

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

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

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: 3/6/68

On February 26, 1968, the Chicago Office received in the mail drop box maintained in the name of MILTON ADAMS, Box 4367, Chicago, Illinois 60680, for CG 5824-S\*, an air mail communication from the Brazilian Communist Party (BCP). The communication bore the return address "Laboratorios Silveira De Araujo, Departamento De Pesquisas, Rua Rocna, 420 - Rio de Janeiro - Guanabara - Brasil." The postmark was illegible.

The contents of this communication consisted of a copy of "Voz Operaria," #36, February 1, 1968, the monthly publication of the BCP, and two pamphlets entitled, "Nota Politica da Comissao Executiva" and "Estatutos do Partido Comunista Brasileiro."

Chicago also received on February 26, 1968, in a mail drop box maintained in the name of N. HANSEL, Box 7363, Chicago, Illinois, 60680, for CG 5824-S\*, an air mail communication from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG). This communication bore the postmark Berlin, February 20, 1968. The following name and address were set forth on the envelope: "Abs. P. M. Schulz, DDR - 102 Berlin (remaining portion illegible).

The contents of this communication consisted of two 53-page booklets from the Information Service of the SUPG dated January, 1968, Berlin, concerning the Fourth Session of the Central Committee of the SUPG on January 29 and 30, 1968.

If the Bureau should desire a copy of this booklet, the Chicago Office will be in a position to obtain one.

Enclosed for the Bureau are two positive photostat copies each and for New York one positive photostat copy each of the three publications from the BCP.

- 100-428091-100
- 2-Bureau (Enc. 6) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 3) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

RAV:MDW  
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100-428091-6788

ENCLOSURE REC 55

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RE: SOLO  
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Bufile 100-428091  
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Transmitted via CGlet to Bureau 3/6/68

100 428091-6788

# VOZ OPERÁRIA

Número XXXVI - Fevereiro de 1968 NCr. \$ 0,10

ORGÃO CENTRAL  
DO  
PARTIDO COMUNISTA  
BRASILEIRO

## O Aniversário Do Camarada Prestes

O três de janeiro deste ano teve uma significação toda especial para os trabalhadores brasileiros. Ele assinalou a passagem do 70º aniversário do camarada Luiz Carlos Prestes, Secretário Geral de nosso Partido.

Filho querido de nosso povo, o camarada Prestes vê passar o seu septuagésimo aniversário cercado pelo carinho, pelo respeito e admiração de milhões, no Brasil e no exterior. Revolucionário proletário, patriota e internacionalista consciente, o camarada Prestes conquistou com o seu exemplo um merecido lugar de destaque no movimento revolucionário mundial.

Por tudo isso, a passagem do 70º aniversário do camarada Prestes foi marcado por manifestações as mais diversas — alvorada com fogos de artifício, pimentos, bandeirolas, faixas, distribuição de folhetos alusivos à data, pequenas reuniões clandestinas — tanto nos grandes centros urbanos como em pequenas cidades do interior.

Nas difíceis condições imperantes no país, sob o terror da ditadura militar, o nosso povo enfrentou dificuldades e riscos para manifestar, mais uma vez, todo o seu carinho por quem dedicou e dedica sua vida à causa da revolução brasileira, à causa do socialismo e da paz.

Mesmo a imprensa burguesa não teve por onde fugir ao acontecimento. Jornais de vários Estados registraram não só o fato em si, mas foram obrigados a tomar conhecimento das manifestações de júbilo de nosso povo, como se viu, por exemplo, na imprensa paulista.

No exterior, jornais de numerosos países, particularmente os órgãos centrais dos Partidos Comunistas Irmãos, como *Pravda*, *L'Humanité* e *L'Unità*, registraram com destaque o acontecimento, reafirmando sua amizade ao camarada Prestes e aos comunistas brasileiros. De dezenas de países, o Secretário Geral de nosso Partido recebeu mensagens de felicitações, entre as quais destacamos a enviada pelo Comitê Central do Partido Comunista da União Soviética.

## Levar à Prática as Resoluções do VI Congresso

100-428091-6788

A realização do VI Congresso foi uma importante vitória do nosso Partido. A reunião do órgão dirigente supremo dos comunistas brasileiros se constituiu no coroamento de um período de trabalho árduo e abnegado. Tiveram que ser superadas as graves conseqüências da derrota sofrida em 1964. Golpeado pela reação, atingido internamente pela ação desagregadora do grupo divisionista e atuando em duras condições de clandestinidade e perseguição policial, o Partido encontrou forças para recompor, defender e reativar suas organizações, ao mesmo tempo que realizava as assembleias e conferências do Congresso. De baixo a cima, debateu as Teses apresentadas pelo Comitê Central, tomou resoluções a respeito, elegeu órgãos dirigentes, escolheu delegados. Essa discussão democrática também se realizou, apesar das extremas dificuldades da situação, através da imprensa partidária. E representou o esforço coletivo dos comunistas brasileiros no sentido de darem um balanço crítico e autocrítico da sua atividade desde o V Congresso e de analisarem a situação do país, traçando a orientação e as tarefas fundamentais decorrentes desse balanço e dessa análise. O VI Congresso foi o coroamento vitorioso desse período que pôs à prova a consciência revolucionária, a capacidade política, a combatividade e a abnegação dos comunistas brasileiros.

Mas o VI Congresso também deve significar o marco de uma nova fase na vida do Partido. Nele foram tomadas importantes resoluções. Devemos ter em mente que, após o golpe militar, reacionário e entreguista, de abril de 1964, colocaram-se diante do Partido, de maneira aguda, questões decisivas no terreno político, ideológico e orgânico. E essas questões, que estiveram no centro das preocupações dos militantes durante o processo de realização do VI Congresso, foram enfrentadas nos documentos por ele aprovados, especialmente na Resolução Política.

É certo que houve uma reafirmação das linhas essenciais da orientação geral traçada no V Congresso. Reconheceu-se que o Partido havia seguido um caminho acertado, na viragem iniciada em 1958, quando procurou sair do atoleiro dogmático e sectário e libertar-se dos entraves do sistema do culto à personalidade. E os resultados de nossa atividade prática, apesar das deficiências e erros, comprovaram essa justeza. Foi graças a esse esforço autocrítico, que se concretizou no empenho em aplicar a linha do V Congresso, que o Partido pôde progredir no sentido de sua construção, fortalecendo-se ideologicamente, crescendo em efetivos, aprofundando suas raízes na sociedade brasileira, ampliando sua participação e sua influência na vida política do país. Por isso mesmo, não ficou isolado em abril de 1964 e pôde arrostar os golpes da reação e reajustar suas atividades às novas condições, sem abater-se com a derrota, nem cair no desespero, nem deixar-se levar a aventuras. Daí o repúdio às tentativas daqueles que, mal ocultando suas intenções atrás de um revolucionarismo de palavras, procuraram impôr a volta às mesmas concepções estranhas ao marxismo que tanto mal nos causaram no passado.

Entretanto, o VI Congresso não foi uma simples confirmação do V Congresso. E nem poderia ter sido. O golpe de estado de 1964 trouxe uma profunda modificação na vida política brasileira. Interrompeu-se, com ele, o processo democrático que até então se desenvolvia. Implantou-se um novo regime, de conteúdo entreguista, antidemocrático e an-

tioperário. Diante dessa mudança na situação do país, nossa orientação tática não podia continuar a mesma. São outras, portanto, hoje, nossas tarefas táticas. Além disso, a própria experiência na aplicação da linha do V Congresso e o esforço realizado para aprofundar o conhecimento da situação econômica e social do Brasil levaram a que algumas questões de nossa orientação estratégica fossem mais precisadas e definidas. Podemos nos referir, como exemplos, à formulação da contradição fundamental da sociedade brasileira e à determinação dos aliados da classe operária na presente etapa: o campesinato e a pequena burguesia urbana. Também adquire valor básico, para a fundamentação de nossa linha política e, em particular, para a justa compreensão de nossas tarefas como destacamento do movimento comunista mundial, a análise da evolução da situação internacional feita pelo VI Congresso. E, finalmente, desejamos lembrar as conclusões, que a Resolução Política apresenta, da autocrítica de nossa atividade, e os caminhos, que ela indica, para o desenvolvimento da luta ideológica e para a construção de um forte e numeroso partido da classe operária, dirigente de grandes massas — condição essencial para o avanço do processo revolucionário.

Vemos, assim, que o VI Congresso elaborou uma orientação política e determinou tarefas que se diferenciam, sob diversos aspectos, da orientação e das tarefas resultantes do V Congresso. Da mesma maneira, e embora tenha aprovado a atividade do antigo Comitê Central, o VI Congresso não se prendeu às Resoluções de maio de 1965 e de junho de 1966. E nem se limitou a reproduzir a orientação geral das "Teses para discussão". A verdade é que seus documentos, fruto da discussão viva e muitas vezes acalorada dos delegados e demais participantes do Congresso, refletem o resultado do confronto de idéias e opiniões que se realizou democraticamente no conjunto das organizações do Partido. Foi possível, por isso mesmo, dar importantes passos para a solução dos problemas políticos, ideológicos e orgânicos que estiveram no centro das preocupações dos militantes após o golpe de 1964.

Seria um grave erro considerar o VI Congresso de maneira rotineira e burocrática. É necessário, ao contrário, atender para a importância particular de suas Resoluções. E levar na devida conta o que de novo ele incorporou aos conhecimentos do Partido sobre a realidade brasileira, sobre nossas tarefas revolucionárias, sobre as exigências que a situação apresenta para se colocar o Partido à altura dessas tarefas. Daí a necessidade imediata de se organizar, em todos os níveis, o estudo dos documentos aprovados, a fim de que o Partido adquira a maior clareza sobre a nova linha política, compreenda com nitidez o que é preciso fazer, ao mesmo tempo — e com essa compreensão — torna-se indispensável que a atividade do Partido, em todas as frentes, passe a ser planejada e desenvolvida de acordo com as Resoluções do VI Congresso. Noutras palavras: trata-se de levar à prática essas Resoluções. Só assim o VI Congresso, assinalando o coroamento vitorioso de um período em que o Partido soube vencer grandes dificuldades, marcará também o início de uma nova fase, em que, o Partido, saberá avançar com firmeza pelos caminhos que conduzirão a classe operária e todo o nosso povo à vitória na luta contra a ditadura, o imperialismo e seus agentes e aliados, pela democracia, a libertação nacional e o socialismo.

## Resolução Política do VI Congresso

# As Transformações Recentes da Sociedade Brasileira e Suas Consequências para o Movimento Revolucionário

### (Esquema Para Palestra)

1 — É importante a caracterização geral do Brasil como um país agrário-industrial, em processo de desenvolvimento capitalista.

— O desenvolvimento tem curso há várias décadas, mas quinze anos atrás ainda era ignorado ou contestado pelos estudiosos e interessados no assunto, inclusive os comunistas.

— Permaneceu a visão de que éramos um país essencialmente agrário, atrasado, semi ou totalmente estagnado e conformado ao estatuto colonial.

— Essas idéias inadequadas naturalmente se refletiram e causaram danos à atuação política do Partido e de outras correntes democráticas.

2 — Hoje, há certa concordância próxima da unanimidade, quanto ao vulto considerável do desenvolvimento capitalista verificado no país.

— Essa certeza, entretanto, é apenas ponto de partida para grande número de controvérsias e dúvidas:

a) — sobre a proporção em que esse desenvolvimento alterou a situação interna e externa do país;

b) — quanto aos índices básicos de consumo por habitante;

c) — sobre quem se sacrificou e quem se beneficiou para que esse desenvolvimento fosse possível;

d) — sobre as peculiaridades concretas do tipo de desenvolvimento ocorrido e dos obstáculos principais que se opõem ao seu prosseguimento.

— A resposta a cada uma dessas questões interfere no comportamento das diversas forças sociais e políticas e tem por isso mesmo extraordinária importância na elaboração da política do Partido e do proletariado.

— Com a Resolução do VI Congresso, os comunistas assumem uma posição própria na solução desses problemas teóricos, particularmente em relação às demais correntes de pensamento democrático, além de adotarem opiniões que, em vários aspectos, são inovadoras em relação aos documentos anteriores do próprio Partido.

### A IMPORTÂNCIA DO DESENVOLVIMENTO

3 — A importância do desenvolvimento capitalista ocorrido no Brasil ressalta-se pela comparação internacional.

— Entre os países que, no início do século, constituíram o mundo colonial e dependente, o Brasil, com exceção da Austrália e do Canadá, é o país de extenso território e população numerosa que conseguiu os índices mais acelerados e significativos de desenvolvimento econômico.

— A industrialização foi o principal elemento impulsionador do desenvolvimento capitalista.

a) — a produção industrial brasileira está hoje em 1º lugar na América Latina — até a década de 50 vinha em 3º lugar, depois do

México e da Argentina;

b) — o valor da produção industrial multiplicou-se por quatro, entre 1948 a 1965;

c) — a indústria de bens de consumo abastece todo o mercado interno;

d) — a indústria de bens de produção atende a dois terços das necessidades do país;

e) — o produto interno bruto cresceu em 260%, enquanto a população crescia de 60%;

f) — formou-se um mercado interno de amplitude nacional, para o qual se transferiu o centro dinâmico da economia, ocupado antes pelo mercado imperialista.

— O reconhecimento da importância desse desenvolvimento não implica em ignorar suas carências.

a) — quanto aos níveis de produção e de consumo por habitante, a posição do Brasil pouco se altera em relação às outras nações;

b) — o desenvolvimento não criou o número de empregos necessários à absorção do número crescente de jovens que se apresentam no mercado de trabalho;

c) — aumentaram os contingentes de população miserável e marginalizada que vive no campo e à beira dos centros urbanos.

### AS CAUSAS DO DESENVOLVIMENTO

4 — A explicação das causas do desenvolvimento é relevante para pesar a sua permanência ou não e, conseqüentemente, as possibilidades de sua evolução futura.

— A tese mais em voga, a esse respeito, é a que atribui o desenvolvimento principalmente, senão exclusivamente, a fatores externos (Celo Furtado, CEPAL), tais como guerras, crises do mercado imperialista, etc., sem explicar entretanto porque outros países, sobre os quais atuaram os mesmos fatores, não se desenvolveram em medida comparável.

5 — A Resolução do VI Congresso, corrigindo também uma omissão dos demais documentos do Partido, a esse respeito, coloca a ênfase na expansão do crescimento urbano, no alargamento das áreas agrícolas e na penetração capitalista no campo, além dos estímulos decorrentes das situações críticas que enfrentaram o balanço de pagamentos e o comércio exterior do país.

### O TIPO DO DESENVOLVIMENTO

6 — A localização dos traços gerais do tipo de desenvolvimento havido é também fundamental para o equacionamento dos problemas que ele enfrenta.

— A Resolução, diferindo também ali dos documentos anteriores do Partido, afirma que o traço característico mais essencial do desenvolvimento brasileiro está no papel que nele coube ao capital imperialista e ao sistema latifundiário de exploração da terra.

— O peso relativo da presença dos monopólios imperialistas dimi-

uiu, graças à redução da importância relativa do comércio externo e ao crescimento do setor nacional — estatal e privado — na economia.

— Mas o desenvolvimento foi também apoiado em grandes investições de capital estrangeiro, levando a uma elevação considerável do poderio imperialista no país, em termos absolutos, e à implantação de novas formas de dominação imperialista.

— Quanto ao sistema latifundiário, ele foi submetido ao desgaste da penetração do capitalismo no campo e já perdeu para este o papel de força mais dinâmica da economia agrária, mas mantém sua posição de domínio sobre a grande maioria da terra e da população rural.

7 — Dessas características gerais decorrem os traços, contradições e nuances particulares do desenvolvimento.

— o papel do Estado como agente da acumulação capitalista cresceu governança, levando à criação de grandes empresas estatais e ao reforçamento dos meios tradicionais de ação econômica oficial indireta.

— o processo inflacionário foi largamente utilizado como meio auxiliar de acumulação capitalista.

— aguçaram-se ao extremo os desequilíbrios regionais, setoriais e sociais, resultando, particularmente, no maior atraso do Norte e do Nordeste em relação ao Centro-Sul, no retardamento da produção agrícola em face as necessidades criadas pelo desenvolvimento, na polarização acentuada da distribuição dos recursos criados pelo trabalho, dando um papel cada vez mais destacado aos reduzidos grupos monopolistas e diminuindo o poder aquisitivo real da grande massa da população trabalhadora.

— Manifestou-se a base instável e insegura desse tipo de desenvolvimento.

8 — A Resolução assume assim uma posição distinta e crítica em relação a diversas correntes de pensamento, que adotam critérios parciais ou unilaterais para definir o desenvolvimento brasileiro:

— os que acham que o capitalismo já se apossou de toda a economia (Caio Prado Júnior);

— os que acham estar o imperialismo no domínio total da base econômica (F. Henrique Cardoso);

— os que minimizam ou ignoram as deformações que a presença do imperialismo imprime ao sentido do desenvolvimento (Gilberto Paim).

### OS REFLEXOS SOCIAIS DO DESENVOLVIMENTO

9 — O Brasil, até a década de 30, era uma sociedade dominada por uma oligarquia de latifundiários. Apenas 1% da população participava da vida política. O desenvolvimento fez que surgissem em cena e elevassem a sua participação na vida social e política a bur-

guesia entreguista, a burguesia nacional, a pequena burguesia urbana e o proletariado.

— A burguesia entreguista surgiu e cresceu no setor da economia capitalista — indústria, comércio, bancos — vinculado ao imperialismo. Disputa com os latifundiários o papel de principal força de apoio interno do imperialismo no país.

— O setor nacional da burguesia se chocou com o imperialismo na luta pelo controle do mercado interno. Seu interesse pela ampliação do mercado leva-a a apoiar a luta pela reforma agrária. Liga-se assim ao movimento nacionalista e democrático.

— O desenvolvimento determinou a formação de uma pequena burguesia urbana numerosa e estatualmente nova. Surgiu nela um agrupamento ativo de trabalhadores — servidores públicos, bancários, técnicos e especialistas, etc. — que se aproxima da classe operária, por sua situação econômica, e tende por isso a assumir um comportamento favorável ao movimento democrático e libertador, embora se mantenha ligado à burguesia, principalmente por vínculos políticos e ideológicos. Essa mudança na composição e no comportamento da pequena burguesia urbana é de fundamental importância para a política de alianças do proletariado, que não tem mais diante de si, como no passado, uma camada constituída apenas de artesãos e pequenos produtores e profissionais autônomos, em constante oscilação política.

— O desenvolvimento resultou na criação de um proletariado numeroso e concentrado, que soma cerca de 8 milhões de trabalhadores, ou seja, mais de um terço da população economicamente ativa. O proletariado rural, com 5 milhões de trabalhadores, possui uma força de incentivo e aceleração do movimento democrático no campo. Os 3 milhões de operários urbanos, dos quais 1,6 milhões trabalham em fábricas, revelam uma estrutura concentrada e níveis de instrução e organização no trabalho relativamente altos.

10 — Essas transformações na estrutura e na composição do proletariado refletem-se na conduta do movimento operário, cuja influência na vida nacional cresceu de modo significativo.

— O movimento sindical passou a desempenhar papel de relevo e de conseqüências na vida política, especialmente em virtude do combate à política de compressão dos salários aplicada pelo Estado brasileiro, sob pressão do imperialismo norte-americano e dos setores burgueses reacionários.

— O proletariado, através de suas organizações de classe, atuou como elemento importante de mobilização e união das correntes nacionalistas e democráticas, particularmente durante o período de ascensão democrática anterior ao golpe de abril de 1964.



# Levar Para o Local de Trabalho A Luta Contra o Arrôcho Salarial

MAURO BRITO

O Encontro Nacional de Dirigentes Sindicais, realizado em novembro na Guanabara, marcou o início da luta organizada dos trabalhadores contra a política salarial da ditadura.

O Encontro aglutinou dirigentes sindicais de todas as tendências, possibilitando assim um avanço no terreno da unidade. Suas resoluções tornam possível o início organizado e em escala mais ampla da luta dos trabalhadores contra a ditadura.

Entre suas resoluções, destacam-se as seguintes:

— organizar uma campanha nacional de assinaturas contra o arrôcho salarial, com início em 15 de dezembro de 1967 e término em 12 de abril de 1968.

— a realização de um plebiscito, nos locais de trabalho e nos sindicatos, sobre a política de arrôcho salarial da ditadura;

— realizar o III Encontro Nacional de Dirigentes Sindicais em São Paulo, com o encerramento a 1º de Maio, data internacional do proletariado;

— realizar no mês de maio próximo uma campanha nacional de sindicalização de trabalhadores urbanos e rurais, e de protesto contra as leis cercadoras das liberdades sindicais.

Após o Encontro Nacional, agravou-se ainda mais a situação das massas trabalhadoras. Até os primeiros dias de janeiro o governo tomou as seguintes medidas: desvalorizou o cruzeiro em 18,5%, com a elevação da taxa do dólar; aumento do preço dos combustíveis em 20%, o que elevará automaticamente o dos fretes e transportes e, conseqüentemente, o das mercadorias; permitiu a elevação dos preços dos cigarros e refrigerantes; admitiu a liberação dos preços do açúcar

e anuncia a elevação também do preço da energia elétrica. Os governos estaduais e municipais majorarão os impostos.

Como a política de arrôcho salarial continua, permitindo reajustamentos exclusivamente em níveis inferiores aos de aumento do custo de vida, o salário real dos trabalhadores continua deteriorando-se agravando ainda mais as condições de existência de todos quantos vivem de salários e vencimentos.

