietnam Liberation Students' Union" in March for support in the campaign for the nullification of sentences meted out to Buddhists. Normally Hanoi ignores SDS activities and student unrest. Both Hanoi and Liberation Front media tend to lump all protest elements in a single category, the "progressive people" of the United States, appealing to them for continued support and crediting them, along with the peoples of socialist countries, with contributing to victories in Vietnam.

In October 1967 the establishment of a "South Vietnam People's Committee for Solidarity with the American People" (CSAP) was announced. Its counterpart in the North was founded almost a year later. A communique on the formation of the CSAP said its objectives were to promote friendship and to "unite and coordinate with the American people in the struggle for peace, justice, freedom, democracy, and civil rights, and in demanding that the U.S. Government put an end to its aggressive war in Vietnam." One of the committee's tasks was said to be the establishment of contact with all "progressive" organizations and individuals in the "American people's struggle."

On 15 November 1967 the CSAP addressed a letter to American soldiers in South Vietnam which urged them to refuse to fight and stated that the committee would help any serviceman find his way home or to any other place. The letter noted that the committee had chapters in South Vietnamese cities. In September 1968 the CSAP sent a letter to the National Mobilization Committee extending thanks to "progressive" American people for their activities at the Chicago Democratic convention.

A CSAP letter to the American people on its first anniversary in 1968 referred to "friendly ties and close solidarity" between the two peoples in the common struggle for peace, justice, freedom, democracy, and civil rights and an end to the war in Vietnam. It cited conferences held to promote this goal in Bratislava, Paris, Stockholm, Sofia, Budapest, "and so forth." The letter extended greetings and gratitude to anti-war organizations of Americans living in France, Great Britain, and Cuba and to various peace organizations around the world who were aiding American draft resisters and deserters.

The counterpart committee in North Vietnam (DRV) was formulated on 10 July 1968 with Professor Hoang Minh Giam, the DRV Minister of Culture, as its president. While the statement on the formation of the committee accented the building of friendship as its goal and made no mention of coordination in anti-war activities, Giam referred at the formation ceremony to "coordinating struggles and supporting each other."

There are also infrequent expressions of support for the "struggles" of the American Black people. On 17 August 1968, for example, the Vietnam Asia-Africa Solidarity Committee held a meeting marking the "day of international solidarity with the Afro-American people."

DRV Premier Pham Van Dong, in an interview granted the Mexican publication Siempre on 30 March 1968, was asked for his views on U.S. recruitment of citizens of Mexican descent, Puerto Ricans, and Negroes for the war in Vietnam. He replied that it was lamentable that they were forced to fight in Vietnam and added: "The NFLSV is seeking a way to make those people understand the essence of this struggle and the just stand that should be adopted."

In past years, the Government of the DRV has expressed its solidarity with the struggle of the American Black people. It has repeatedly stated that the Negroes in the United States are being oppressed and that the American people should support the struggle of the Negroes for freedom and equality. The DRV has also expressed its solidarity with the struggle of the American Black people for freedom and equality.

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Cuba

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

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

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

In past comment eulogizing Che Guevara, the ubiquitous influence of his "example" has been emphasized in general terms.

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Last October, marking the first anniversary of Guevara's death, Havana media cited his impact as a "political catalyst" in much of the world, specifically including the United States, and boasted that "never in history have the revolutionary concepts of a leader of oppressed peoples spread so widely and so rapidly."

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

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

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

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

Cuban media have yet to acknowledge reports that Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver is in Havana, nor have they taken cognizance of allegations that Black Panthers may have been involved in the diversions of U. S. airliners to Havana.