Três meses após o Encontro Nacional pouco avançamos na luta contra a política salarial da ditadura. O movimento contra o arrôcho salarial está circunscrito à cúpula e à uma pequena vanguarda sindical. As resoluções do Encontro ainda são monopólio de uma minoria, não foram levadas ao conhecimento da grande massa dos trabalhadores. A coleta de assinaturas ainda se encontra em fase de preparação.

Apesar dessas debilidades, os dirigentes sindicais têm realizado algumas assembléias intencionais em São Paulo. O comparecimento ainda é restrito. E elementos de correntes políticas pequeno-burguesas, principalmente estudantes, que são solidários com a luta contra o arrôcho, pretendem impor ao movimento sindical formas de luta "radicais", não levando em conta que a luta contra o arrôcho apenas começa a dar seus primeiros passos e ainda não conta com o apoio ativo das grandes massas trabalhadoras.

Nós os comunistas, que procuramos imprimir à luta contra a política salarial do governo meios e formas consentâneas com o estágio atual, elevando as formas de luta de acordo com a mobilização e ativação das massas trabalhadoras, sentimos que a partir das direções

há a tendência a aplaudir algumas pequenas realizações, satisfazendo-nos com a simples movimentação da cúpula sindical.

Não entendemos ou não nos convencemos que a luta contra o arrôcho salarial interessa a milhões de trabalhadores. Esta reivindicação pode mobilizar os trabalhadores da indústria, transportes, comércio, bancários, servidores públicos civis e militares, assim como os trabalhadores do campo. São, assim, poderosas as forças interessadas na luta por melhores salários e contra a carestia. Se mobilizadas, são capazes de arrastar outras camadas do povo e de conquistar importantes vitórias contra a política da ditadura.

A luta contra o arrôcho salarial constitui-se, por isso mesmo, não só no fator de maior mobilização das massas trabalhadoras como no caminho que levará mais rápida e facilmente as grandes massas à luta contra o próprio regime imposto à Nação pelo golpe de abril.

No momento, levar à prática as tarefas do Encontro Nacional é um dever de todo revolucionário. A campanha de assinaturas contra a política salarial do governo, a campanha de sindicalização, o plebiscito, são tarefas que devem ser levadas para os locais de trabalho. A reativação dos Conselhos e Comissões Sindicais e a criação de novas são meios de tornar vitoriosas essas tarefas.

É nosso dever colocar na ordem do dia de nossas reuniões o controle da realização dessas tarefas, das tarefas aprovadas pelo Encontro Nacional, entre as quais se encontra a realização do III Encontro em São Paulo, coroando as comemorações do 1º de Maio.

## O VI Congresso Saúda o 50.º Aniversário Do P. C. da Argentina

O povo argentino participa com alegria e entusiasmo das comemorações do 50º aniversário de fundação do Partido Comunista da Argentina. Compartilhando dessa alegria e desse entusiasmo, o VI Congresso de nosso Partido aprovou por unanimidade a seguinte mensagem dirigida ao Comitê Central daquele Partido irmão:

"O Partido Comunista Brasileiro, ao encerrar o seu VI Congresso, aprovou unanimemente uma calorosa saudação ao Partido Comunista Argentino; pelo transcurso do cinqüentenário glorioso de sua existência.

Nosso Partido orgulha-se de ter mantido durante toda a sua vida as mais fraternais e sólidas relações com o Partido Comunista Argentino. Sua rica e valerosa experiência de luta continua, tenaz, em defesa dos interesses e direitos dos trabalhadores, pela democracia, a libertação nacional e o socialismo, tem sido fonte de inspiração para os comunistas brasileiros.

Os Partidos Comunistas Argentino e Brasileiro, unidos na luta pela conquista de objetivos comuns na América Latina e no Mundo, tem sido os melhores artífices da amizade contínua que liga os povos argentino e brasileiro.

Firmemente apoiado na combativa classe operária de seu país, da qual é fiel vanguarda, o PCA proporciona a todos os Partidos irmãos do Continente proveitosos e inestimáveis ensinamentos pela forma como conduz de maneira firme, permanente e conseqüente a luta pela organização e unidade do proletariado e do povo argentino, pela conquista de suas reivindicações imediatas e mais sentidas e de seus objetivos revolucionários maiores. Tem sido principalmente, um sólido, seguro e constante apoio a todos os partidos e correntes políticas que, na América Latina, travam a dura luta contra o inimigo comum — o imperialismo norte-americano e contra os seus inimigos internos. Ressalte-se, também, a importância de sua intransigente posição em defesa da unidade do movimento comunista internacional.

O Partido Comunista Brasileiro envia, assim, as mais afetuosas saudações dos comunistas brasileiros a todos os camaradas argentinos, ao Comitê Central do Partido Comunista Argentino, especialmente ao camarada Víctorio Codovilla, seu presidente, expressando nossa admiração e respeito pela brilhante trajetória de lutas trilhada no decorrer destes 50 anos.

Brasil, dezembro de 1967.



## MENSAGEM DO PCUS AO CAMARADA PRESTES.

A propósito da passagem do seu 70º aniversário, o camarada Prestes recebeu a seguinte mensagem do Comitê Central do Partido Comunista da União Soviética:

«Querido camarada Prestes:  
É com alegria que vos saudamos — verdadeiro filho do povo brasileiro, digno representante do movimento comunista e operário — pelo transcurso de vosso 70º aniversário natalício.

Os comunistas soviéticos muito bem vos conhecem, como lutador infatigável

pelos direitos democráticos e pelos interesses vitais da classe operária e de todos os trabalhadores brasileiros, pela amizade entre os povos soviético e brasileiro.

Desejamo-vos, querido camarada Prestes, muita saúde e êxito na luta pelo desenvolvimento social e econômico de sua Pátria, por um futuro radioso para o povo brasileiro, pelo triunfo dos ideais do marxismo-leninismo.

O Comitê Central do Partido Comunista da União Soviética.»

# do P. C. B. -- Mensagens Recebidas Pelo VI Congresso do P. C. B.

## DO PARTIDO COMUNISTA LIBANÊS

Queridos camaradas,  
Em nome dos comunistas e democratas do Líbano, enviamos-vos, e por vosso intermédio aos delegados ao VI Congresso de vosso glorioso Partido, assim como a todos os comunistas e progressistas do Brasil, nossa saudação calorosa.

Estamos seguros de que vosso Congresso exercerá um grande papel no reforçamento da luta do proletariado e do povo do Brasil pela libertação nacional e pelo socialismo, no reforçamento da unidade de todas as forças que se opõem ao imperialismo americano, à ditadura, e que lutam por um regime verdadeiramente democrático.

O Congresso de vosso Partido realiza-se num período particularmente grave, caracterizado pelo crescimento da agressividade do imperialismo americano, e de seus ataques frenéticos contra a liberdade e as conquistas dos povos que escolheram o caminho da libertação, do progresso e da paz, do heróico povo vietnamita, dos povos da América Latina e, ultimamente, no Oriente Médio, onde uma agressão perversa foi lançada por Israel sob instigação dos imperialistas americanos contra os povos árabes, com o objetivo de pôr abaixo os regimes progressistas na República Árabe Unida e na Síria. Uma tal situação exige, mais que nunca, o reforçamento da solidariedade e da coesão de todas as forças que lutam pela libertação nacional, pelo progresso, pelo socialismo e pela paz, contra o imperialismo americano e seus agentes.

Isto só pode ser de maneira urgente, a necessidade de aumentar os esforços tendentes a reforçar a unidade e a coesão do movimento comunista internacional, cuja vanguarda é o glorioso Partido Comunista da União Soviética, contra as manobras cisionistas da clique contrarrevolucionária de Mao Tsé-tung. E estamos seguros de que vosso Congresso trará uma contribuição importante para essa grande e nobre tarefa.

Viva o VI Congresso do Partido Comunista Brasileiro!

Viva a unidade do movimento comunista internacional!

Viva o Comunismo!

O Comitê Central do  
Partido Comunista Libanês

## DO PARTIDO COMUNISTA GREGO

Caros Camaradas!

Por ocasião do vosso VI Congresso, o Partido Comunista da Grécia vos envia, em nome de todos os comunistas gregos, suas calorosas saudações de combate e vos deseja novos êxitos em vossos trabalhos.

O PCG que, como vós, luta contra a ditadura militar fascista que se instaurou recentemente em nosso país abolindo todos os vestígios de democracia, pela restauração das liberdades, da democracia e pela paz, acompanha com admiração e emoção, o duro combate que empreende o glorioso Partido Comunista Brasileiro por uma frente popular, pela derrubada da ditadura, a instauração da democracia, pela paz e a felicidade do povo brasileiro.

Renovamos nossos votos para o êxito de vosso Congresso e desejamos-lhes caros camaradas, novos êxitos à direção das lutas do PCB, por um Brasil democrático, pela paz, pelo socialismo.

Fraternalmente,

O CC do Partido Comunista Grego

## DO PARTIDO COMUNISTA MEXICANO

Queridos Camaradas:  
Faz quatro meses, tivemos a honra de receber o delegado fraternal de seu Partido em nosso XV Congresso Nacional. A acolhida calorosa e entusiástica que tributamos ao seu representante é uma prova eloqüente da sincera amizade que têm os comunistas mexicanos pelo grande Partido Comunista Brasileiro.

A realização do seu VI Congresso nos permite a oportunidade de reiterar nossa manifestação de admiração e afeto pela vanguarda combatente do proletariado e do povo brasileiro, o que gostaríamos de fazer de viva voz, se não o impedissem as condições de severa clandestinidade que lhes são impostas pela tirania militar e que oprimem igualmente os operários, os camponeses, os estudantes, os intelectuais e todo o povo trabalhador.

Estamos certos de que a magna assembléia, que reúne o contingente mais destacado do proletariado brasileiro, eliminará com êxito o debate das importantes questões que deve elucidar. Nossa confiança se baseia no conhecimento da história de seu Partido, da sua grande experiência acumulada em longos anos de batalhas duras e da sua provada capacidade, demonstrada mesmo nas circunstâncias mais difíceis.

Estamos certos e que o Partido Comunista Brasileiro sairá mais unido, mais fortalecido do que nunca do seu VI Congresso; de que a linha elaborada por ele será um instrumento eficiente para orientar a luta do povo brasileiro no sentido de derrubar a ditadura que hoje o oprime; de que suas resoluções marcarão uma importante etapa, que aproximará o dia da definitiva libertação do proletariado e do povo brasileiro.

Estamos certos de que, na hora atual, quando o imperialismo lanque intensifica a chamada escalada na guerra no Vietnam, posto em perigo a paz mundial, quando aumenta suas provocações agressivas contra a revolução cubana e prepara outras contra a Ilha da Liberdade, o VI Congresso do PCB dará um novo impulso à luta solidária para com os heróicos povos irmãos.

Estamos certos, finalmente, de que depois de seu VI Congresso, o Partido Comunista Brasileiro desempenhará um papel ainda mais importante na luta por um só, potente e inderestrutível feixe dos comunistas do Continente e de todo o Movimento Comunista Internacional.

Ao expressar nossa saudação fraternal à direção do Partido Comunista Brasileiro e a todos os delegados que participam do VI Congresso, fazemos votos para que o êxito de seus trabalhos e posterior desenvolvimento de sua luta contra a tirania, pelo socialismo e pela paz mundial.

Viva o VI Congresso do Partido Comunista Brasileiro!

Viva a amizade entre os nossos dois Partidos!  
Viva a unidade do Movimento Comunista Internacional!

Proletários de todos os países, uni-vos!  
Pelo Comitê Central do  
Partido Comunista Mexicano

a) Arnolfo Martínez Verdugo  
1º Secretário

## DO PARTIDO DE ESQUERDA-COMUNISTA DA SUÉCIA

O Partido de Esquerda - Comunista da Suécia - deseja ao Partido Comunista Brasileiro e ao VI Congresso todos os êxitos na luta contra a ditadura militar e o imperialismo americano.

Com saudações socialistas,

A Direção do Partido de Esquerda -  
a) K. Kh. Khermant.

## DA LIGA DOS COMUNISTAS DE IUGOSLÁVIA

Ao Comitê Central do Partido Comunista Brasileiro.

Queridos camaradas,  
É com prazer que recebemos vossa carta de 21 de julho último, informando-nos da reunião do VI Congresso do Partido Comunista Brasileiro.

A Liga dos Comunistas de Iugoslávia acompanha com grande atenção e simpatia a atividade de vosso Partido, assim como a luta que realizais juntamente com outras forças democráticas e ant imperialistas pelos direitos da classe operária, pela emancipação social e nacional, pelas relações em igualdade de direitos e a colaboração internacional.

Alegramo-nos sinceramente com cada vitória e cada êxito alcançados pelos trabalhadores de vosso país, porque somos conscientes de que a luta que hoje realizam os comunistas do Brasil juntamente com as demais forças democráticas e progressistas faz parte integrante da luta da humanidade progressista contra o imperialismo, pela liberdade, a paz e o socialismo.

Solicitamos-vos, queridos camaradas, transmitir aos delegados no Congresso nossas saudações cordiais e nossos votos os mais calorosos de pleno sucesso de seus trabalhos.

Recabei nossa saudações de camaradas,  
O Comitê Central da Liga  
dos Comunistas de Iugoslávia

## DO PARTIDO COMUNISTA JORDANIANO

Caros Camaradas!

Com grande alegria recebemos a notícia da convocação do vosso VI Congresso, que adotará resoluções sobre o plano geral revolucionário de luta da classe operária e de todas as camadas oprimidas do povo brasileiro pela libertação nacional e o socialismo, e igualmente sobre os complexos problemas da luta de frente única de todas as forças que se opõem à ditadura, pelo estabelecimento de um regime democrático.

Conhecemos bem as duras condições de desigualdade em que se encontra atualmente o vosso Partido e a necessidade que daí decorre de esforços e sacrifícios. E na convocação com êxito do Congresso em condições que nós, comunistas jordanianos, muito bem compreendemos, vemos um passo audaz e grandes conquistas.

Da terra da Jordânia, que sofre da agressão e ocupação israelense - imperialista, nos enviamos sinceras saudações fraternais, e desejamos êxitos no trabalho do vosso Congresso, na atividade de vosso Partido marxista-leninista. Consideramos que esses êxitos constituirão uma conquista do Movimento Comunista Internacional em sua luta pelo triunfo da linha marxista-leninista, dos princípios do internacionalismo proletário e uma grande contribuição à causa do movimento de libertação nacional mundial, à causa da paz em todo o mundo.

Com a saudação comunista do Bureau Político do Comitê Central do Partido Comunista Jordâniano.

# Prestes, Exemplo Revolucionário do Internacionalismo Proletário

HELIO M. SA

Novembro de 1940. Imperavam os dias negros do Estado Novo. Numa sala de julgamento do Tribunal de Segurança Nacional, trunfantes policiais fardados ou em trajes civis, movimentavam-se ameaçadoramente em severa vigilância do local. A admiração do público tinha sido rigorosamente controlada e o número de assistentes bastante limitado. Não a ponto de impedir a entrada de um operário da Light carioca, hoje destacado dirigente de nosso Partido e de uma jovem cujo nome ameno lembra as lendas bíblicas e que momentos depois se tornaria célebre ao lançar um grito de protesto, como se fôra a voz de todo um povo.

Preparava-se febrilmente o julgamento de perigoso comunista. Logo surge ele, magro, pálido, porém sereno e ativo, o olhar brilhante mau grado os serviços e os maus tratos, rodeado por dois mastodotes armados. Era Prestes, chefe da Aliança Nacional Libertadora e secretário geral do Partido Comunista. Mal iniciado o julgamento, Prestes pede a palavra e pronuncia a sua célebre e histórica declaração: "Quero aproveitar a oportunidade que me dão de falar ao povo brasileiro para render homenagem à data de hoje, uma das maiores de toda a história, dia do vigésimo terceiro aniversário da grande Revolução Russa, que libertou um povo da tirania..."

Prisão, sem defesa, rodeado pelo inimigo, Prestes não capitula. Porém ao invés de proceder à sua própria defesa, adota uma das posições mais caras a seu coração de revolucionário: a defesa da União Soviética e da Revolução de Outubro. Este episódio, por todos os títulos histórico, evidencia um dos traços marcantes da personalidade de Prestes, o internacionalismo proletário.

Antes mesmo de aderir ao Partido, ainda no comando da Coluna, quando esta acuada, teve parte de seus de se internar no estrangeiro, Prestes tendo que emigrar para a Bolívia e depois para o Paraguai e a Argentina, já revelava tal propensão. Tratou de conviver com os povos desses países, de conhecer os seus problemas, de trabalhar e de lutar a seu lado. No exílio, à espera de condições propícias para regressar à Pátria e ali retornar o curso da luta, entrou ele em contacto com personalidades nacionais e estrangeiras, com forças políticas avançadas, em busca de um caminho que para ele já se desenhara e que em breve o tornaria um dos mais destacados líderes políticos da América Latina.

Ainda no cárcere do Estado Novo, quando os exércitos do fascismo irrompiam pela Europa semando a morte e subjulgando povos de civilização miliear. Prestes, frente à vacilação e à incompreensão de muitos, sem personalismo, deixando de lado o ódio ao algoz

e assassino da companheira querida, compreendeu que o fundamental consistia em apoiar a participação do Brasil na guerra contra a coalizão nazifascista, ao lado das forças aliadas em defesa da heróica União Soviética, que sangrava sob o peso dos ataques demolidores de um inimigo feroz e cuidadosamente preparado.

Por ocasião de sua primeira estada na União Soviética, nas difíceis condições de aplicação do I Plano Quinquenal, Prestes, renunciando aos privilégios que um nome de grande prestígio poderia lhe proporcionar, escolheu a vida e os sacrifícios de simples cidadão e colocou toda a sua energia, a sua inteligência e os seus conhecimentos de engenheiro a serviço do jovem estado operário e camponês, colaborando ativa e eficientemente no plano da eletrificação.

Mas é sobretudo como homem do Partido, como seu Secretário Geral, que Prestes aprimorou e aprofundou suas qualidades de revolucionário autêntico, tornando-se um completo internacionalista proletário. Seu amor ao nosso povo, a sua incansável luta para arranca-lo do atoleiro da miséria e da atraso, a sua dedicação à Pátria, atributos estes que os seus mais ferrenhos inimigos não lhe negam, constituem o cimento sobre o qual se assenta, numa combinação harmoniosa, o humanismo, o internacionalismo e o patriotismo. No perfil revolucionário de Prestes, dois traços emergem com particular nitidez: su apreocupação e dedicação ao Partido com o qual se identifica e o seu apego e fidelidade à União Soviética. Poucos como ele souberam avaliar em toda a sua magnitude a essência e o significado da URSS, seu transcendente papel como baluarte do campo socialista, como estudo da coexistência pacífica e da paz, como apoio do movimento de libertação nacional, como alento da classe operária dos países capitalistas, como fator de progresso e novas conquistas da humanidade. Vale a pena lembrar a este respeito o episódio já célebre ocorrido no Senado. Pretendia a reação armar sua provocação contra o nosso Partido e colocar Prestes, o senador comunista, em situação embaraçosa, inquirindo-o sobre a nossa posição em caso de um conflito entre o Brasil e a URSS. Sem hesitar, apesar do imprevisto da pergunta, Prestes deu esta contundente resposta que seria logo deturpada e utilizada para nos perseguir: "... a minha resposta, implícita, é a mesma que dei ao figurar de ser o Brasil arrastado a uma guerra contra a União Soviética, guerra que, do nosso ponto de vista, "ô pode ser guerra imperialista-seríamos contra essa guerra e lutaríamos da mesma maneira contra o governo que levasse o país a uma guerra dessa natureza."

Ainda agora, com o surgimento em setor minoritário de nosso Partido de tendências aventureiras de cunho pequeno-burguês e de atividades fracionistas que vieram a merecer sanções plenamente justificadas. Prestes à testa do Comitê Central soube pôr a nu e profligar pelas matizes claros ou encobertos de anti-sovietismo.

Todas as campanhas internacionais de solidariedade, deste ou de outros continentes, mereceram de nosso Partido compreensão e rápido atendimento. Para tanto, a contribuição pessoal de Prestes foi sempre decisiva, graças à sua sensibilidade política e uma justa compreensão dos laços de fraternidade combatente que devem unir o movimento revolucionário mundial. Tais posições, ao lado de tantos outros motivos, explicam o enorme prestígio que goza Prestes por toda a parte, assim como o carinho e a admiração que cercam a sua figura.

Recordo-me de pitoresco episódio de que fui testemunha. Prestes encontrava-se em viagem pelo exterior. Em meio à célebre recepção, vastos programas lhe eram propiciados, tornando praticamente impossível o seu cumprimento integral. Certa tarde, prestigioso diplomata, membro do Comitê Central de Partido irmão, solicita pelo telefone uma entrevista dizendo de seu grande desejo de conhecer pessoalmente Prestes. A solicitação era totalmente inexequível devido à falta absoluta de tempo e isto lhe foi dito, com toda a delicadeza, e mantido apesar de toda a insistência. Qual não foi a minha surpresa quando, momentos depois, o camarada em questão trompeu no local onde estávamos, quebrando etiquetas e protocolos, declarando com largo sorriso e sem embaraço algum: regresso a meu país amanha, impossível adiar a viagem e não me conformo de perder esta oportunidade para conhecer Prestes. É inútil acrescentar que o programa do dia ficou prejudicado e que o desejo do amigo foi satisfeito.

A atividade de nosso Partido nos últimos anos está marcada por três campanhas de fundo internacional de grande alcance, a de coleta de assinaturas contra a utilização da bomba atômica, a que se destinava a impedir a participação de soldados brasileiros na guerra da Coreia e a de solidariedade à Revolução Cubana. As duas primeiras encontraram o camarada Prestes na mais rigorosa clandestinidade. Apesar disto era constante o seu interesse, seu empenho pessoal e o seu incetivo para que o nosso Partido pudesse, delas se desincumbir extensamente.

A Revolução Cubana foi por nós saudada com júbilo especial e uma fecunda atividade. Prestes, desde os primeiros momentos, ao saudar o leão dos camaradas cubanos e ao ressaltar o seu profundo signifi-

cado para o nosso Continente, alertou sobre os perigos que logo vieriam, apelando para a formação de um amplo movimento de solidariedade. Ele pessoalmente à frente de uma delegação de nosso Comitê Central, levou o nosso apoio e o nosso apreço ao camarada Fidel Castro e ao PCC. Hoje ainda a nossa solidariedade ao primeiro país socialista do continente é calorosa e efetiva e impregna com seu conteúdo os nossos documentos políticos e a nossa atividade.

Educar o Partido no espírito do internacionalismo, tem sido uma das constantes preocupações do camarada Prestes. Podemos mesmo dizer que reside aí uma das suas mais valiosas contribuições para o desenvolvimento e a afirmação de nosso organização como força revolucionária. O fato de havermos sido assim educados, representa para nós, fator altamente favorável para o cumprimento das difíceis tarefas que temos de enfrentar, tanto internamente como em âmbito mundial. Surgem dentro de nossas próprias fileiras tendências nocivas, contrárias ao marxismo, impregnadas de localismo, de nacionalismo, de desprezo ao Partido como organização revolucionária da classe operária. Nosso Comitê Central, tendo à frente o camarada Prestes, trava uma luta ideológica para que prevaleçam os princípios de organização leninista, e o espírito do internacionalismo.

No mundo de hoje, quando o imperialismo em recuo se lança a perigosas aventuras visando golpear o movimento de libertação nacional, a luta do proletariado, o campo socialista e de modo particular a União Soviética, ao nosso partido, como destacamento do movimento operário internacional, cabe um dever ineludível, maugrado as duras condições impostas pela vigência de uma odiosa ditadura militar. Nosso Partido tudo fará para se desincumbir honrosamente de sua missão de solidariedade. Não pouparemos esforços até que cesse a criminoso agressão lanque aos heróicos povos do Vietnam; tudo faremos a fim de intensificar em nossa pátria o movimento de apoio aos povos que lutam por sua libertação nacional; atuaremos para incrementar ainda mais a nossa solidariedade à Revolução Cubana; nutriremos cada vez mais em nosso povo o amor e a admiração à União Soviética e demais países do campo socialista, neles reconhecendo um digno exemplo a seguir e o baluarte da paz e do progresso. Para o desempenho de tarefas de tal magnitude, a nossa juventude, os nossos militantes, todo o nosso Partido, enfim têm na figura de Prestes de autêntico internacionalista proletário, um modelo invulgar e um orientador seguro.



# Este mês: Encontro Consultivo dos Partidos Comunistas e Operários

Em mais de uma ocasião, o Comitê Central de nosso Partido manifestou-se favorável à convocação de uma reunião internacional de representantes dos partidos comunistas e operários, tendo em vista principalmente os últimos acontecimentos verificados no seio do movimento comunista e operário internacional, pondo em risco sua unidade e coesão. A posição de nosso Partido favorável a uma reunião desse tipo está claramente expressa na Resolução sobre a Situação Internacional, adotada em 1967 pelo nosso Comitê Central.

Recentemente, por ocasião do VI Congresso de nosso Partido, o coletivo manifestou-se sobre o assunto nos seguintes termos:

"A força e o sucesso da atividade comunista em todo o mundo baseiam-se, fundamentalmente, na coesão do movimento internacional e no respeito às resoluções tomadas em comum pelos partidos irmãos. É necessário, assim, um combate persistente às dificuldades que surgem no movimento revolucionário mundial e que decorrem de seu próprio crescimento e da natureza diversa das forças sociais que já agora participam da luta antimperialista, em grande parte influenciadas pela estreiteza nacionalista.

Depois de manifestar-se contra as teses errôneas defendidas por dirigentes do PC da China, as quais se chocam, em questões importantes, com a orientação elaborada coletivamente pelo movimento comunista internacional e rompem com o marxismo-leninismo e as normas de ação dos partidos comunistas, o VI Congresso de nosso Partido expressou sua aprovação aos esforços feitos pelo Comitê Central, através de encontros bilaterais, no sentido de contribuímos, na medida de nossas possibilidades, para a unidade do movimento comunista internacional e realizou o apoio do Comitê Central à realização de uma Conferência de amplitude mundial que tenha por fim examinar a situação internacional e que, partindo dos princípios aprovados nas reuniões de Moscou de 1957 e 1960, elabore a linha de ação comum do movimento comunista internacional.

Conseqüente com essa posição, o Comitê Central de nosso Partido expressou sua aprovação ao CC de outros partidos irmãos, o documento de convocação de um Encontro Consultivo dos partidos comunistas e operários, a realizar-se este mês, na capital da Hungria.

## C DOCUMENTO DE CONVOCACÃO

É o seguinte o texto do documento de convocação de um Encontro Consultivo dos partidos comunistas e operários:

Até o momento, um grande número de partidos comunistas e operários, nas resoluções de seus congressos e de suas organizações dirigente e no curso de consultas re-

cíprocas, pronunciou-se a favor da realização de uma reunião internacional com o objetivo de consolidar a unidade do movimento comunista, assim como para a coesão de todas as forças socialistas e democráticas na luta contra o imperialismo, pela libertação nacional e social dos povos e a paz em todo o mundo.

Os partidos comunistas e operários da Argentina, Austrália, Brasil, Bulgária, Estados Unidos, Finlândia, França, Grã-Bretanha, Hungria, Índia, Itália, Mongólia, Polónia, República Democrática Alemã, República Federal Alemã, Síria, Tchecoslováquia e União Soviética, que participaram do Encontro Consultivo de março de 1965 em Moscou, realizaram entre si consultas bilaterais a respeito da preparação de uma nova reunião internacional.

Em decorrência dessas consultas e de acordo com as opiniões e os desejos expressos no Encontro de março de 1965, os partidos acima nomeados consideraram oportuno realizar em fevereiro de 1968 um Encontro Consultivo destinado ao intercâmbio de opiniões de respeito da convocação de uma nova reunião internacional dos partidos comunistas e operários. Curvidamos todos os partidos irmãos a apoiar a iniciativa sobre a convocação do Encontro Consultivo e a tomar parte nele.

Nossos partidos dirigiram-se ao Comitê Central do Partido Socialista Operário da Hungria rogando-lhe concedesse as facilidades para a realização do Encontro Consultivo em Budapeste. O CC do PSOH deu seu consentimento e enviará aos partidos irmãos os convites correspondentes.

# GLÓRIA E HONRA À MÃE DOS POVOS!

PABLO NERUDA

Encerrando um comício comemorativo do 50º aniversário da Revolução de Outubro, realizado na cidade de Santiago do Chile, o grande poeta Pablo Neruda pronunciou o discurso seguinte:

"Há cinquenta anos era eu colegial em Temuco e te senti nascer por aqueles dias. Tinha treze anos e vivia no silêncio da chuva e da selva. Ouviu-se então o eco de um estampido que vinha de longe. Eram os canhões do Aurora que atiravam no Palácio branco dos tzares.

Aquêles estampidos tiraram-me do silêncio para sempre. Vinham de tão longe, do outro lado do mundo. Compreendemos porém que vinham de muito perto, vinham do futuro. Havia começado o futuro. O velho carroção da história mudava de rodas. A Revolução fez com que mais tarde voasse entre as estrelas.

Mas não apenas uma criança provinciana como eu, Revolução, ouviu teu badalar. Esutou-o na fábrica o explorado, no subsolo o mineiro, o marinheiro no caminho do mar, o electricista na torre, o ator no palco, na terra sentiu-o palpitar o lavrador, o médico entre as camas do hospital, ouviram-no a mãe e os colegas, o soldado e o escritor, ouviu-o o mundo inteiro.

Ouviu-o Recabarren e reconheceu sua bandeira, ouviu-o Sandino e correu com alegria, ouviu-o Mariátegui e mudou seu pensamento, ouviram-no Gorki e Picasso, Barbusse e Aragon, Ehrenburg e Alberti, Joliot Curie e Cesar Vallejo, Pasternak e Lu Sin. Eles encheram de beleza e de verdade o mundo.

Ouviram-no as cidades e os campos, e os comunistas multiplicaram na luta, chegaram a ser por toda parte o próprio coração do povo.

União Soviética, nós te saudamos pelos teus heróis, não poderíamos

contá-los. Não há medida para teu sangue derramado em defesa da liberdade.

União Soviética, nós te saudamos como educadora. Em cinquenta anos ensinaste ao homem o que em cinquenta séculos não pôde aprender: que a República dos trabalhadores anda melhor que a dos exploradores e que não precisa para sua grandeza nem colônias, nem guerras, nem superstições.

União Soviética, nós te saudamos pela tua fecundidade, porque não tivestes filhos somente em tua terra, mas em todas as terras.

Só te odeiam os inimigos do povo, os renegados e os mercenários. Amar-te e defender-te é uma honra da inteligência.

Saudamos a memória de Lênin, a pátria de Lênin, os ensinamentos de Lênin. E também nosso mestre imortal.

Saudamos a sombra ardente de Maiakóvski, poeta do comunismo criador, porta-estandarte de tua bandeira vitoriosa.

Saudamos a teus cientistas, a teus tratoristas, a teus soldados, a teus cosmonautas, a teus jovens azares, a tua linda juventude feminina. São a flor mais alta da humanidade.

Saudamos-te União Soviética, campeã da unidade proletária, da unidade revolucionária. Poderosa como és não tens o orgulho de outros. És a companheira dos povos.

Saudamos-te porque todo o movimento de libertação foi estimulado pela tua fraternidade, defendido pela tua fortaleza. Tua estrela está no céu do Vietnam, e perecerão os infames invasores aniquilados pelos heróis vietnamitas armados com tuas armas generosas.

Nós te saudamos por seres amiga, cordial e singela. Saudamos-te pelos teus artistas de circo, de balé, de music hall, pelo teu patriotismo pelo orgulho que têm teus homens e mulheres de haverem feito a pátria com suas mãos.

Saudamos-te em cada um destes longos cinquenta anos, destes milhares de dias. Cada um destes dias, destas horas foi um passo, às vezes na escuridão, às vezes na certeza, às vezes em meio da neve e do sangue, outras vezes em meio de tuas litânicas vitórias.

Tudo esse esforço, que não foi ante a experiência de nação alguma, deve essa serenidade e essa paciência que nos assombra. Livram os lobos em tuas fronteiras, afiam as unhas os tiranos imperiais, e tu permaneces ao nível dos povos, vencedora e magnânima, torre de todos os povos.

Esta é minha mensagem. É a mensagem do Chile e dos povos da América. Muitos dos nossos não podem falar. Muitos dos nossos, entre os vulcões e as campinas de nosso doloroso continente, não sabem escrever. Em nome de todos eu te saúdo. Sou o mesmo que ouviu em 1917, o tanger do teu bronze vermelho. Em nome de todos, digo-te: "GLÓRIA E HONRA À MÃE DOS POVOS! HONRA E GLÓRIA A LINHA DE REPUBLICAS SOCIALISTAS SOVIÉTICAS!"

(EL SIGLO, 6 XI-1967)



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# Mensagens Recebidas Pelo VI Congresso do P. C. B. -- Mensagens

## DO PARTIDO COMUNISTA DA INDIA

Caros camaradas:  
O Conselho Nacional do Partido Comunista da Índia envia suas saudações mais ardentes e fraternais ao VI Congresso do seu Partido e através deste a todos os comunistas brasileiros.  
O Congresso do PCB reúne-se em circunstâncias extraordinárias e difíceis, nas condições de ilegalidade e repressão impostas pelo golpe militar de 1964, apoiado pelos imperialistas, ao Partido Comunista, à classe operária e às forças democráticas do Brasil. Desde essa usurpação do poder, os novos governantes do Brasil instauraram um regime de terror no país e atuam em obediência aos imperialistas dos Estados Unidos.

Desde então, sob condições muito difíceis seu Partido está mobilizado na luta para ativar e unir a classe operária, todo o povo trabalhador e as forças democráticas do Brasil contra a ditadura militar. Seu Partido luta para formar uma frente única de todas as forças antitatoriais do país para derrotar a ditadura e estabelecer um governo democrático.

As deliberações e decisões de seu VI Congresso facilitarão sem dúvida o fortalecimento e a consolidação dessa frente única. Elas contribuirão para o avanço do povo trabalhador brasileiro, rumo à libertação nacional e ao socialismo.

Nosso Partido deseja pleno êxito ao seu Congresso. Fazemos votos de que ele tenha êxito em seus trabalhos e sua luta seja coroada de sucesso.

Calorosas e fraternais saudações,  
a) C. Rajeswara Rao  
Sec. Geral do Conselho Nacional  
P.C.I.

## DO PARTIDO COMUNISTA FRANÇÊS

Por ocasião do vosso VI Congresso, nós vos dirigimos a saudação fraternal e a expressão da solidariedade dos comunistas, da classe operária e do povo da França.

Fazemos votos para o pleno êxito de vosso Congresso, de vossa luta por uma frente única de todas as forças populares do Brasil contra a ditadura, pela vitória de uma política democrática e ant imperialista e pela paz mundial.

Viva o estreitamento dos laços de solidariedade e de cooperação do Partido Comunista Brasileiro com o Partido Comunista Francês!  
Viva a unidade do Movimento Comunista Internacional!

O Comitê Central do  
Partido Comunista Francês

## DO PARTIDO COMUNISTA DA FINLÂNDIA

"Caros camaradas:  
Endereçamos nossa cordial saudação ao vosso Congresso, que terá grande significação internacional. Sabemos que terá grande significação internacional. Sabemos que o vosso Partido conduz sua luta de cada dia nas difíceis condições de uma ditadura e isso exige da direção do Partido e de cada um dos seus membros grande audácia e autodomínio. Estamos convencidos de que as resoluções do vosso Congresso cooperarão decididamente para os esforços de vosso Partido no sentido da criação de uma frente única contra a ditadura e o estabelecimento de um regime democrático, do êxito de toda a luta do vosso Partido pela libertação nacional e o socialismo.

Desejamos grande êxito ao trabalho do vosso Congresso.

Partido Comunista da Finlândia  
Comitê Central,  
a) V. Pessi."

## DO PARTIDO COMUNISTA ISRAELENSE

Caros Camaradas:  
O Comitê Central do Partido Comunista Israelense saudamos calorosamente o VI Congresso do Partido Comunista Brasileiro e lhe deseja o mais pleno êxito.

A própria reunião do VI Congresso sob as condições de ilegalidade e repressão criadas pela ditadura é um testemunho adicional da força da coragem e da vitalidade do Partido Comunista Brasileiro e uma confirmação de que o processo revolucionário no Brasil, tal como o de toda a América Latina, será levado a cabo pela classe operária e seu Partido de vanguarda marxista-leninista.

Nosso Comitê Central espera sinceramente que o VI Congresso seja uma grande contribuição à luta do Partido Comunista Brasileiro pela união de todas as forças antitatoriais em favor dos direitos democráticos e contra a dominação dos Estados Unidos e desse modo eleve a um estágio mais alto a luta da libertação nacional e de classe que fará aparecer a alternativa revolucionária ant imperialista e socialista, no processo de crise do regime ditatorial.

Defendendo os interesses reais do povo israelense, nosso Partido opõe-se à agressão lançada pelo governo de Israel, sob inspiração dos Estados Unidos, contra seus países vizinhos.

O objetivo dessa agressão era derrubar os regimes ant imperialistas do Egito e da Síria, aplicar um golpe na luta ant imperialista e de libertação nacional dos povos árabes, preservar os interesses dos monopólios petrolíferos do Oriente Médio e pôr em prática os planos expansionistas dos círculos dominantes de Israel.

Nosso Partido, fiel a seus princípios internacionalistas, opõe-se categoricamente a essa guerra de agressão e continua fazendo, ao exigir a retirada das forças de Israel dos territórios ocupados do Egito, da Síria e da Jordânia, para restaurar-se a paz na região.

Ele declara que a retirada dessas tropas abrirá caminho para a solução pacífica do conflito árabe-israelense, tendo por base o reconhecimento mútuo dos direitos legítimos tanto de Israel como dos povos da Palestina Árabe.

Nosso Partido exige uma mudança radical de orientação por parte de Israel, para pôr fim a atual política pró-imperialista, anti-árabe e antinacional e dar lugar a uma política de paz, de independência nacional e de cooperação com os povos árabes contra o imperialismo, especialmente contra o imperialismo dos Estados Unidos, de amizade com a União Soviética e todos os países socialistas.

Assim, nossa luta, que se trava sob diferentes condições tem um inimigo comum: o imperialismo norte-americano, que está hoje seguindo um rumo mais perigoso e aventureiro, ostensivamente evidenciado na bárbara agressão contra o povo vietnamita.

Desejamos-lhes, camaradas, um trabalho frutífero e muito êxito, e enviamos-lhes saudações fraternais calorosas.

Viva o Partido Comunista Brasileiro!  
Viva o marxismo-leninismo e o internacionalismo proletário!  
Viva a unidade das forças ant imperialistas na luta contra a agressão!  
Viva a Paz!

p/ Comitê Central do  
Partido Comunista Israelense  
a) M. Wilner,  
Secretário do Bureau Político

## DO PARTIDO COMUNISTA PORTUGUÊS

Queridos camaradas:  
O Comitê Central do Partido Comunista Português, em nome de todos os comunistas e dos trabalhadores de Portugal, envia ao VI Congresso do Partido Comunista Brasileiro as mais calorosas saudações, com votos de bom êxito nos seus trabalhos.

Saudando o vosso Congresso, queridos camaradas, queremos pôr em relevo não só a grande amizade e solidariedade existente entre os nossos dois Partidos, como a fraternal e tradicional amizade que une o povo português e o povo brasileiro. Num momento em que os círculos reacionários do Brasil e o governo fascista de Salazar intensificam os esforços para desenvolver uma política de colaboração contrária aos interesses das nossas nações — nós queremos reafirmar-vos o nosso sincero desejo de tudo fazer para reforçar, consolidar e alargar mais ainda a amizade e solidariedade entre os nossos dois povos.

Cada vez mais isolado, tanto no país como internacionalmente, o governo fascista de Salazar tem procurado obter, por parte dos governantes reacionários do Brasil, um apoio para as criminosas guerras coloniais que trava contra os povos de Angola, Guiné e Moçambique. O povo português, que luta firmemente contra essas guerras, considerando-as um crime não só contra os povos coloniais como contra o nosso próprio povo, confia em que o povo brasileiro o acompanhará sempre na luta contra o colonialismo, opondo-se a qualquer tentativa do governo brasileiro de apoio à política colonial de Salazar.

Queridos camaradas:  
As relações existentes entre os nossos dois Partidos, dentro dos princípios leninistas do internacionalismo proletário, do respeito mútuo, da não interferência nos assuntos internos de cada Partido, e da solidariedade fraternal, são a melhor expressão da fraternidade do povo do Brasil e do povo de Portugal na luta contra o fascismo, a reação e o imperialismo.

O Partido Comunista Português, que luta há mais de 41 anos contra a ditadura fascista nas condições da clandestinidade, sempre contou com o apoio e a solidariedade do Partido Comunista Brasileiro, dos trabalhadores e do povo brasileiro. Ao saudarmos o VI Congresso do Partido Comunista Brasileiro, queremos manifestar a nossa inteira solidariedade à luta difícil que, neste momento, o Partido Comunista Brasileiro e o povo do Brasil travam contra as forças reacionárias brasileiras e contra o imperialismo.

Enviamos-vos os nossos melhores votos de êxito na vossa corajosa luta, e manifestamos-vos a nossa confiança de que o povo brasileiro, encabeçado pela classe operária brasileira e o seu Partido Comunista, conseguirá encaminhar o Brasil irmão pela via da independência nacional e da democracia.

Viva o Partido Comunista Brasileiro!  
Viva a amizade indestrutível entre os povos irmãos do Brasil e de Portugal!

Viva a amizade e a solidariedade fraternal entre o Partido Comunista Português e o Partido Comunista Brasileiro!

O Comitê Central do  
Partido Comunista Português

**Nota Política**

**da**

**Comissão Executiva**

*100-428091-6788*

**Suplemento Especial de "VOZ OPERÁRIA"**

**1967**

Tem sido esta efetivamente a orientação de seu governo em todos os terrenos. E' ele o defensor intransigente da nova Constituição fascizante, que afasta o povo da vida política, liquida na prática as garantias individuais, anula as conquistas sociais dos trabalhadores, acaba com a autonomia estadual e municipal, atribui poderes absolutos ao presidente da República e reduz o Poder Legislativo ao papel subalterno de mero registrador das decisões do Executivo.

Ao mesmo tempo, utiliza-se da legislação reacionária para dar cobertura legal a violências policiais e ao arbitrio dos encarregados dos IPMs, para encarcerar trabalhadores, estudantes, intelectuais e sacerdotes. Mobiliza milhares de policiais contra um Congresso de estudantes. Além da famigerada Lei de Segurança, volta aos atos Institucionais da ditadura para perseguir jornalistas e democratas em geral. Prende dirigentes sindicais que levantam as reivindicações dos trabalhadores e, apesar das promessas demagógicas do ministro do Trabalho, intervém no movimento sindical e procura subordiná-lo aos interesses da ditadura e dos patrões.

No terreno da política econômico-financeira dá continuidade à orientação ditada pelo Fundo Monetário Internacional (FMI). Com o chamado "Programa de Diretrizes Básicas", procura, de fato, favorecer a determinados setores das classes dominantes. Afirmando que a inflação é na presente conjuntura uma "inflação de custos", arrola uma série de medidas que facultam maiores lucros para os grandes empresários brasileiros e os monopólios imperialistas. E' mantida, porém a política salarial de brutal redução do salário real instituída pelo sr. Roberto Campos, política que, além de anti-social, é economicamente nociva ao desenvolvimento do país. Ao mesmo tempo que anuncia a "reversão à tendência à estatização", o que constitui uma ameaça às empresas estatais, como a Petrobrás, o governo intensifica sua intervenção na economia do país em benefício dos patrões e contra a classe operária, reduzindo por lei seus salários, restringindo o direito de greve, dificultando sua organização, procurando, enfim, impedir que a classe operária lute em defesa de seus interesses.

No terreno da política externa, prossegue, no essencial, a crescente submissão do Brasil, no campo internacional, à orientação ditada pelo Departamento de Estado do governo de Washington. E' o que se passa

na ONU, como se verificou recentemente ao ser debatido em sua Assembleia Extraordinária o conflito no Oriente Médio. E igualmente na OEA, onde apoia as medidas propostas pelo governo da Venezuela, que visam a novas e maiores provocações contra Cuba. Como, diante da repulsa continental, não foi possível contar na OEA com os votos necessários à constituição da chamada Força Interamericana de Paz (FIP) — organização militar permanente de repressão ao movimento democrático e de libertação nacional dos povos latino-americanos —, trata a ditadura brasileira de entender-se com os "gorilas" da Argentina, do Paraguai, da Bolívia e do Peru para por em suas respectivas Forças Armadas em condições de atuarem coletivamente, intervindo em qualquer país da América Latina, segundo os preceitos da "doutrina Johnson", de intervenção armada e punitiva para salvaguardar a "ordem" e a estabilidade de governos reacionários e pró-imperialistas.

4. Em gritantes contrastes com a linguagem demagógica do sr. Costa e Silva, que levanta como lema de seu governo a "meta homem", ou seja, a promessa de bem-estar para o povo e de elevação do nível de vida dos trabalhadores, a política da ditadura orienta-se em benefício de um punhado de latifundiários e grandes capitalistas, bem como dos monopólios norte-americanos, contra os interesses da imensa maioria da população.

Agravam-se seriamente as condições de vida das massas trabalhadoras. Entre 1965 e 67, os salários reais da classe operária caíram em mais de 40%, já que os reajustes salariais foram calculados com base num "resíduo inflacionário" sempre muito inferior ao efetivo encarecimento do custo da vida. O salário mínimo teve até agora, a partir de 1964, o aumento aproximadamente de 150%, enquanto os preços dos gêneros de primeira necessidade subiram em mais de 250%. Instrumentos coercitivos, como as leis 4.725 e 4.903 e os decretos-leis 15 e 17, facultam à ditadura colocar-se acima da Justiça do Trabalho e limitar os reajustamentos salariais, liquidando por completo a liberdade de contrato de trabalho entre patrões e operários. O nível de vida das massas foi ainda agravado com o aumento geral de impostos e taxas, de tarifas dos serviços públicos, dos transportes urbanos e com as modificações introduzidas na lei do inquilinato, que contribuem

para agravar o problema da habitação para as grandes massas urbanas.

No campo, a situação é ainda mais séria. Além do desemprego e das perseguições, os fazendeiros violam sistematicamente a legislação trabalhista e os preceitos mais elementares do Estatuto do Trabalhador Rural relativo ao salário mínimo, descanso semanal remunerado, férias, aviso prévio, indenização por dispensa do trabalho, etc. Se, em São Paulo, o que se vê é o trabalhador maltrapilho, como reconhece um ex-presidente da reacionária Associação Rural Brasileira, em declaração ao "Correio da Manhã" (3-6-67), no interior do Nordeste são multidões famintas que invadem cidades e povoados em busca de alimentos. Como se diz no Memorial da Federação dos Trabalhadores da Agricultura de Pernambuco, "com a revolução (quer dizer, o golpe de 1964), os trabalhadores perderam de fato o salário e a terra".

Acentua-se o processo de pauperização das camadas médias urbanas, sendo cada vez maiores as dificuldades que enfrentam os estudantes e de crescentes privações a situação dos servidores públicos e de amplos setores da profissionais liberais. Os professores, por exemplo, são levados a movimentos grevistas e a demonstrações de protesto, em Minas Gerais, no Ceará e noutros Estados, para conseguir receber seus vencimentos, que os governantes deixam de pagar por meses seguidos.

Amplos setores da pequena e média burguesia industrial e comercial são literalmente esmagados economicamente pelo processo de concentração do capital e da renda, que decorre da dominação imperialista e é acelerado pela política econômico-financeira do governo.

A ditadura se opõe, assim, aos interesses da esmagadora maioria da nação. Apesar de toda a legislação reacionária em vigor e dos esforços demagógicos que acompanharam a troca de marechais na presidência da República, não conseguiram os generais golpistas e demais agentes do imperialismo a tão desejada e proclamada tranquilidade política. Torna-se evidente a intromissão direta na vida política do país dos setores mais reacionários das Forças Armadas, que querem continuar tutelando a nação. Aumentam as contradições dentro do próprio governo, cuja instabilidade se acentua.

5: O povo não pode, no entanto, alimentar ilusões no atual governo. ou em mudanças que possam ser favoráveis à democracia e aos interesses dos trabalhadores, que decorram de simples troca de homens no Poder. Os trabalhadores não podem também iludir-se com as promessas do governo e dos patrões. Só através da luta poderão conquistar maior participação na distribuição da renda nacional, pois não serão as esmolas dos exploradores ou os programas e as leis da ditadura que elevarão salários e vencimentos ou poderão melhorar o nível de vida, das massas exploradas.

Os interesses da nação exigem a derrota da ditadura e a substituição do atual regime por outro efetivamente democrático, que permita às forças patrióticas, democráticas e progressistas impôr sua vontade à minoria reacionária e entreguista, abrindo caminho para a solução revolucionária dos problemas brasileiros.

O êxito da luta contra a ditadura dependerá fundamentalmente da unidade de ação das amplas forças que são por ela prejudicadas, as quais, como assinalamos, compreendem os operários, os camponeses, os empregados, os estudantes, os professores e os profissionais liberais, os pequenos e médios industriais e comerciantes e demais camadas da burguesia nacional e outros setores das classes dominantes objetivamente prejudicados pela crescente dominação imperialista e pela política da ditadura. O movimento de resistência, de oposição e luta ao regime fascizante pode, assim, adquirir enorme amplitude.

A frente única das forças antiditatoriais será formada no curso de ações concretas pelas liberdades democráticas, pelos interesses imediatos dos trabalhadores e do povo em geral, em defesa da soberania nacional, pelo desenvolvimento econômico independente do país. Tendo como elo central a luta pelas liberdades democráticas, as ações de massas devem também orientar-se no sentido de exigir a revogação da legislação reacionária e da Constituição fascizante, a concessão de anistia geral e liberdade para todos os presos e perseguidos políticos.

As lutas dos trabalhadores das cidades e do campo por suas reivindicações econômicas, pela elevação de salários, contra a carestia da vida e contra a política salarial da ditadura tem, nas atuais condições de nosso país, objetivamente, um caráter político. Mas, para que possam efetivamente contribuir para a derrota da ditadura é

indispensável que sejam organizadas e conscientemente dirigidas. Cabe aos comunistas a tarefa decisiva de organizar os trabalhadores nos locais de trabalho, de impulsionar suas lutas e de transformar as ações espontâneas, que já se iniciam, em lutas conscientes pelas suas reivindicações imediatas, desde as mais elementares, em lutas pela derrota da ditadura.

Ao mesmo tempo, é indispensável participar ativamente da vida sindical, lutando pela liberdade e autonomia dos sindicatos, contra o pagamento do imposto sindical, contra o atestado de idelogia, pela livre eleição de suas diretorias. Por piores que sejam as condições a que foram reduzidos os sindicatos, é através deles que será possível desenvolver e consolidar a unidade de ação da classe operária. A organização dos trabalhadores nas empresas facilitará sua mobilização para atuar nos sindicatos, criando assim condições para derrotar os policiais e provocadores infiltrados no movimento sindical e transformar os sindicatos em instrumento de luta em defesa dos interesses dos trabalhadores.

Os trabalhadores do campo, em particular os assalariados agrícolas e os camponeses pobres, à medida que se unem e lutam contra a crescente exploração, iniciam a reorganização de seus sindicatos, fechados pela reação golpista, que tentou liquidá-los. É indispensável estimular essa atividade, sendo um dever dos operários urbanos dar a maior assistência e ajuda aos seus irmãos do campo, tanto no terreno da organização sindical como no da solidariedade às suas lutas.

Na luta contra o atual regime desempenham importante papel as camadas médias urbanas, em particular os intelectuais, diretamente interessados no progresso cultural do país, assim como a juventude estudantil, que já tem, pela sua combatividade, uma posição de destaque na luta contra o imperialismo norte-americano e contra a ditadura. Ao mesmo tempo que defendem a UNE e demais entidades perseguidas pela reação, devem os estudantes buscar outras formas de organização que lhes permitam maior participação nas lutas por seus interesses específicos e pelas liberdades democráticas, bem como formas de luta que facilitem a unidade com a classe operária, com os camponeses e demais forças democráticas e populares.

6. A minoria reacionária ainda consegue manter a ditadura e levar à prática sua política contra o povo e a nação, porque as forças operárias, populares e democráticas se acham desorganizadas e desunidas. Organizadas e unidas, as massas trabalhadoras através da ação, poderão conquistar a legalidade de fato, poderão obrigar a minoria reacionária a recuar, terão condições para enfrentar com êxito a violência da ditadura e acabarão por derrotá-la. Isto exige que sem deixar de utilizar todas as formas legais de luta, as forças populares não se limitem nas ações de massas aos marcos das leis impostas pelo atual regime. Desde que correspondam à situação concreta e ao nível de consciência das massas e contem efetivamente com a participação das massas, as lutas contra a ditadura são sempre justas, quaisquer que sejam as formas que tomem.

Será a organização das massas que impulsionará a unidade das forças políticas das correntes democráticas e progressistas. Os comunistas dirigem-se muito especialmente às forças de esquerda, que compreendem a necessidade de transformações revolucionárias e por elas lutam, e as chamam à unidade de ação em defesa das reivindicações e dos direitos dos trabalhadores e do povo, contra a ditadura, a fim de constituírem, juntamente com o Partido Comunista, o núcleo firme e consequente da ampla frente das forças antiditatoriais.

Apelando para a unidade de todos os patriotas e democratas em torno de uma ampla plataforma comum, que represente os interesses comuns e seja, através do mais amplo e livre diálogo, coletivamente elaborada, os comunistas combatem ao mesmo tempo a tendência à passividade, a ficar de braços cruzados à espera das ações espontâneas, e a tendência a ações aventureiras, que não levam em conta a situação concreta e o nível de consciência das massas e que, por isso, delas se separam e dão armas à reação.

A unidade das forças políticas contrárias à ditadura e ao atual regime é possível, mas não poderá resultar apenas dos entendimentos de cúpula. Deve ser conquistada na ação, entre o povo.

7. A luta contra o atual regime é inseparável da luta contra o opressor estrangeiro, o imperialismo norte-americano, que é o inimigo principal de nosso povo. É indispensável, no momento atual, intensificar

1. Acentua-se o descontentamento popular e já se verificam, com maior frequência, manifestações de resistência e oposição à ditadura. A classe operária, apesar dos enormes obstáculos criados no desenvolvimento da atividade sindical pela constante intervenção dos agentes policiais e do Ministério do Trabalho, formula suas reivindicações, protesta contra o "Fundo de Garantia", manifesta-se disposta a lutar contra a política salarial da ditadura e começa, nos principais centros industriais, a unir suas forças para a ação. Os trabalhadores do campo iniciam a reorganização dos seus sindicatos e procuram resistir ao não cumprimento das leis trabalhistas por parte dos fazendeiros, já tendo havido greves de longa duração na indústria canavieira do Nordeste, ao mesmo tempo que surgem algumas lutas de posseiros. Os servidores públicos reorganizam suas forças, dispostos a lutar contra a penúria em que se encontram. Cresce a combatividade dos estudantes que lutam contra o acordo MEC-USAID e enfrentam com firmeza a brutal repressão policial. São cada vez mais numerosos as manifestações patrióticas contra o opressor imperialista, cresce o ódio popular aos assassinos do povo vietnamita, sendo queimadas, em diversos lugares, bandeiras dos Estados Unidos e vaiado, em Brasília, o Embaixador dos Estados Unidos. Amplos setores da população, tendo à frente intelectuais, jornalistas e personalidades de destaque, inclusive sacerdotes católicos, tomam posição contra a legislação reacionária da ditadura, reclamam sua revogação, assim como a anistia geral, o término dos IPMs e a liberdade para os presos e perseguidos políticos.

2. Com a posse do sr. Costa e Silva na presidência da República tentaram, porém, as forças reacionárias que usurpam o Poder — militares traidores e outros agentes do imperialismo — ampliar a base social da ditadura, anunciando mudanças na política econômico-financeira, a pacificação do país e medidas no sentido da democratização do regime. O sr. Costa e Silva, cuja

candidatura foi imposta pelos setores reacionários das Forças Armadas, e por sua vez, compromissos com setores da burguesia. Ampliou, as base política do governo, do qual foram representantes daqueles setores como o sr. Magalhães Pinto e outros se haviam afastado do governo Branco, embora tivessem participado do golpe de 64 e defendam o regime, que lhes permite a crescente exploração dos trabalhadores. Para fins aos mesmos setores das classes dominantes certas mudanças foram introduzidas na política da ditadura. Foi criticada a política econômico-financeira do sr. Roberto Campos, a qual, como se diz no "Programa de Diretrizes Básicas" do atual governo, "não logrou alcançar o resultado desejado, seja quanto à retomada do desenvolvimento, seja quanto à contenção da inflação". Alterou-se a fundamentação da política externa, que se apoiava na doutrina da vitabilidade da guerra mundial e na carada subordinação ao governo dos Estados Unidos, a fim de melhor mascarar a subordinação do Brasil ao opressor norteamericano. Tudo isso contribuiu para criar um clima de expectativa em mudanças velas ao povo, o qual chegou a infundar alguns setores das camadas médias e me-diana da classe operária e paralisou praticamente a oposição burguesa.

3. O sr. Costa e Silva representa, entanto, as mesmas forças do golpe de 64 e tem por tarefa, na presidência pública, consolidar o regime imposto e que fez do Brasil, ponto principal da política reacionária e imperialista dos Estados Unidos na América Latina. Seu governo, de seu antecessor, é uma ditadura reacionária e entreguista, que impede o desenvolvimento da economia nacional em curso favorável aos interesses dos setores liberais norte-americanos, dos latifundiários dos grandes capitalistas, à custa da exploração das massas trabalhadoras e da espoliação das riquezas nacionais.

a luta contra a criminoso guerra no Viet-  
nam, exigindo que cessem os bombardeios  
da República Democrática do Vietnam e  
que as tropas do imperialismo e de seus  
asseclas retirem-se do território do Viet-  
nam do Sul, e desenvolvendo em nosso país  
um amplo movimento de solidariedade ao  
heróico povo vietnamita. Ao mesmo tempo,  
é necessário intensificar a luta em defesa  
da paz mundial, apoiando a política de paz  
e coexistência pacífica da União Soviética,  
em especial sua firme posição ao lado dos  
povo árabes, contra a agressão dos imperi-  
alistas e seus agentes do Estado de Israel,  
pela completa eliminação das conseqüências  
da agressão. Devemos apoiar o vigoroso mo-  
vimento contra a guerra de amplos setores  
democráticos e progressistas dos Estados  
Unidos e dar especial destaque e todo nos-  
so apoio ao heróico movimento das popula-  
ções negras daquele país contra a miséria e  
as discriminações raciais de que são vítimas.  
É também necessário intensificar a so-  
lidariedade ao povo cubano e a todos os  
patriotas que em diversos países do Conti-  
nente lutam sob as mais diversas formas,  
inclusive de armas na mão, contra o im-  
perialismo norte-americano, pela libertação  
nacional e o progresso social. O apoio ao

povo boliviano exige, neste momento, lutar  
contra a agressão militar dos Estados Uni-  
dos e, muito particularmente, a participa-  
ção do governo brasileiro nessa agressão.

Precisamos denunciar as diversas mani-  
festações da dominação imperialista em nos-  
so país, intensificar a luta contra a OEA,  
contra a participação na FIP, desmascarar  
o conteúdo reacionário da "ajuda"  
americana, da "Aliança para o Pro-  
gresso" e do pretense mercado comum la-  
tino-americano, e exigir a saída do país dos  
inúmeros espões e agentes norte-americanos  
e de suas diversas organizações, como os  
chamados corpos da paz e outros.

A luta contra o imperialismo é insepa-  
rável da luta contra seus agentes e susten-  
táculos internos, em particular os latifun-  
diários, e por uma reforma agrária radical.  
Ao lutar contra a ditadura, os comunistas  
esforçam-se por ganhar as grandes massas  
para a luta pela vitória da revolução na-  
cional e democrática, pelo triunfo do socia-  
lismo em nosso país.

Agosto de 1967.

*A Comissão Executiva do Comitê Central  
do Partido Comunista Brasileiro.*



# VI CONGRESSO DO PARTIDO COMUNISTA BRASILEIRO

## Estatutos do Partido Comunista Brasileiro

100-428091-6788

### INTRODUÇÃO

O Partido Comunista Brasileiro se orienta pelo marxismo-leninismo e pelos princípios do internacionalismo proletário. Educa seus membros no espírito de solidariedade dos trabalhadores de todos os países. Em sua atividade tem sempre em vista seus deveres como parte do movimento comunista mundial.

O Partido Comunista Brasileiro, vanguarda política e forma superior, de organização da classe operária, tem por objetivo a conquista do poder político para o estabelecimento do socialismo e do comunismo em nossa pátria. Na etapa atual, os objetivos do Partido consistem em unir as mais amplas forças antinperialistas e democráticas para libertar o Brasil da dominação imperialista e da exploração lati-

fundiária e conquistar o regime nacional democrático.

O Partido Comunista Brasileiro constitui-se pela união voluntária e consciente dos operários, camponeses, intelectuais e demais pessoas, oriundas de outras classes e camadas do povo brasileiro que, incorporando-se a organização do Partido, estejam dispostas a lutar pelos seus objetivos programáticos.

O Partido Comunista Brasileiro, sendo uma organização centralizada e combativa, regida por uma disciplina consciente, livremente aceita por todos os seus membros e obrigatória por igual para todos eles, dirige-se pelo princípio do centralismo democrático e as normas básicas estabelecidas nos presentes Estatutos.

## CAPÍTULO I

### O Membro do Partido

Art. 1º — Membro do Partido é todo aquele que aceita o Programa e os Estatutos do Partido e que contribui para a atividade deste com meios materiais e por sua participação em uma das organizações partidárias.

Art. 2º — A filiação ao Partido é individual. Realiza-se mediante pedido a uma organização do Partido, encaminhado através de um dos membros desta e por ela aprovado.

§ 1º — em casos particulares, definidos pelo Comitê Central, a filiação só se tornará efetiva depois de ratificada pela instância superior a que fôr atribuída essa competência.

§ 2º — A readmissão de pessoa que tenha sido expulsa do Partido só se tornará efetiva depois de confirmada pelo órgão dirigente partidário que ratificou a expulsão.

Art. 3º — São deveres do membro do Partido:

- a) zelar ativamente pela unidade ideológica, política e orgânica do Partido;
- b) manter estreita ligação com as massas e dedicar-se à defesa das reivindicações destas. — participando de seus movimentos e organizações, trabalhando para que conheçam, assimilem e ponham em prática a orientação geral do Partido, — e esforçar-se para que se ampliem sempre mais os laços entre o conjunto do Partido e as massas;
- c) elevar, através do estudo e da atividade prática, o próprio nível teórico e ideológico e ajudar no mesmo sentido aos camaradas e a todo o Partido;
- d) participar do estudo e da elaboração da linha política do Partido e empenhar-se para que seja levada à prática, através do estrito cumprimento das resoluções partidárias;
- e) concorrer para a prática permanente da crítica e da autocrítica, para a luta de opiniões ampla e organizada e a correta observância da disciplina;
- f) esforçar-se pelo aprimoramento sempre maior do espírito de solidariedade comunista;
- g) contribuir para o respeito às normas de segurança e o constante exercício da vigilância partidária;
- h) trabalhar pelo contínuo fortalecimento orgânico do Partido, pelo aperfeiçoamento ininterrupto dos métodos de trabalho e de direção;
- i) zelar pela segurança do Partido, não revelar seus segredos e comportar-se com firmeza diante do inimigo de classe.

Art. 4º — São direitos do membro do Partido:

- a) participar, nas reuniões organizadas pelo Partido ou na imprensa partidária, das discussões sobre problemas da vida interna e externa do Partido;

b) eleger e ser eleito para os órgãos dirigentes e, em geral, para qualquer cargo eletivo do Partido;

c) criticar, nas reuniões do Partido ou junto às instâncias superiores partidárias, o que lhe parece falso ou incorreto nos atos ou posições de qualquer organização, órgão dirigente ou membro do Partido;

d) encaminhar opiniões, sugestões, propostas, reclamações ou apelações a qualquer das sucessivas instâncias partidárias, desde os órgãos dirigentes da organização a que pertence até ao Comitê Central e ao Congresso Nacional do Partido;

e) manter e defender suas opiniões nas discussões partidárias, desde que isto não infrinja o estabelecido no artigo 9º.

f) exigir sua participação pessoal sempre que se trate de resolver sobre sua posição ou conduta.

Art. 5º — É reconhecida a todo o membro do Partido a liberdade de sair dele. O membro do Partido que queira desfiliar-se deve encaminhar o pedido respectivo, oralmente ou por escrito, à organização a que pertence. Esta concederá o pedido, salvo se o requerente é passível de medida de expulsão do Partido nos termos do artigo 7º.

Art. 6º — O membro do Partido que, sem causa justificada, deixar de participar durante um ano da atividade de sua organização ou de satisfazer a contribuição material a que está obrigado — e que insistir em manter essa atitude depois de esgotados os esforços para que a reconsidere — considera-se como tendo abandonado o Partido por sua própria vontade e terá, assim, a sua filiação cancelada pela organização partidária a que pertence.

Art. 7º — O membro do Partido que infrinja as normas estatutárias, ou assuma atitude que fira os interesses do Partido ou da classe operária, está sujeito, conforme a natureza e gravidade da falta cometida, a uma das seguintes medidas disciplinares: advertência dentro do Partido, suspensão por tempo determinado do exercício de cargo partidário, destituição do cargo partidário, censura pública, expulsão do Partido.

Parágrafo único — Ao decidir-se sobre a aplicação de medida disciplinar a um membro do Partido, especialmente quando se trate da mais grave — a expulsão, deve haver o máximo de cuidado e de espírito de fraternidade, examinando-se minuciosamente o fundamento ou não das acusações, assegurando sempre que possível a presença do membro do Partido a

reuniões em que se discuta o seu caso e facilitando-lhe os elementos necessários à sua justificação.

Art. 8º — A medida disciplinar a aplicar-se a um membro do Partido é decidida e executada pela organização a que pertence.

Parágrafo único — A expulsão de um membro do Partido resolve-se por maioria absoluta de votos (metade e mais um do efetivo), quando quem decide é uma Organização de Base, e por maioria de dois terços de votos, quando quem decide é um Comitê de Partido, em relação a um dos seus membros efetivos ou su-

plentes. Em qualquer caso, a expulsão só se tornará efetiva depois de confirmada pelo Comitê de instância imediatamente superior do Partido, que resolverá igualmente sobre a forma de torná-la pública. Até à confirmação ou anulação da expulsão pela instância superior, o membro do Partido em causa ficará com seus deveres e direitos suspensos, salvo o direito de apelação junto às instâncias superiores partidárias, até ao Comitê Central e ao Congresso Nacional do Partido. Esse direito é também reconhecido pelo Partido, sem limite de tempo, a pessoa cuja expulsão se tenha tornado efetiva.

## CAPÍTULO II

### *O Centralismo Democrático*

Art. 9º — O princípio diretor da estrutura e do funcionamento do Partido é o centralismo democrático, que significa centralização com base na democracia e democracia sob direção centralizada. A unidade e a disciplina do Partido, fundadas no centralismo democrático, são incompatíveis com qualquer forma de atividade desagregadora ou de organização fracionista. O centralismo democrático encerra os seguintes aspectos fundamentais:

- a) os membros do Partido são iguais em direitos e deveres e opinam livremente sobre todas as questões do Partido, nos termos destes Estatutos e respeitadas as limitações por eles impostas.
- b) todos os órgãos e cargos dirigentes do Partido são preenchidos por eleições, através de votação direta dos membros do Partido ou de delegados por estes eleitos, e podem, pela mesma maneira, como foram escolhidos, ter os seus mandatos a qualquer momento revogados. Sempre que um órgão dirigente do Partido ficar com o seu efetivo incompleto, deve completá-lo por cooptação até a primeira realização de sua assembléia ou conferência.
- c) cada organização subordina-se aos respectivos órgãos dirigentes e às organizações que lhe são superiores; e todas as organizações do Partido ao centro dirigente único deste, entre um e outro Congresso Nacional: o Comitê Central;
- d) cada organização ou órgão dirigente do Partido abre e encerra, por maioria, a discussão sobre os assuntos de sua jurisdição ou sô-

bre qualquer outro assunto partidário a respeito do qual não haja uma resolução de instância superior do Partido. Nesse último caso, limita-se a encaminhar suas sugestões e propostas à instância competente para resolver. Encerrada uma discussão, a resolução sobre o assunto a que se refere só pode ser aberta por decisão da organização ou órgão dirigente partidário que a tomou, ou por decisão de órgão dirigente superior;

- e) as resoluções do Partido são cumpridas em caráter obrigatório; o membro do Partido submete-se à organização partidária, à maioria e à minoria, as organizações inferiores às superiores;
- f) todos os órgãos dirigentes, organizações e membros do Partido respondem por suas atividades e delas prestam contas sistematicamente ante os órgãos dirigentes e organizações do Partido que lhes são superiores e, assim, ante todo o Partido. Os órgãos dirigentes do Partido prestam contas periodicamente de suas atividades ante o conjunto das organizações de sua circunscrição;
- g) dentro da linha política e das resoluções do Partido, cada organização e cada órgão dirigente goza de plena autonomia na respectiva circunscrição e tem, como cada membro do Partido no campo de suas atribuições, o direito e o dever de exercer ampla iniciativa, tanto dentro do Partido como publicamente;
- h) todas as organizações e órgãos dirigentes do Partido decidem o trabalho coletivamente, definindo, ao mesmo tempo, a responsabilidade individual de cada um os seus membros.

## CAPÍTULO III

### *A Estrutura do Partido*

Art. 10 — As organizações do Partido estruturam-se segundo os critérios de local de trabalho ou moradia e de área territorial em acôr-

do com a divisão administrativa do País. De baixo para cima, são as seguintes: Organizações de Base, Distritais, Municipais, Estaduais

ou Territoriais. O Partido, como organização, abrange todo o País e constitui um sistema único de todas as organizações partidárias.

§ 1º — A organização partidária do Distrito Federal de Brasília denomina-se Organização Metropolitana e é equiparada a Organização Estadual ou Territorial.

§ 2º — É admitida, quando necessária, a criação, dentro de uma Organização Estadual, de Organizações de Zona, constituídas de um número determinado de Organizações Municipais ou Distritais.

§ 3º — Quando necessário e com a aprovação prévia do Comitê Central, podem ser criadas organizações por setor profissional, constituídas de Organizações de Base ou de Comitês locais.

§ 4º — Quando e onde necessário e com a aprovação prévia do Comitê Central, pode a organização do Partido deixar de subordinar-se aos critérios deste artigo.

Art. 11 — A organização do Partido que desenvolve sua atividade em determinado local de trabalho ou moradia, ou em determinada área territorial, é considerada superior a todas as organizações partidárias que limitam sua atividade a parte desse local ou área.

Art. 12 — A criação, desdobramento, unificação ou extinção de organizações do Partido só se tornam efetivos depois de confirmados pelo órgão dirigente da organização partidária imediatamente superior.

Art. 13 Os membros efetivos de um Comitê do Partido, ausentes a uma reunião do Comitê, são nela substituídos pelos suplentes deste, segundo a ordem estabelecida pelo órgão dirigente que o elegeu (Assembleia ou Conferência). Os demais suplentes podem participar da reunião do Comitê, a critério deste, mas com direito apenas a voz. As vagas temporárias ou permanentes abertas no efetivo de um Comitê são preenchidas pelos suplentes, segundo a ordem estabelecida. Não havendo suplentes, os Comitês do Partido devem preencher por cooptação, aprovada por dois terços de seu efetivo restante, as vagas de até um quarto do seu efetivo eleito.

Art. 14 — A atividade partidária, nas organizações de massa ou em outras organizações não-partidárias, será coordenada pelo Partido através de frações, constituídas, cada uma, dos membros do Partido pertencentes à entidade

## CAPÍTULO IV

### As Organizações de Base

Art. 18 — As Organizações de Base constituem o alicerce de toda a organização do Partido. Como os fundamentais, que são, da li-

considerada ou delegados por eles eleitos nas organizações partidárias a que pertencem. As frações do Partido elegem um secretário ou um secretariado para coordenar o seu trabalho e são dirigidas pela organização de Partido em cuja circunscrição funciona a entidade não partidária considerada.

Parágrafo único — A participação do membro do Partido numa fração não o exime de continuar atuando na organização partidária a que pertence.

Art. 15 — Os Comitês do Partido criam, segundo as necessidades, a eles subordinados, órgãos e cargos auxiliares, temporários ou permanentes, assim como órgãos especiais de direção.

Parágrafo único — As seções do Comitê Central são órgãos auxiliares permanentes, que têm por finalidade ajudá-lo na atividade de direção nas diferentes frentes de trabalho.

Art. 16 — A organização ou órgão dirigente do Partido que infrinja as normas estatutárias ou assumia atitude que fira os interesses da classe operária sujeita-se, conforme a natureza e a gravidade da falta cometida, a uma das seguintes medidas disciplinares: advertência dentro do Partido, censura pública, destituição no todo ou em parte do órgão dirigente, dissolução da organização.

§ 1º — A medida disciplinar a aplicar-se a uma organização ou órgão dirigente do Partido é decidida por maioria de dois terços pelo Comitê da instância imediatamente superior e por ele executada. No caso de a decisão ser adotada por instância acima desse Comitê, basta que o seja por maioria absoluta de votos, mas é ainda ele quem deve executá-la.

§ 2º — A destituição no todo ou em parte de órgão dirigente, ou a dissolução de uma organização do Partido, quando decidida pelo Comitê da instância imediatamente superior, pode ser prontamente executada, embora, para que seja definitiva, deva ser ratificada pelo órgão de instância acima do referido Comitê.

Art. 17 — Com o fim de sistematizar normas e procedimentos ditados pela experiência e úteis ao pleno cumprimento dos Estatutos do Partido, o Comitê Central estabelecerá os regulamentos necessários. Os demais órgãos dirigentes e as Organizações de Base regulamentarão igualmente suas próprias atividades, partindo das normas e procedimentos mais gerais aprovados pelo Comitê Central.

gação deste com as massas, nelas se concentra a atividade principal do Partido. As organizações de Base são constituídas, cada uma,

dos membros do Partido que trabalham numa mesma empresa ou residem numa mesma área. Parágrafo único — É admitida também a estruturação de Organizações de Base femininas e juvenis e por setor, dos intelectuais e elementos de profissões liberais, ou quando a organização é inviável por empresa.

Art. 19 — As tarefas mais importantes da Organização de Base são:

- a) participar ativamente da vida da massa no local de trabalho ou de moradia, dos seus movimentos e lutas, das suas organizações, ouvindo-a atentamente, recolhendo as suas experiências e levando a conhecer, assimilar e pôr em prática as palavras de ordem, as resoluções, a linha política do Partido;
- b) concorrer para a elaboração da linha política, das resoluções e palavras de ordem do Partido, preocupando-se particularmente em levar ao conhecimento das instâncias superiores partidárias as reivindicações, as tendências, o estado de espírito da massa;
- c) organizar a distribuição das tarefas entre os membros do Partido e o controle de sua realização; divulgar a imprensa e a literatura do Partido e realizar permanente trabalho de propaganda; estabelecer as contribuições dos membros do Partido segundo as normas em vigor; arrecadar as contribuições dos membros e simpatizantes do Partido e encaminhar à instância superior a quota financeira a que está obrigada; zelar pela disciplina partidária; recrutar novos membros para o Partido;
- d) organizar, entre os membros do Partido, o estudo da teoria, da política e da experiência do Partido, de modo a elevar o nível ideológico, a capacidade de conhecer a realidade social, de ligar-se às massas e de dirigi-las;
- e) estimular a crítica e autocritica de toda a atividade partidária, — a revelação e assimilação das experiências positivas e dos acertos, o descobrimento e eliminação das debilidades e dos erros, a pesquisa e desenvolvimento dos elementos novos de ação, a rejeição oportuna do que se tornou superado.

Art. 20 — A jurisdição de cada Organização de Base é estabelecida pelo órgão dirigente da organização imediatamente superior. Para a constituição de uma Organização de Base são necessários pelo menos três membros do Partido. Segundo as necessidades de seu funcionamento, ela pode estruturar-se em Seções e Subseções.

Art. 21 — A assembleia da Organização de Base, constituída da reunião geral dos seus membros, ou a Conferência dos delegados por eles eleitos nas assembleias das suas seções, é

o órgão dirigente superior da Organização de Base. São seus poderes principais:

- a) examinar a prestação de contas do Secretariado (ou do Secretário) da Organização de Base e as dos membros desta, e sobre elas decidir;
- b) discutir e resolver sobre todas as questões da atividade da Organização de Base;
- c) eleger o Secretariado (ou o Secretário) da Organização de Base e os delegados à Conferência da organização superior.

Art. 22 — A assembleia reúne-se ordinariamente a intervalos regulares por ela própria estabelecidos e não maior que três meses, e a Conferência, não maior que seis meses, Reunem-se extraordinariamente:

- a) em cumprimento a decisão da assembleia ou Conferência anterior;
- b) por iniciativa do Secretariado (ou Secretário) da Organização de Base;
- c) em cumprimento a resolução de instância superior do Partido;
- d) por proposta de um dos membros da Organização de Base aprovada pela maioria.

Cabe, em qualquer caso, ao Secretariado (ou ao Secretário) da Organização de Base fazer a convocação da assembleia ou Conferência. Parágrafo único — A proposta a que se refere a letra d deste artigo será encaminhada pelo proponente ao Secretariado (ou Secretário), que a submeterá, no menor prazo possível, à consideração individual (aprovação ou rejeição) dos membros da Organização de Base.

Art. 23 — O Secretariado da Organização de Base é o órgão dirigente desta entre uma e outra assembleia ou Conferência. O número de seus membros é estabelecido pela assembleia ou pela Conferência da Organização de Base, sendo no mínimo de três e no máximo de cinco. Sua obrigação principal é organizar a execução das resoluções da assembleia ou Conferência e das resoluções das instâncias superiores do Partido.

Parágrafo único — A Organização de Base de pequeno efetivo elege, apenas, como dirigente, um Secretário.

Art. 24 — A organização partidária de empresa de grande efetivo, estruturada em Seções e Subseções, denominar-se-á Organização de Grande Empresa e elegerá como órgão dirigente entre uma e outra Conferência um Comitê de Empresa, que por sua vez elegerá em seu seio um Secretariado, como órgão operativo diário. Nesse caso, as Seções da Organização serão denominadas Organizações de Base, e a Organização de Grande Empresa, conforme a área territorial que abranje, será equiparada a Organização Distrital, Municipal ou Estadual.

## CAPÍTULO V

### As Organizações Intermediárias e seus Órgãos Dirigentes

Art. 25 — As Organizações Distritais, Municipais e Estaduais ou Territoriais do Partido são as organizações intermediárias deste, constituídas, cada uma, respectivamente, de todas as organizações e membros do Partido na área administrativa do Distrito, Município e Estado ou Território.

Art. 26 — A Conferência Distrital, Municipal e Estadual ou Territorial é o órgão dirigente superior da organização respectiva, constituído de delegados eleitos pelas organizações partidárias que lhe são diretamente subordinadas.

São seus poderes principais:

- examinar a prestação de contas do Comitê da organização respectiva e sobre ela decidir;
- discutir e resolver sobre todas as questões da atividade da organização;
- eleger o Comitê da organização e os delegados desta à conferência da organização superior.

Parágrafo único — Quando, dado o pequeno efetivo do Partido no Distrito ou Município, os seus membros estão estruturados numa organização — Distrital ou Municipal — o órgão dirigente superior dela será a Assembléia Distrital ou Municipal.

Art. 27 — A conferência de uma organização intermediária é convocada pelo Comitê desta. Realiza-se ordinariamente de vinte e quatro em vinte e quatro meses. Reúne-se extraordinariamente:

- em cumprimento a decisão da conferência anterior;
- por iniciativa do Comitê da organização respectiva;
- em obediência a resolução de instância superior do Partido;
- em cumprimento de proposta do Comitê de uma das organizações imediatamente inferiores, aprovada pela maioria dos Comitês dessas organizações, representativos da maioria dos votos da conferência anterior.

O número de delegados à conferência e as normas preparatórias desta são estabelecidos pelo Comitê da organização respectiva, salvo se tiverem sido determinados, para o caso, por iniciativa superior do Partido.

Parágrafo único — A proposta a que se refere a letra d deste artigo será encaminhada pelo Comitê proponente ao Comitê da organização superior, que a submeterá, no menor prazo possível, à consideração (aprovação ou rejeição) dos Comitês de sua circunscrição.

Art. 28 — O Comitê Distrital, Municipal, Es-

tadual ou Territorial é o órgão dirigente da organização respectiva entre uma e outra conferência desta. O número de membros efetivos e suplentes do Comitê é estabelecido pela conferência que o elege. Os membros efetivos serão no mínimo sete e no máximo quinze; os suplentes, no mínimo três e no máximo sete.

As obrigações principais do Comitê são:

- organização e execução das resoluções da conferência da organização respectiva e das resoluções das instâncias superiores do Partido;
- arrecadar as quotas financeiras das organizações partidárias da sua jurisdição e encaminhar à instância superior a quota que lhe corresponde;
- propor à aprovação da Comissão Executiva do Comitê Central os nomes dos candidatos a cargos públicos eletivos federais exercidos no âmbito da própria circunscrição que devam, em sua opinião, ser registrados na legenda do Partido ou por este apoiados.

§ 1º — A critério da respectiva conferência, o Comitê Estadual poderá eleger em seu seio uma Comissão Executiva que, em cumprimento às decisões dele, dirigirá a atividade do Partido entre duas reuniões do Comitê, a ela ficando subordinado o Secretariado. Nesse caso, o Comitê poderá ter até um máximo de vinte e um membros efetivos e sete suplentes.

§ 2º — A Assembléia Distrital ou Municipal elegerá como órgão dirigente, entre uma e outra assembléia, um Secretariado ou, como dirigente, um Secretário, conforme for necessário.

Art. 29 — O Comitê Distrital reúne-se ordinariamente com intervalo não maior que dois meses; o Municipal, que três meses; o Estadual ou Territorial, que quatro meses. Reunem-se extraordinariamente:

- em cumprimento a decisão de reunião anterior;
- por iniciativa do Secretariado respectivo;
- em obediência a resolução de instância superior do Partido;
- por proposta de um de seus membros aprovada pela maioria.

Cabe, em qualquer caso, ao Secretariado do Comitê convocar a reunião deste.

Parágrafo único — A proposta a que se refere a letra d deste artigo será encaminhada pelo proponente ao Secretariado do Comitê, que a submeterá, no menor prazo possível, à consideração individual (aprovação ou rejeição) dos membros do Comitê.

Art. 30 — O Comitê Distrital, Municipal, Estadual ou Territorial elegerá em seu seio dois ou mais Secretários que constituirão o Secretariado do Comitê, seu órgão operativo diário. São obrigações do Secretariado:

- a) promover a execução das decisões do Comitê respectivo;
- b) atender as questões de ordem prática do trabalho de direção.

## CAPÍTULO VI

### Os Órgãos Dirigentes Centrais do Partido

Art. 31 — O Congresso Nacional do Partido é o órgão dirigente supremo deste constituído de delegados eleitos pelas conferências das organizações diretamente subordinadas à direção central do Partido. As decisões do Congresso Nacional são obrigatórias para todo o Partido e não podem ser revogadas, no todo ou em parte, senão por outro congresso. São poderes principais deste:

- a) examinar a prestação de contas do Comitê Central e sobre ela decidir;
- b) estabelecer o Programa, os Estatutos e a orientação política geral do partido;
- c) eleger o Comitê Central.

Art. 32 — O Congresso do Partido é convocado pelo Comitê Central. Reúne-se ordinariamente de quatro em quatro anos e, extraordinariamente:

- a) em cumprimento a decisão do Congresso anterior;
- b) por iniciativa do Comitê Central;
- c) por proposta de um Comitê Estadual ou Territorial aprovada pela maioria dos Comitês Estaduais e Territoriais, representativos da maioria dos membros do Partido.

O número de delegados ao Congresso Nacional e as normas preparatórias deste são estabelecidos pelo Comitê Central, salvo se determinados, para o caso, pelo Congresso Nacional anterior.

Parágrafo único — A proposta a que se refere a letra c deste artigo será encaminhada pelo proponente ao Comitê Central, que a submeterá, no menor prazo possível, à consideração (aprovação ou rejeição) dos Comitês Estaduais ou Territoriais.

Art. 33 — O Comitê Central é o órgão dirigente do Partido entre um e outro congresso. O número de membros efetivos e suplentes, do Comitê Central é estabelecido pelo Congresso Nacional. Os poderes principais do Comitê Central são:

- a) dirigir toda a atividade partidária em cumprimento às resoluções do Congresso Nacional do Partido;
- b) examinar a prestação de contas da Comissão

- são Executiva do Comitê Central e do Secretariado do Comitê Central, e sobre ela decidir;
- c) representar o Partido nas relações com outros partidos e organizações;
- d) nomear e substituir os responsáveis pelos órgãos centrais da imprensa do Partido;
- e) distribuir os quadros do Partido;
- f) resolver sobre os candidatos a postos públicos eletivos federais a serem registrados na legenda do Partido ou por este apoiados;
- g) estabelecer as normas relativas às contribuições dos membros do Partido e as quotas financeiras a que são obrigadas as organizações partidárias e administrar os meios financeiros e os bens patrimoniais do Partido;
- h) autorizar os Comitês Estaduais ou Territoriais, quando necessário e em casos excepcionais, a organizarem em suas circunscrições Comitês em setores profissionais, tendo em vista unir os membros do Partido para uma atuação partidária mais eficiente;
- i) eleger entre os seus membros a Comissão Executiva, o Secretário-geral, três ou mais secretários que constituirão o Secretariado do Comitê Central. Eleger à Comissão Nacional de Controle.

Art. 34 — A reunião do Comitê Central é convocada pela Comissão Executiva. O Comitê Central reúne-se ordinariamente com intervalos não maiores que seis meses e, extraordinariamente:

- a) em cumprimento a decisão de reunião anterior;
- b) por iniciativa da Comissão Executiva;
- c) por proposta de um dos seus membros aprovada pela maioria.

Parágrafo único — A proposta a que se refere a letra c deste artigo deve ser encaminhada pelo proponente à Comissão Executiva, que a submeterá, no menor prazo possível, à consideração individual (aprovação ou rejeição) dos membros do Comitê Central.

Art. 35 — No período entre um e outro Congresso Nacional, o Comitê Central convoca, pelo menos uma vez, a Conferência Nacional do Partido, para discussão mais ampla de de-

terminados problemas partidários. A Conferência é constituída pelos membros do Comitê Central e, segundo as normas por este fixadas, de delegados eleitos por todos os Comitês Estaduais e Territoriais e, a critério do Comitê Central, pelos Comitês de outras organizações partidárias. Suas resoluções só se tornam obrigatórias para o Partido depois de ratificadas pelo Comitê Central. Entretanto, a Conferência Nacional pode, independentemente de ratificação, substituir entre um e outro Congresso Nacional até um quinto dos membros efetivos do Comitê Central por suplentes, segundo a ordem estabelecida, e completar o número regular destes.

Art. 36 — O Comitê Central, sempre que o considere necessário à discussão mais ampla de determinados problemas partidários de interesse regional, pode, por iniciativa própria ou por proposta de um Comitê, Estadual ou Territorial, convocar conferências regionais, constituídas, segundo normas por ele fixadas, de delegados eleitos por todos os Comitês Estaduais e Territoriais da região considerada e, a critério do Comitê Central, pelos Comitês de outras organizações partidárias. As resoluções dessas conferências só se tornam obrigatórias para o Partido depois de ratificadas pelo Comitê Central.

Art. 37 — A Comissão Executiva, cujos trabalhos são coordenados pelo Secretário-geral, é o órgão dirigente do Comitê Central entre uma e outra reunião deste. O número de seus membros é determinado pelo Comitê Central. Suas atribuições e obrigações são as seguintes:

- a) dirigir toda a atividade partidária com vistas à execução das resoluções do Comitê

Central e de suas próprias decisões, daquelas decorrentes;

- b) submeter ao Comitê Central as questões que são da competência exclusiva deste;
- c) coordenar a atuação dos membros do Comitê Central;
- d) controlar o trabalho dos órgãos auxiliares do Comitê Central;
- e) examinar, entre uma e outra reunião do Comitê Central, a prestação de contas de seu Secretariado, e sobre ela decidir.

Art. 38 — O Secretariado do Comitê Central e seu órgão operativo. Atende ao trabalho de direção entre uma e outra reunião da Comissão Executiva, à qual está subordinado e presta contas. Elege um de seus membros para coordenar sua atividade.

Art. 39 — A Comissão Nacional de Controle é um órgão anexo ao Comitê Central, ao qual presta contas de sua atividade. O Comitê Central determina o número de seus membros. São atribuições da Comissão Nacional de Controle:

- a) examinar os casos de infração grave, por parte de dirigentes comunistas, do Programa e dos Estatutos do Partido, e propor ao Comitê Central as medidas que julgar necessárias;
- b) examinar as apelações contra medidas disciplinares tomadas pelos Comitês Estaduais, Territoriais e demais organizações subordinadas diretamente ao Comitê Central e a ele informar;
- c) examinar as apelações contra medidas disciplinares tomadas pelo Comitê Central e a ele encaminhar o pedido de revisão;
- d) eleger, entre seus membros, um Secretário e um Vice-secretário.

## CAPÍTULO VII

### *As Finanças e o Patrimônio do Partido*

Art. 40 — Os recursos financeiros do Partido são constituídos pelas contribuições mensais de seus membros e simpatizantes e por donativos, rendas eventuais e pelo resultado de campanha

financeira. Constituem patrimônio do Partido todos os haveres de suas organizações.

Art. 41 — A contribuição mensal mínima de cada membro do Partido é de 1/2% (meio por cento) de sua receita mensal.

## CAPÍTULO VIII

### *Disposições Gerais*

Art. 42 — Não é admitida a delegação de poderes por procuração nas assembleias, conferências, congressos e demais reuniões do Partido.

Art. 43 — Os casos omissos destes Estatutos serão resolvidos pelo Comitê Central do Partido.

Dezembro de 1967.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 3/7/68

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

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C  
REPLACEMENT AND NEUTRALIZATION PROGRAM

[redacted] aka.  
SM-C

[redacted] aka.  
SM-C

*R. [signature]*  
*pa*

ReBulet 2/23/68.

[redacted] and [redacted] are being considered for development and possible utilization in the SOLO apparatus, in particular in the laundry drop p<sup>ro</sup>posed by the Soviets noted in relet.

*19*

Background

[redacted] was born on 5/20/13 in NYC. He attended one year at the College of the City of New York, studying business administration.

He was a furrier from 1936 to about 1947 and was an [redacted] for the [redacted] in NYC during the same period. From 1948 to 1950, he was a paid functionary of the CP NYS, both in NYC and in the Buffalo area. From 1950 to 1955, he was in the Communist underground. In 1957, he became employed at the [redacted] and is employed there at present.

[redacted] was born 2/2/13 in Russia, came to the USA in 1921 and derived U. S. citizenship from her father in 1922. She was educated in NYC public schools and in 1931 attended the College of the City of New York. In 1936 she received a degree of [redacted] from the New York School of [redacted]

- 4 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (134-46) (RM)
- 1 - NY 100-134637-Sub C (41)
- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - [redacted]

JAH:msd (6)

*Let to SAC, NY  
1-cc- [unclear]  
3/11/68*



*108 103-428091-6789*  
*copy on any file*  
*100-428091-6*  
MAR 14 1968  
*Savings Plan*

Since 1935, she has been variously employed as a clerical worker and a housewife and in 1960 she opened a [redacted] office in NYC. She is presently so employed at [redacted] Street, NYC.

[redacted] were married in NYC in 1935 and are presently the parents of three children. They resided in NYC until about 1948 when they moved to the Buffalo, NY, area, returning to NYC in about 1951. They presently reside in Apartment 8E [redacted] Road, Riverdale, Bronx, NY.

Subversive Activities

[redacted] were members of the Communist Party (CP) in NYC in 1936, he having been a member of the Young Communist League in 1935.

In 1948, [redacted] was employed by the NY County CP and the same year moved to the Buffalo, NY, area, where he became [redacted] of the Erie County CP. In 1949, he was a member of the Buffalo CP Staff and in 1950 he was directed to go in CP underground where he remained until 1955.

Prior to 1949 [redacted] had been a member of Housewives Branch of CP in NYC and in 1949 was transferred to the [redacted] of Buffalo CP. In 1950, she was [redacted] of that club and very active in the CP.

During the underground period 1950 to 1955, she resided with her children at [redacted] NYC.

In 1956, [redacted] was observed visiting CPUSA and NYD CP headquarters on numerous occasions, and it is believed he was then organizer of the Fur Section of the CP in NYC.

In April 1958, [redacted] indicated he was disillusioned with the CP leadership and has been inactive since that time.

The last known CP activity on the part of [redacted] was her attendance in July 1957 at CPUSA Industrial Division, Distributive Region meeting.

NY 100-134637-Sub C

[redacted] was interviewed as a security subject by the NYO on 9/9/57, 11/20/59 and 10/30/62, and [redacted] was interviewed on 9/22/59. Both were uncooperative.

b7D

Recommendation

Bureau authority is requested to interview [redacted] [redacted] separately and under secure conditions for the purpose of developing them for utilization in the SOLO apparatus.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, New York (100-134637)

3/14/68

Director, FBI (100-428091) — 6789

- 1 - Mr. W. H. Floyd
- 1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

SOLO REC-103  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
 REPLACEMENT AND NEUTRALIZATION PROGRAM

[Redacted] aka  
 SECURITY MATTER - C

b7D

[Redacted] aka  
 SECURITY MATTER - C

Reurlet 3/7/68 requesting authority to interview the [Redacted] separately under secure conditions for the purpose of developing them for utilization in the Solo Apparatus.

b7D

Authority is granted to interview subjects to determine their attitude. Conduct interview in accordance with Section 87D of the Manual of Instructions. Care should be taken to preclude the possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau as a result of these interviews. Advise Bureau of results of interviews and submit your recommendations for further action.

In submission of future letters of this type, do not designate copies for subject's, such as those listed above, regular Bureau file if any phase of the Solo Operation is mentioned in your letter.

1 - Chicago (134-46)

RCP:cst  
 (6)

NOTE:

Soviets have instructed CPUSA to obtain a laundry or gift shop to be utilized as a drop. Requirements for individuals to operate such a drop called for old-time Party members who have been active in the recent past. Subjects referred to above, if cooperative, could be utilized in operating such a business in a way which would give us complete control. These interviews constitute part of a program designed to locate individuals to be developed as informants and utilized in the Solo Apparatus. Solo communications are

*Handwritten initials*

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO.

98 MAR 25 1968  TELETYPE UNIT

*Handwritten signature*

Letter to SAC, New York  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

NOTE CONTINUED:

afforded special handling at the Seat of Government to protect this sensitive case. Therefore, New York and Chicago should not designate copies for the regular Bureau files on these individuals if any phase of this sensitive operation is mentioned, as was done in relet.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
  - 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
  - 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- DATE: March 11, 1968
- 1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

FROM : C. D. Brennan *CB*

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

*C. D. Brennan*  
*R. C. Putnam*

My memorandum of 2/12/68 set forth, in detail, an accounting of funds received by the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), from the Soviets and Red China for January, 1968. The following is an accounting of these funds for February, 1968.

TOTAL FUNDS RECEIVED AND DISBURSED 9/58 TO 1/31/68

Total received from the Soviet Union.....	\$5,236,538.09
Total received from Red China (all on 2/10/60).....	50,000.00
<u>Total received 9/58 to 1/31/68.....</u>	<u>\$5,286,538.09</u>
Total disbursed 9/58 to 1/31/68.....	4,280,593.64
Total Available.....	\$1,005,944.45

DISBURSEMENTS DURING FEBRUARY, 1968

All disbursements made on specific instructions of Gus Hall, General Secretary, CPUSA.

2/13/68 - To purchase books sent Soviet Union..\$	110.00
2/19/68 - To Gus Hall for "The Worker," east coast communist newspaper, the Party's leadership school and travel fares for Party leaders going to international meeting of communist parties in Budapest, Hungary.....	15,000.00
2/20/68 - For partial expenses of CG 5824-S* on Solo Mission 25.....	653.00
Total disbursed February, 1968.....\$	15,763.00

100-428091

RCP:cst *cst*  
(5)

REC 109

100-428091-6790

6 MAR 14 1968

CONTINUED - OVER

*5-08*

*67*

8 MAR 25 1968

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

Balance of Fund 2/29/68.....	\$	990,181.45
In Chicago.....	\$	137,237.13
In New York.....	\$	852,944.32
	\$	<u>990,181.45</u>

ACTION:

None. This memorandum is submitted for your information. An up-to-date accounting of Party funds received from the Soviets will be brought to your attention each month. Details of the accounting of these funds are not to be disseminated.

*[Handwritten initials and marks: a scribble, a signature, 'wes', a checkmark, 'J', 'R', and another scribble]*

FBI  
ROUTE 11 ENVELOPE  
Date: 3/7/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

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

SOLO  
IS-C

*Handwritten notes:*  
R. O. Johnson  
J. J. Kelly

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Remarks of Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, to Consultative Conference of Communist and Workers Parties, Budapest, Hungary."

On 3/6/68 there was received from CG 5824-S\* through a Solo drop address in the name of NORMA HANSEL, Post Office Box 7363, Chicago, Illinois 60680, the text of remarks made by HALL to the above Conference. The envelope was postmarked 3/1/68 at Budapest, Hungary, and bore the return address, "Kovacs Budapest, VIII Prate(r)(?) u2." The date on which HALL delivered these remarks is not known to this office although it is noted that an article appearing in the 3/3/68 issue of "The Worker" stated that HALL was Chairman of the morning session of the Conference on 2/27/68.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information

- 3-Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)
  - 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 2) (Info) (RM)
  - 1-Chicago
- WAB:MDW  
(5)

ENCLOSURE  
REC-100 100-428091-4792

14 MAR 15 1968

*Handwritten signature:* 518

Approved: *mg/ra* Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

98 MAR 25 1968



CG 134-46 Sub B

on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security. While it is not known to this office whether the text of HALL's remarks has been made public, it is nevertheless believed necessary to classify this document due to the form of its attachment which is exactly as received from the informant including such inaccuracies as were in the original.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as being prepared at Washington, D. C.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

March 7, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REMARKS OF GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST  
PARTY, USA, TO CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS PARTIES, BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

1968

During March, 1968, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

A Consultative Conference of Communist and Workers Parties convened beginning on February 26, 1968, in Budapest, Hungary. During the course of this Conference, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, addressed some remarks to the delegates from Communist and Workers Parties assembled at this Conference. Attached hereto is a copy of the text of Hall's remarks.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Attachment

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

ENCLOSURE  
100-423091-6793

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Remarks of Gus Hall to Consultative Conference.

Last week, the most authoritative press organs speaking for U.S. imperialism - including the New York Times, published editorial death notices for this consultative conference.

They were confident this historic world conference would fail in its objectives. They wrote - "The world gathering would flounder on the rocks of "nationalism", "petty rivalries", between parties, which they said, "has replaced 'vision' working class concepts, and a sense of internationalism in the world Communist movement".

For U.S. imperialism these editorial obituaries express a hope, and a dream. But they are much more - they express an important, active phase - a cardinal element in their policies of aggression. World Communist disunity has a top tag of priority in the plans of U.S. imperialism.

For us - here - the success of this conference is a hope and a working class dream. But it is also more - much more. World Communist Unity is a question of top priority in the struggle to defeat the policies of imperialism in general - but it is critical - it is a burning necessity in the struggle to defeat the policies and wars of aggression of U.S. imperialism.

This conference can become a historic milestone - it can set into motion the forces for a new level of struggle - it can give a lead for a new sense of unity of the anti-imperialist forces. It can set into motion a new world-wide anti-imperialist offensive.

In unity and dedication, in courage and determination, in militancy, and skill, the world Communist movement must now

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

match the new level of struggle, the new standards set by the people of Viet Nam.

Life has dictated a new urgency for this consultative gathering.

The heroic offensive of the Viet Nam people during the past weeks has created a new crisis for U.S. imperialism, and a moment of great urgency for the forces of anti-imperialism. The crisis presents new dangers - but above all, it presents new possibilities for administering a crushing and historic defeat for imperialism. How to most effectively meet this critical moment - how to take full advantage of these new possibilities - is an urgent question on our conference table.

The new level of the military struggle by the people of Viet Nam must now be matched by a new level of political-ideological and diplomatic struggle, in every continent, in every country, in every city and hamlet, the world over.

The moment calls for an accelerated many-sided anti-imperialist offensive. The moment calls for a renewed, all peoples movement against the dangers of nuclear war.

This new offensive for national liberation, in Viet Nam, has exploded U.S. imperialism self-hypnosis that it can win a military victory in Viet Nam.

It has added a new dimension to its gross miscalculations about the nature of the world forces of anti-imperialism. It is a miscalculation on all fronts - military - political and ideological.

Its admitted failure in the so called pacification program is admission that it cannot win a political victory. The arrest

of the remaining political leaders expose the puppets as a total fraud.

The National Liberation Front's offensive in the cities shattered U.S. imperialism's last hopes of winning a military victory. Its theories of "search and destroy", of "holding on to military enclaves" went up in the smoke of the offensive.

In the U.S.A. the NLF offensive has been a rude awakening to the millions who believed victory was possible. The creditability gap has further widened.

The events have forced a new agonizing reappraisal of the war policy and its domestic consequences. The divisions, the frustrations have further deepened.

The increased brutalities - the open policies of genocide - the cold blooded destruction of cities and villages - including the men, women and children living in them, has further exposed U.S. imperialism for the ugly beast that it is. This has further isolated the United States from the rest of the world.

These new developments of the moment argue with new force for world Communist unity. They give further weight to the need for a world Communist conference. But it seems to us - in some way the urgency of these developments must be reflected in the deliberations and outcome of this conference. Possibly the standing committee, the secretariat, can take up some of the projected world-wide actions. Or should we not consider an appeal for a renewal of all peoples offensive against the practices of genocide - and the threat of world nuclear genocide. It seems to us such actions will not detract in any way from the purpose of this conference.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

We are fully aware of the ugly brutal nature of U.S. imperialism. We have a realistic estimate of what it takes to defeat it. But, because we have the advantage of viewing it from the inside, possibly its defects are more obvious to us. We can see its weaknesses as they are in the process of development. We are as confident as ever that the combined forces of anti-imperialism - which includes the growing forces of resistance in the U.S.A. - can force U.S. imperialism to retreat - it can be defeated.

U.S. imperialism and our people are learning the truth about this epoch - that aggression is a costly business. It is costly in resources - in human lives - but it is costly in many other ways.

The high cost of being the gendarme of world imperialism in a period when the world is in revolt against imperialist oppression - the cost of empire building at a time when the balance of world forces have shifted, are coming home to roost.

This cost is taking on meaning in the unprecedented militarization of every phase of life.

The cost reflects itself, in the crisis of the dollar - in the gold, flowing like a steady stream from Fort Knox.

The costs of these imperialist forays show up in a developing crises of democracy.

The cost is in crisis of taxation, in runaway prices, in a further deepening and widening of the enclaves of poverty - especially in the Negro ghettos.

19/A

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The cost is in the crisis of the cities.

The cost is in the growing pressures for restrictive trade policies.

It is a feature of the present power relationship in the capitalist world that because the United States is the pivotal state in it, it is also the place where the crisis factors of world imperialism are focused and very often magnified. This is the cost of being the reactionary, military, financial and ideological headquarters for a world system in crisis - a system in decline.

It is this sharp point of world reality that influences all developments. It must influence the work of this conference.

Because reality is motion and change, policies, tactics, attitude must go through the process of continuous check and refreshment and renewal to retain the important element of timeliness.

The question of world Communist unity is no exception to this rule.

Both the form and the content of such unity needs to go through the process of continuous check, refreshment and renewal.

We, in our party, approach this question from the critical premise that the present form and content of world Communist unity is totally inadequate - it does not measure up to the problems of today's realities.

To speak about world communist unity but then to oppose every step that will give it meaning and form, is to disagree, is in fact, to oppose such unity in content and form. All who talks about unity are not for unity. Expression of unity must take a form, it must be transferred into acts of unity. The human mind cannot, as yet, preceive formless matter, or unity as an abstraction.

The concept of working class internationalism is also a matter of great principle. But just to declare its principleness does not make it so. Like any principle it will have meaning only, if it has form and content that will be put through the process of continuous check, refreshment and renewal.

"World Communist Unity" - "working class internationalism" these concepts of principle take on meaning only if they are "alive" - only if they reflect a changing reality - only if they have content and form.

Our party is for a world conference of all Marxist- Communist Parties. Our support for such a conference is without conditions. There are no "ifs" "ands" or "buts" about our participation in such a conference. We are for full preparations but we are for holding the conference in 1968; there is a time for preparations and there is a time for holding the conference. After eight years, the time is now !

For the purpose of further probing we want to suggest a new, longer range look, both as to content and forms of World Communist Unity - but let me say again, we do not make either the acceptance, or the rejection of our ideas as a condition for participation in the world conference. We are not now proposing this as a point on the agenda of the conference.

We want to suggest a critical examination of this matter, not on the basis of the ghosts of past experiences - but as a vital weapon of struggle in todays world, world communist unity is not a periferial issue. It is a necessity in battle.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

We do not believe a world Communist unity based on undesignated initiatives by one or more parties, resulting in periodic conferences, measure up to the needs of today. It does not measure up to the tasks and responsibilities of a vanguard revolutionary force during history's most explosive revolutionary period.

We feel it is outdated (if in fact it ever had more validity than a reflection of some inner family problems).

We are firmly convinced, the historic moment calls for a world Communist unity that is reflected in some organized system for exchanging experiences and for consultations between parties. We want to emphasize, we are for some organized system of relations.

To get at the real questions involved in this projection, let us discard some of the old ghosts that are so often distracting; as we all know it is difficult to deal with ghosts - even political ghosts.

An organized system for exchanges and consultations does not, and is not, a proposal for the resurrection of the Comintern or Cominform. It is not a proposal for a new world communist centre.

In form and content they were at best for another set of circumstances - so let us do away with the ghost.

Is the question of Parties retaining their autonomous, sovereign status a real question now ?

Or is the fear that any future organized system of relations between world parties would endanger the autonomous existence of National Parties a legitimate fear?

I think we can all agree - such problems did exist in a different set of circumstances. But there is nothing in experiences from which we should conclude that any and all

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organized systems of relations must necessarily lead to an encroachment on the autonomous existence of Parties.

In fact, the experiences of the last few years leads us to conclude that it is the lack of an organized system of relations and exchanges that has facilitated the encroachment of some parties into autonomous spheres of their brother parties. Frankly, we do not believe these are the real fears or the real questions.

It is our opinion that for many parties, the real question behind most of these fears and objections, is the fundamental problem, of how to best fight, against a central and most effective propaganda slander used against Communist Parties. The fear is of how the enemy will, demagogically, use any new organized relationships between Communist Parties. This is a real question. This is not a ghost. This we can and should discuss. But let us discuss this and not some non-existent problem. There are many varieties of this ideological slander against Communist Parties - but in essence they boil down to the charge that the Communist Parties are not native indigenous political forces. That our loyalties are to a foreign power, or to some world wide conspiracy. That we are interested in struggles - but only for some ulterior motive - that we "use" our people's grievances. This is effective slander, because it demagogically plays with such popular emotions as nationalism and patriotism. In the U.S.A. all this slander has been codified into Federal laws.

We can also agree that we are paying for some of the past mistakes, that resulted from an insensitivity to this slander, and mass emotional feelings.

The question is real and what is the most effective approach is a serious question.

The absence of a world system of relation between parties, has not been an answer. For each party to retreat into its autonomous shell is also not an answer. These approaches are not meeting the problem. This is retreating from the problem. And tactical retreats always carry with them the dangers of ideological retreats. And ideological retreating is the incubation period for opportunism. So each party must have under constant survey the question of where do tactical positions end, and where does retreating and opportunism start in these matters. Relationships with a world communist movement are invalid in this assessment.

To reject all forms of world Communist unity because of this problem is a retreat on a principle matter.

In general, I believe we all agree - the basic line of battle against this enemy propaganda is not a retreat, but rather in the correct application of the science of Marxism to the specific realities of each Nation. The line of battle is in a more effective leadership in struggle, a sharper sensitivity to the mass currents and trends in one's own country, and a correct consultative & exchange relationship to the world communist movement.

Thus if the problem is not a matter of autonomous relations between parties, or between parties and some system of world relations, but rather the struggle against the demagogic campaign of our class enemy about our autonomous standing in our countries then we are dealing with a real question.

As we all know this slander is often pin-pointed in the charge that Communists are agents of Moscow.

This is also a real question. The charge is slander but the ideological question is real.

How to deal with this question is an important question, at least for us in the U.S.A. It is closely related to questions of the nature and forms of world Communist unity, and of each party's struggle for its independent posture. But again let us deal with what is the real question.

This is further complicated by the fact that anti-sovietism is a main ideological pillar of U.S. imperialism. It brings the highest price on the U.S. imperialist ideological market. It is a mark of our times that anti-sovietism packaged in left-radical wrappings now brings a higher price than those in right wing wrappings. There is a greater demand for it on the imperialist market place.

There are great pressures for its use. There is the pressure to use what is called a "little anti-sovietism" - to prove our autonomy - our independence. This is the price of respectability. This is the price of admission into the circle of independent parties in the books of U.S. imperialism. This is the wedge, this is the instrument with which U.S. imperialism seeks for soft spots in the ranks of the socialist countries and in the positions of communist parties.

There are many sides to this question, including how to express disagreements publicly with the parties in the socialist countries without giving fuel to this central ideological premise of imperialism.

Here again, each party has to decide where to draw the line of a principle position.

To explore, to retreat on matters of principle is buying fools gold. The best line of attack is to meet the issue head on. It is a principle of working class internationalism that you do not take advantage; you do not break ranks for some monetary gain.

We cannot fight this slander by unprincipled retreats. It can also lead to the swamp of opportunism.

One still hears the argument that steps towards world Communist Unity - endangers future world Communist unity.

We believe this concept has now reversed itself.

Now it is the lack of steps towards greater world unity that endangers all future unity. The lack of steps towards greater unity is a force for dispersal. Each step of greater unity will now become a magnet.

We are for the unity of all Communist and Marxist Parties. But we believe the time has come for removing the power of veto by one or more parties over what the rest of the Communist movement should do. The urgency of this moment of history does not permit us such luxuries.

In the context of today's reality, such veto powers means paralysis and stalemate in matters of world unity. Such a stalemate in the holding back of unity in struggle is impermissible. Parties that cannot join collective consultations now may do so later on. The welcome mat will always be out.

It is also our opinion that militant talk about a struggle against imperialism, while resisting every form of world Communist unity, is a contradiction in terms. Any serious approach to the struggle against imperialism inevitably leads one to new approaches to the question of World Communist Unity.

Now about some possible forms and new relationships.

First, I want to again present a project that is closely related to the struggle for unity of world forces on all levels.

Without a system of information about struggles, movements and political developments on a world scale we will continue to limp in all areas.

Proletarian Internationalism is a live principle when it relates to struggles. Anti-imperialism by its very nature must be based on struggle and developments beyond ones own borders.

Most of the Communist newspapers do not have available sources of information about political current events. They are at the mercy of capitalist-imperialist controlled and orientated news service. Comrades, let me be perfectly frank with you - if I told you what I think about the World Communists press coverage of the struggles in the U.S.A. - well, if I told you - you would tell me about how our paper does not cover your struggles, and we would both be right.

We need urgently a new, modern professionally competent - progressive world press service.

The Communist newspapers, even the poorest of them could become overnight, the most authoritative, most informative papers of their countries if they had the services of such a press service. They could become the source for a new sense of internationalism.

Let me give just one example. This morning I picked up a Communist paper here in this hotel. It has a U.P.I. story about a strike and a fierce battle with the police of that city. Not a bad story but it has, a one sentence class hook in it. It said the battle started because one of the strikers threw a rock. Thus the blame for the police attacks on the strikers was placed on the strikers. We cannot continue a situation where the Communist newspapers especially in foreign news must get their information from capitalist news services. Everybody thinks this is a good idea, but where and how are we going to give this good idea life.

The growth of the world Marxist movement is itself an argument for some system of exchanges and consultations between parties of the world.

The simultaneous growth and the interrelationships of the movements for socialism and the movements of national liberation has resulted in an explosive growth of Marxism. Much of this new influence has taken place in non-working class sections of the population.

Thus much of this new Marxist influence has been superimposed upon deep petty-bourgeois influences of nationalism, of petty-bourgeois radicalism, influences of racism and chauvinism. This is always fertile soil for development of opportunism.

There is a broad challenge to working class ideas within this broad new Marxist development itself.

For example, could the world communist movement have been a factor, an influence in moulding more stable Marxist parties in other lands, where historical development has not yet produced a bigger working class? Is it not possible to have some form of organized collective assistance?

Is it not possible to have a commission for consultations on such matters?

In the capitalist countries petty-bourgeois radicalism - with influence of anarchism has grown into a rather serious problem. It is one question, comrades, most parties ask about. It has become a problem in mass movements - it is an influence in Communist Parties.

Is it not possible for a commission - for as long a period as is necessary to exchange experiences and be helpful in every way possible on this question?

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Is there not a need for some forms of commissions on the role and problems of Nationalism ?

It seems to us, there is a need for some system of changing ideas and dealing with problems of the Trade-Unions as well as in the struggle against Racism.

I suggest Commission. This may not be acceptable. Let us not close the matter with that. Let us probe different methods. Let us collectively find the method that works. I am absolutely convinced that sooner or later the world Communist movement is going to take a fresh look at this question from a more long-range view point. Why should not the coming world conference set up the machinery for the next one. What is wrong with the conference electing a committee that, in consultations with parties, will call and prepare a conference at the end of two years? Without this we will again spend months and years getting the machinery moving again.

And, finally we want to suggest that all these problems, the system and the forms for world communist unity, the ideological struggles, all must be considered in the context of the mass trends - currents, and within the ideological level that is a reflection of the new balance of forces of this epoch.

At least in the U.S.A. we are convinced we need to view these problems differently now.

The present generations do not view internationalism as a dirty word. World ties are seen as crucial in holding the world from a nuclear disaster. Thus for the millions international cooperation is a matter of life or death.

The development of world-wide corporations is giving the working class a new concept of world ties. The struggle for peace and against imperialist aggression is seen as a world-wide struggle. We have the most internationally minded young generation in our history. This has been a big factor in the development of our anti-imperialist consciousness. The mass media is fully

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



aware of this shift. Only a few years ago our participation in this conference would have been written up as sensational news. Now we have to work at making our being here front page news.

I don't think this development is limited to the U.S.A. It seems like a logical shift in mass concepts that reflects the realities of a new epoch. Masses reflect the new movement. The world revolutionary process is reflected in new mass concepts.

The efforts to achieve unity in the world Communist movement is in a very basic sense a struggle for the unity of all forces of progress.

A united world movement is a center of gravity for all forces of progress. A divided movement does not attract.

We simply cannot draw fully, we cannot get the full benefits from the new world relationship of forces as long as the world Communist movement remains formless and divided.

are concerned  
There are some who / about the question, how parties should handle political assessments made by world conferences. Some feel this would be interpreted as instructions from a world organization. I do not think this is a serious problem. They are not instructions. They are not binding documents. How to handle them? Present them to the Party and to the public for a democratic discussion.

As to the question of what should be the scope of the deliberation of the world Communist Conference. We have an over-all attitude to this question :

We think the Conference should discuss whatever are the cardinal questions of the moment.

Any question of common concern; questions which we should collectively probe; questions to which we should try to find common answers to.

We should not fear collectively discussing any problem.

If we are not able to come to united conclusions on all matters, it seems to us this is no catastrophe.

It has been said that we should limit the conference to questions we can agree on. But how do we find out what we do agree on, if we do not probe and discuss.

It has also been suggested that we should not take up controversial questions, ideological questions or programmatic questions. What is left of the political spectre seems rather narrow.

It seems to us the base of the conference should be the assessment of and struggle against imperialism and pin-pointed on the struggle against United States imperialism and all related questions.

World Communist unity must not be propelled only by the negative factors in life. It must not be moulded only by needs of defense. It must be propelled by the visions of giant strides now possible in social progress. It must be fired by victorious offensive battles that are now fully possible. Moulding World Communist Unity is moulding the victory of World Communism.

History may say many things about our deliberations, some kind and some unkind, but it will in the end judge us by how we meet this central challenge that life has placed on the agenda for us, for all of mankind. We will not - we dare not fail.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: 3/8/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

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

*Blair*  
*R. J. [Signature]*

SOLO  
IS-C

On 3/8/68 CG 6653-S advised that she had received a call on this date from ELIZABETH HALL. ELIZABETH HALL advised that she and her husband, GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA, had returned to the U.S. on the evening of 3/7/68. ELIZABETH HALL brought greetings from CG 5824-S\* and advised CG 5824-S\* is well. She further advised that CG 5824-S\* was proceeding to Moscow, USSR but furnished no information relative to the length of his stay.

The above is being furnished for the info of the Bureau and NY.

*K*

- ③-Bureau (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

*100-428091-6793*

WAB:MDW  
(5)

REC-100

14 MAR 15 1968

*5-7*

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

*[Signature]*  
Special Agent in Charge

MAR 25 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Favel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. Conrad *Jwe*

DATE: March 11, 1968

FROM : *C. F. Downing*

SUBJECT: *SOLO*  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*711*

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S\* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 3/11/68, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

**ACTION:**

For information.

*cc: [unclear]*

*[Handwritten initials]*

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn.: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. R. C. Putnam)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

*HS:ccb*  
*(7)*

*[Handwritten mark]*

REC-20

*100-428091-6794*

EX-105

MAR 15 1968

*5-0*

MAR 25 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 3/8/68

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

SUBJECT: SOLO (REPLACEMENT AND NEUTRALIZATION PROGRAM)  
IS-C

*R. [Signature]*  
*[Signature]*

7/11

ReBulet to New York, 2/23/68.

The New York review of active and formerly active informant files to locate individuals with a general potential for use as segments of the Solo apparatus, with special emphasis on those with qualifications which would make them useful in the proposed (laundry) cover company, is under way.

Thus far, three individuals show promise. A former informant occupied as a bookkeeper, who was discontinued because of a physical disability since resolved [redacted]; a former CP public relations man who operates a [redacted] business in Manhattan [redacted]. Separate letters on these individuals are being prepared and will be submitted to the Bureau under the instant caption with sufficient background information to enable the Bureau to authorize or decline approval for initial interview.

1/2

ReBulet sought comment from New York and Chicago as to how the individual finally selected to operate the cover company can best be successfully brought to the attention of POTASH, the CP, USA, and ultimately the Soviets for approval. The New York Office respectfully submits that planning must await the selection of the individual. It will be necessary, easier and more secure to fit the circumstances to the individual selected.

REC-20 100-428091-6795

3-Bureau (100-428091) (RM) EX-105

14 MAR 15 1968

- 1-New York (134-91) (INV) (01)
- 1-New York (100-134637-Sub C) (41)

RJQ:eac  
(5)

*5-18*



98 MAR 25 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NY 100-134637-Sub C

As regards financing the cover company, New York is aware that in the recent past CG 5824-S\* learned in conferences with GUS HALL that the CP contemplates putting up sufficient money to get the proposed laundry under way. After that, HALL hopes the business will be self-sustaining.

The New York Office desires to point out that at some time in the future, or at the outset presuming the CP is unwilling to pay the selected and controlled operating individual sufficient salary, it may be necessary for the Bureau to make up the deficiency in salary. That subsidy would then be a necessary cost of the operation to the Bureau. It is the opinion of the New York Office that the cost would be justified.

In a New York letter to the Bureau dated 12/21/67, the Bureau was apprised of the long-range plans of New York to approach, cause to capitulate or neutralize [redacted] b7D

[redacted] Since that letter, circumstances have developed which have effected the overall plan.

[redacted] b7D

The NYO will discreetly determine more information concerning the [redacted] the institution and the circumstances concerning his successful application to the institution and take whatever advantages become available. [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] mentioned in referenced letter concerning [redacted] has been contacted and stands ready to aid the Bureau in any way possible. As yet, he has not been told the name or circumstances of anyone involved in the matter and will not be told until plans are further advanced and Bureau counsel and approval sought. b7D

In conclusion, the Bureau's attention is drawn to New York letter to the Bureau captioned as above and

NY 100-134637-Sub C

dated 1/10/68, concerning efforts to get "approval" of [redacted] by ARNOLD JOHNSON. The last mentioned reference reflects that an oddly false report was given JOHNSON by ROQUE RISFORUGGI and, later, favorable responses were obtained from the source by MAX ROSEN. To date it has not been learned whether or not the responses obtained by ROSEN have been communicated to JOHNSON. Unfortunately, very little can be done to hasten the communication which would not endanger the security of NY 604-38.

b7D

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
Attn: FBI Laboratory

DATE: 3/14/68

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

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

~~TOP SECRET~~

*Handwritten notes and signatures:*  
C. J. ...  
C. J. ...

ReCGairtel dated September 22, 1965, and Buairtel dated October 1, 1965.

Enclosed for the Bureau is one (1) blank State of Illinois Operator's License bearing #A01277744. This blank operator's license was secured by the Springfield Office through a highly sensitive contact at the Office of the Secretary of State. Because of the control exercised over such blank documents by the Secretary of State's Office, it is to be noted that there would be extreme difficulty in securing additional copies of forms of this nature and, therefore, extreme care should be utilized in connection with the contemplated fabrication thereof.

For the information of the Laboratory, the enclosed license to be fabricated is to replace the license furnished the Chicago Office by reBuairtel dated October 1, 1965, which has expired.

The FBI Laboratory is requested to utilize in connection with fabrication of the enclosed operator's license the following data for insertion in or under the proper blocks of this blank operator's license:

Birth Date	02 11 02
Date Issued	02 06 68
Expiration Date	02 11 71
Sex	M
Height	5 07. EC 6
Weight	150
Hair	BRN
Eyes	BLUE
Restriction Code	1
Class	NONE
License Number	L260-7970-2042
Name and Address	SYDNEY S LESSER 108 GENTRY CT ROSELLE ILLINOIS

*Handwritten:* 100-428091-6796

MAR 18 1968

2-Bureau (Encl. 2) (RM)  
1-Chicago  
RAV:MDW  
(3)

CLASSIFIED BY 7157  
EX 100  
Date of Declassification Indefinite



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

99 APR 16 1968



~~TOP SECRET~~

The following number should be inserted to the right of the second line of the name and address of the license holder:

6232

It is to be noted that the word "Operator's" should be placed above "Birth Date" and the word "License" should be placed above "Expiration Date."

For the information and assistance of the FBI Laboratory in preparing the above-requested fabrication of the enclosed blank Illinois operator's license, it is to be noted that SA [redacted] of the Chicago Office possesses the new type operator's license, as enclosed, and is scheduled to attend Accounting In-Service on March 25, 1968. This license could be of valuable assistance to the Laboratory for comparison purposes in completion of the fabrication.

b6  
b7c

For the further assistance of the Laboratory, a Xerox copy is being enclosed of three valid Illinois operator's licenses which might be utilized for comparison purposes in the aforementioned fabrication.

~~TOP SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 3/15/68

*WAB*  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

*WAB*  
SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

ReCGlets this date enclosing letterhead memoranda with the texts of various documents from the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties which were forwarded to this office by mail from CG 5824-S\* in Budapest, Hungary.

At the same time as this office received the documents contained in reCGlets, there were also enclosed two "Hungarian News Agency's International News Reviews" dated March 2 and 4, 1968. Both of these Reviews discuss the subject of the Consultative Meeting of the Communist and Workers Parties then in session in Budapest.

For the information of the Bureau and New York, one copy of each Review is enclosed herewith.

- 2-Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 2) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

WAB:MDW  
(4)

**ENCLOSURE**

**REC-40**

6797

15 MAR 19 1968

**EXT. SEC.**



98 MAR 28 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ENCLOSURES (2) TO BUREAU FROM CHICAGO

Two "Hungarian News Agency's International  
News Reviews" dtd 3/2 & 4/68

RE: SOLO  
IS-C

Bufile 100-428091  
CGfile 134-46 Sub B

Transmitted via CGlet to Bureau 3/15/68



100-428091 - 6799

ENCLOSURE

# M.A.I.

Kiadja a Magyar Távirati Iroda. Budapest, I. Fém-utca 5-7. Telefon: 150-463, 333-983

A szerkesztésért és kiadásért a vezérigazgató felel.

## THE HUNGARIAN NEWS AGENCY'S INTERNATIONAL NEWS REVIEW

Budapest, 4th March, 1968

Nr. 8

### International Reaction to Budapest Consultative Meeting

The Sunday Pravda carries a commentary by Jurij Zhukov who states among other things: "The first few days' sessions already confuted the fables spread in Peking and Washington that the meeting intends 'to excommunicate' from the communist movement those who disagree with the great majority. Unity is the basic catchword of the meeting. At the same time, however, it cannot be permitted that an unreasonable procrastination of the conference, a discrediting of the concept to carry its outcome into effect, should result from the fact that a few parties are unwilling to join in a collective sizing up of the movement's common problems and in the efforts to solve them."

An editorial article in the Sunday issue of the Bucharest Scinteia bears the headline "For the cause of unity among the communist and workers parties". The article is largely in keeping with the line the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party drew up in their emergency session resolution of March 1 but to the ideas laid down therein is added the following remark: "The plenum has passed a decision which matches the principled stand of our Party in every respect. We have always refused and shall always refuse to join or to be a party to any kind of conversation where in one form or the other, the activities of a sister party are being condemned or discussed."

The Scinteia article adds: "Our Party and our people shall consistently continue in the future to advocate the development of contacts with every detachment of the working class, with the democratic parties and movements in the recently liberated countries, with all progressive forces of today's society, duly taking into consideration that all forces of the anti-imperialist front should be united in a common main stream."

The editorial article of the Sunday New York Times is concerned with the withdrawal of the Rumanians, stating among other things: "The communist illusions have come to naught that the

100-428091-6797

international meeting in Budapest would facilitate for the world's Marxists-Leninists to regain the lost unity. Greater controversies than ever before have instead arisen among the confronted fractions."

According to the paper "Not the Syrian delegate's offending remark was the chief reason for the Rumanian delegation's revolt but the fact that they have found out: the main issue had been decided long before the conference and the real task of the Budapest meeting is only to endorse the preformed Soviet decision about the summoning of the communist summit conference. Rather than being pressed to connive with these plans, the Rumanians have seized the first opportunity and left the meeting."

"What consequence Cuba, Yugoslavia and other defecting communists will obviously draw from all this - the New York Times article runs on - is that Moscow aspires to control as much as she can of the communist world movement, without regard of what the independent thinkers may want, do or say. Now that Rumania has so badly singed her feathers during her endeavours as peace-maker, very likely others may also come to see that there is little to gain from such a role, that the game is dangerous and should be best avoided."

The Corriera della Sera editorial article notes: "The greatest problem for the Soviets, as generally known, is to silence the Chinese and for this end they are trying to mobilize the communist world movement. The trouble is that by doing so, the Soviets are producing common interests between the Chinese and third parties /e.g. Rumania/. The third parties could gain independence of Moscow just because of the breach between Moscow and Peking. As long as the great breach continues, their independence is safe. As soon as the Chinese would be forced to submit, they too would find themselves again under the yoke of Moscow."

"Moscow wavers between two contradictory policies - adds the Milano paper. - Her chief interests: the nuclear non-proliferation and the aim to keep China at bay in Asia, lead her on along the policy of peaceful coexistence with America. But by doing so, she loses her leading role in the communist world. Russia is trying to check China's power by the means of the communist parties but this is an impossible thing, since the communist parties are well aware that they owe their independence to the power of China."

In connection with the Saturday contribution of Zoltán Komócsin, the AP news agency makes the remark: "The proposal he submitted might probably be accepted as official program for the summit conference to be fixed for autumn in Moscow."

Quoting well experienced observers, the new agency offers the view that the meeting would pass a resolution precisely on the lines Komócsin had formulated as follows: the meeting

should issue a document which determines the tasks of concentrating the anti-imperialist forces, a declaration of solidarity as well as a peace appeal in favour of Vietnam. The American news agency notes: Komócsin performed an attack calling China by name and an indirect one against Rumania. The agency states: "Hungary is a loyal follower of the Soviet Union and - for territorial reasons - an embittered opponent of Rumania"; the criticism addressed to Rumania is implied in the words: it is unacceptable for a communist party in power or one which is fighting for power, to rate anti-Soviet attitude as a criterion of its own independence.

#### Latest reaction to the Meeting.

The news agency of the Vietnamese Democratic Republic, the VNA carries on March 3 in a length of 2 typed pages the message of the Budapest Meeting to the Vietnamese people. The agency did not commentate on the letter, nor on the course of the Meeting.

The Sunday editorial of the Washington Post says that the surprise of the Budapest Meeting was not the step taken by the Rumanians but "the decision of Moscow to withdraw its previous promise regarding a mild meeting, which shall consider the differences in the communist world movement, and to use the meeting to brandish a whip in a firm, neo-Stalinist way over the other parties."

The Newsweek quotes American officials who say that the walk-out of the Rumanians may influence the initiating of talks between Washington and Hanoi. According to the American periodical a Rumanian official had been in Hanoi the intermediation of which has been endangered by the walk-out.

The commentaries of the leading world news agencies dealing with the Meeting touch various aspects of the Sofia talks.

According to the AFP Rumania shall forward in Sofia her reservations regarding the Soviet - American nuclear ban draft treaty, and shall request that Rumania should not be criticized for her Budapest walk-out. The AFP received information that the closing communique shall be drafted on Monday. The Italians do not want the ideological differences of views to be included in the document, should the case be opposite they shall be compelled to make a separate declaration.

An American news agency interprets that paragraph in

the Sunday edition of the Scintea which reads that Rumania shall not attend such a conference at which a fraternal party is criticized in such a way that the Rumanian leaders shall not tolerate criticism in Sofia. The AP also says that the Rumanian representatives shall forward their observations concerning the draft atom ban treaty.

The UPI referring to the Budapest Meeting writes that the participants shall quicken the resolution concerning the convening of the summit conference since the Rumanians "are preparing for a showdown on Wednesday". The correspondent of the American agency writes that the Rumanians shall raise basic questions regarding the Warsaw Pact in Sofia.

#### International news.

The TASS in a statement issued on Sunday condemns the plan of the leading circles of the United States and England to create a military block in the Persian Gulf area.

President Nasser in his interview given to the Le stated that the previous Arab opinion concluding that during the June war American planes participated on the Israeli side was founded on misunderstanding and untrue information.

Artillery activity has increased in South Vietnam, especially North of Saigon, and in the La Nang and Khe Sanh areas. The American B 52's have intensified their bombing of the partisans encircling Khe Sanh. Other American air units assaulted the areas of Hanoi on Sunday and Monday.

The government of the GDR launched a protest on the subsequent session in West Berlin of the Bundestag, having a provocative character.

The Observatory in Bochum in connection with the Zond 4 Soviet space ship launched on Sunday published the pre-supposition that the rocket -in the framework of the preparation for the journey to the moon- is intended to arrive back to the Earth.

Alexander Dubtchek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovakian CP in his speech held on Saturday in Kladno indicated that the role of the Czechoslovakian intellectuals had been interpreted improperly in the past, and this proved harmful to the interests of the working class. "We can find improper views, demands and prejudices -he said- but it would not be correct if in our fright of these we would sacrifice the principle of socialist democracy. This would mean that we do not treasure our principles, and acknowledge that we can defend those only with the instruments of power and force."

M.T.I.

Kiadja a Magyar Távirati Iroda. Budapest, I. Fém-utca 5-7. Telefon: 180-400, 280-500

A szerkesztésért és kiadásért a vezérigazgató felel.

THE HUNGARIAN NEWS AGENCY'S INTERNATIONAL NEWS REVIEW

Budapest, 2nd March, 1968.

N<sup>o</sup>. 6.

International Reaction to the  
Consultative Meeting

Trybuna Ludu reports the full text of Zenon Klisko's contribution, a somewhat shortened version of Mikhail Suslov's address, as well as the Viet Nam solidarity call. It does not add any commentary to the Syrian-Rumanian incident, yet its report reflects the inadmissibility of the ultimatum-like acting of the delegation of the Rumanian Communist Party. Zycie Warszawy reports the incident under the heading "Participants of the Budapest meeting refuse to denounce the Syrian party - Rumanian delegation has left Budapest", and similarly adds no comment. Standar Mlodych carries the telephone report of Ignacy Krasicki under the heading: "Isolated and under general disapproval the delegation of the RCP left the consultative meeting". According to the report "The delegation of the Rumanian CP has become completely isolated when it has decided to quit the Budapest meeting of the communist and workers' parties... It appeared that the Rumanian delegation which referred to the basic principle that there must be no interference with the standpoint of other parties, has done the very thing and what is more in the form of what amounted to practically an ultimatum. The decision of the Rumanian delegation came in an absolutely free, democratic atmosphere characterizing the Budapest meeting. This fact only serves to underline the inconsistency of the Rumanian step".

The Czechoslovak News Agency CTK reported Friday in much detail the contribution of the same day by Koucky, head of the Czechoslovak delegation. It reported at the same time that before his contribution Koucky made a short statement expressing partly his regret at the departure of the delegation of RCP, and partly his disagreement with the procedure followed by the Rumanian delegation, in particular with its closing address. The delegation of the CPC reserved its right to revert to the question.

The Friday copy of the Bratislava Pravda, writing about the disagreement between the Syrian and Rumanian delegations and the views in connection with the organization of the world conference, states: the different

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interpretation of the individual problems stands to reason and is logical. The essential thing is that apparently a common road has been found in Budapest - to tell the truth on fresh foundations - towards internationalist unity.

In the Prague Práce of Friday, the special correspondent of the paper sent to Budapest, complains at the insufficiency of information, he points out that the reports of the Hungarian News Agency MTI arrive sparsely at the press centre five kilometres from the Gellért Hotel. From the contribution of the SUPG representative copies were not available in a sufficient number for the journalists and similarly there were not enough copies of the Rumanian address. The leaflets of the Agerpress, however, passed from hand to hand and the journalists discussed these a lot.

Friday's Borba reported editorially that "Rumania has left the Budapest meeting". The other papers carried the night report of Tanjug from Budapest under similar headings.

The Friday report of the Budapest correspondent of Tanjug quoted the text of the official communique issued in connection with the incident and added: official Rumanian sources doubt that the Rumanian delegation has agreed with the manner of elimination of the argument with the Syrian delegation as explained in the official communique. The official spokesman of the Rumanian delegation gave the following reasons for their departure: 1. / a party absent has been attacked at the meeting (he did not name the party, but logically he referred to the Chinese), 2. / The Rumanian delegation is critical of the League of Yugoslav Communists not having been invited to the meeting, 3. / It does not agree with the discussion conducted so far, in the course of which no reference was made to the documents of the 1960 Moscow conference concerning Yugoslavia, not being valid any more; 4. / The Rumanian party suffered an attack at the conference yet no proper efforts were taken to liquidate the incident in a suitable manner; 5. / the consultative meeting did not offer any guarantee that in future no attacks will be made on the individual parties or against other incidents.

The Friday copy of Neues Deutschland reports the meeting under the heading: "The world conference serves the interests of peace". From the speech of Suslov it reports the proposals in connection with the preparation of the world conference. The press conference of Woddis is similarly reported.

Morning Star frontpage reports the Rumanian exit stating that after a day of compromise-efforts when everybody thought that the matter had been settled in a friendly manner, in the last moment the Rumanian delegation left.

Humanité of Friday reports the facts in connection with the Rumanian incident and carries a long statement by Georges Marchais discussing the affair.

The Friday copy of Volkstimme carries no report as yet of the departure of the Rumanian delegation. All it says is that Khaled Bagdas spoke very sharply on the attitude of the Rumanian party in the Near East question and doubted its internationalism. The Rumanian delegate protested, demanded an apology which was provided by Bagdas.

Granma, paper of the Communist Party of Cuba, carried the first report on the Budapest consultative meeting Thursday. The article on the back page of the paper, reports that Cuba, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Viet Nam Democratic Republic and China are not participating in the meeting. It observes that only 63 parties are represented in Budapest, against 82 at the Moscow conference of 1960.

As reported by the paper Akahata the 6th plenary meeting of the Communist Party of Japan opened February 29. Kenji Miyamoto, secretary-general of the central committee, discussed in his report increased aid for the people of Viet Nam, the results of talks with the representatives of foreign parties including the delegation of the CPSU, the summoning of the international conference of the communist and workers' parties and a few other questions of topical interest. The report of the presidium has been unanimously adopted.

Unita of Friday reports in detail the events of Thursday and the departure of the Rumanian delegation pointing out that : "the long debate and the numerous attempts at reconciliation did not produce results". The Italian bourgeois papers carry their reports from Budapest in a striking manner and include the departure of the Rumanians in the headings.

The Friday copy of Scinteia carries a long article by N. Radulescu, under the heading : "The expediency and character of the international conference of the communist parties". The article reported by the Agerpres News Agency, states among others : it is quite clear that the international conference of the communist and workers' parties cannot be an end in itself. In the opinion of the Rumanian Communist Party the holding, under the present conditions, of the international conference of the communist and workers' parties would be expedient if it promises to be constructive, promotes the restriction of the deepening of disagreements and the creation of such conditions as will lead to the re-establishment of a normal situation in the communist movement . . . In the opinion of the Rumanian CP it would be too early at the present Budapest consultative meeting to fix the date, venue of the international conference or to form already now the preparatory committees . . . Within the framework of the communist world movement and at the international conferences, the principle of democratic centralism, valid only within the party, cannot be accepted . . . The world conference of the communist and workers parties cannot work out a guiding line and normative resolutions obligatory for the communist parties. It should be still less permitted that this or that side of the internal or foreign policy of any party should be discussed in some form at the international conference . . . The experiences of several preceding consultations have shown that there are no great practical hopes for the adoption of such documents as will apply to all parties".

Tanjug and AFP report the article in Scinteia and observe that it was probably written still before the Rumanian delegation was ordered back from Budapest.

The AFP's report dated Friday afternoon in Budapest, says that the central committee of the Rumanian Communist Party has met in Bucharest Friday.

In Le Monde, the paper's correspondent Michel Tatu sent to Budapest, writes that "after the lively day of Thursday which had ended with the departure of the Rumanians the meeting returned to its regular course Friday." Tatu has no doubts that "there were other reasons than the Syrian incident for the departure of the Rumanians ..."

Figaro's correspondent writes that "if after all one day they will talk about the Budapest spirit ... this will probably indicate that it was at this meeting that the possibility for the sound development of the principle of the Marxist International towards the unavoidable pluralism had been shattered."

Most of the English papers frontpage the report of the exodus of the Rumanian delegation, treating it as a sensation. According to the Budapest correspondent of the Daily Express this has been the biggest row in the history of European communism, since Tito's break with Stalin.

The American papers report Friday that Ceaucescu talked in Bucharest to the diplomats of the countries belonging to the Warsaw Pact. In this connection according to the information of the West German DPA "on the night to Friday the secretary-general of the Rumanian party had the ambassadors of the communist countries pulled out of their beds, sending for them to protest against the criticism of Rumanian politics".

The Friday commentary in Washington Post says that the confrontation in Budapest is only a stage of the growing and sharpening struggle between Moscow and Bucharest. . . The next station of the confrontation will evidently be the Sofia meeting of the countries of the Warsaw Pact.

The Friday midday news broadcast of Vienna radio included the comment of Greiner that "to the pressure of the great power the small country replied with nationalist reaction. . . The escape to publicity as the Rumanians have managed this in the world press Thursday, has been remarkable."

The West German papers of Friday present the Rumanian exodus as a sensation and report the Rumanian stand in detail.

The Budapest correspondent of the West Berlin paper Tagesspiegel complains about "the more and more infrequent and slower trickle of the source of information."

The Friday evening commentaries of the big Western news agencies deal mostly with the departure of the Rumanian delegation.

The AFP editorial commentary includes the following views of Ferenc Fejtő: "The Rumanian decision goes beyond the Rumanian limits. It will strengthen the practically instinctive distrust of the Yugoslavs versus the unifying initiatives of Moscow and strengthen the anyway firmer reservations of the Cubans, North Vietnamese, North Koreans, Japanese, etc, and finally provide unexpected food for Chinese-Albanian propaganda".

The latest DFA report asserts that according to Western circles in Moscow, on Soviet side they did not agree with the Syrian contribution. They point out that the TASS news service in English has omitted the text of the speech from the official communique and gave it only hours later.

The resolution of the Central Committee of the Rumanian CP.

A resolution of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party has been issued Friday evening in Bukarest, which approves the standpoints and activity of the Rumanian delegation attending the Meeting, including their withdrawal from it.

The Central Committee resolution states that in the Budapest Meeting "the necessary conditions were not present to discuss the views of the parties regarding the preparation of the International Conference, and certain fraternal parties were put under debate, criticized, and even slandered".

According to the Plenary of the Central Committee a further participation at the Budapest Meeting could have meant the acceptance of the practice and theory of condemning other parties, and compelling other parties to accept the wishes of certain parties. This would have facilitated the intensification of the differences of views evident in the communist movement, and increase the danger of widening the divergences.

According to the document the Budapest Meeting did not endorse the proposal of the Rumanian delegation which moved for the Meeting to express its disagreement over the attack launched by the Syrian delegation against the Rumanian Party, and to refrain from attacking any party.

The Central Committee of the Rumanian CP considers the following principles as indispensable for an international summit conference:

- non-intervention into home-matters of other parties.
- direct bilateral contacts among the parties aimed to get acquainted with the respective standpoints.
- to analyse every aspect regarding the preparation and procedure of a general conference to verify whether or not the convening of a World Conference is possible.
- the interests of the international working class, of socialism must be victorious over the differences of opinions prevailing in the workin class movement.
- no international conference can be considered of be per sé, it can only prove useful if it is constructive, that is if it does not restrict the differences of opinions and contributes to the reinstatement of normal conditions.
- every communist and workers' party must be granted the

possibility to participate in the preparations for such a conference without exception - the principle of sovereignty of every party must strictly be adhered to.

In connexion with the Budapest Consultative Meeting the Rumanian Communist Party emphasizes that its experience indicates the necessity for further earnest and consistent work in the preparation for a world conference, since in such a conference not only those parties should participate which were present in Budapest but those absent, and other political and social forces alike.

#### The newest reaction to the Meeting.

The special correspondents of the international news agencies stationed in Budapest report that late Friday night a Rumanian spokesman in Budapest informed on the main points of the resolution of the CC of the Rumanian CP, or in other words the Rumanian version of the sequence of events which terminated in the walk-out of the Rumanian delegation.

According to AP correspondent Bradsher delivered clear threats that the debate shall only increase at the March 6th session of the Political Committee of the Warsaw Pact convening in Sofia. The Rumanian spokesman in Budapest mentioned there shall be certain problems concerning Rumanian attendance at the Sofia Conference. He also mentioned that that the Rumanian delegation shall request in Sofia that the attacks against Rumania be ended, and in case these continue "Rumania shall revids even her present restricted cooperation with certain parties".

UPI correspondent Thaler also comes to the conclusion from the words of the Rumanian spokesman that the walk-out of the Rumanian delegation from the Budapest Meeting shall have influence on the conference of the Political Committee of the Warsaw Pact in Sofia.

#### International events.

President Johnson yesterday paid an unannounced visit to the Houston spaceship centre. He stated that America is approaching the moment when it shall send a man to the Moon.

Preceding his Houston visit on Friday Johnson ceremoniously inaugurated Minister of Defence Clifford. Press circles expect an increase of the influence of the military-industrial complex with Clifford's attaining the post.

The Al Akhram published in Cairo in its Friday edition warns that as a consequence of Israel's announcement regarding the occupied Arab territories as Israeli possessions the Near East situation may once again become grave.

Bonn Chancellor Keisinger asked Soviet Ambassador Geraspin on Friday to visit him, and replied to the recent proposals forwarded by the Ambassador concerning West Berlin. According to Bonn governmental spokesmen the Chancellor refuted "Soviet accusations" and said that the government of the GFR is for retaining the four-power status of West Berlin.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 3/13/68

*DM*  
FROM: *[Signature]*

SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT:

SOLO  
(REPLACEMENT AND NEUTRALIZATION PROGRAM)  
IS-C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

and his [Redacted] have been selected as interviewees under the SOLO Replacement and Neutralization Program.

[Redacted]

became known as a CP member in the 1940s. At that time he was the CP Public Relations man in which activities he used the name [Redacted]. A review of the file reflects that [Redacted] was asked to [Redacted] from that position. Reasons for his [Redacted] are not known.

In 1956 [Redacted] and another individual were selected by the CP to operate a [Redacted] part of a money-making scheme, in which [Redacted] objects and [Redacted] from Iron Curtain countries were to have been sold for profit. IRVING POTASH was to arrange the matter, but early in 1957 POTASH was arrested and the venture never materialized. [Redacted] however, still operates an [Redacted] and is known to POTASH and NY 694-S\*. The CP has assigned POTASH the task of locating an individual to operate the CP (cover company) laundry. [Redacted] or his [Redacted] would be logical choices for POTASH and could be brought to POTASH's attention by NY 694-S\* without arousing suspicion.

- 1-904, 9+D
- 2-Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637)

REC-40

100-428091-6798

110

MAR 19 1968

RJQ:jca  
(3)

*Let NY  
3-20-68  
RCP/cst*

*[Handwritten signature]*



NY 100-111136

Authority is hereby requested to contact and  
interview [redacted] and after that, interview  
his [redacted] They will be interviewed  
within the provisions set forth in the Manual of  
Instructions Section 87D, for the development of security  
informants.

b7D

The Bureau will be promptly advised of the results.



NY 100-111136

A review of [redacted] indicates that he has not functioned within the party since the middle 1950s. He did however maintain contact with CP personalities at least into the middle or late 1950s.

b7D

In 1958 [redacted] and [redacted] became known as contacts of SAMUEL SY SPERBER and his wife JULIA. SPERBER was a suspected intelligence agent for Polish Intelligence. Subsequent vigorous investigation failed to establish anything other than an incidental social relationship between the [redacted] and the SPERBERs.

b7D

In March, 1961 in London, while in Europe supposedly on an [redacted] trip, [redacted] by accident or design chanced upon a Soviet Agent in a park. Neither seemed to recognize the other and did not speak. Subsequent investigation over a long period, failed to disclose that the encounter was other than accidental.

b7D

In 1945 [redacted] registered as a member of the CPA at Hartford, Conn. After that date, and until the early 1950s, she was an infrequent participant in CP and other left oriented functions in the Hartford, Conn. and New York City area.

b7D

[redacted] was contacted by SAS of the FBI in 1953 and in late 1962. He would not cooperate. In 1953 he said he considered himself a loyal American whose political beliefs and affiliations were of no concern to the FBI. In 1962 his "convictions" precluded him from cooperating with the Government. Since the middle 1960s [redacted] contacts with the CP have become increasingly fewer and less significant.

b7D

[redacted] born in Canada in 1913, operates internationally as an [redacted]. He travels to Europe on buying trips. If cooperative he could fit easily into the SOLO operation. His [redacted] could operate the proposed laundry. Formerly an office worker, she is not now employed.

b7D

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, New York (100-134637)

3/20/68

Director, FBI (100-428091)

1 - Mr. W. H. Floyd  
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

EX-110

REC-40

6798

SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
(REPLACEMENT AND NEUTRALIZATION PROGRAM)

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

SECURITY MATTER - C

b7D

Re: Let 3/13/68 requesting authority to interview the [Redacted] separately under secure conditions for the purpose of developing them for utilization in the Solo Apparatus.

b7D

Authority is granted to interview subjects to determine their attitude. Conduct interviews in accordance with Section 87D, Manual of Instructions. Care should be taken to preclude the possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau as a result of these interviews. Advise Bureau of results of these interviews and submit recommendations for further action.

MAILED 87  
MAR 15 1968  
COMM-FBI

RCP:cst  
(5)

NOTE:

Soviets have instructed CPUSA to obtain a laundry or gift shop to be utilized as a drop. Requirements for individuals to operate such a drop called for old-time Party members who have not been active in the recent past. Subjects referred to above, if cooperative, could be utilized in operating such a business. [Redacted] currently operates an [Redacted] Irving Potash has been instructed by Gus Hall, General Secretary, CPUSA, to locate individuals to operate the drop. [Redacted] is known to Potash from past business ventures and is also known to NY 694-S\*. These interviews constitute part of a program designed to locate individuals to be developed as informants and utilized in the Solo Apparatus.

b7D

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten initials]*

98 MAR 25 1968 TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 3/15/68

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-1)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

*JIF*

On 3/15/68 there was received from the Soviets, via radio, a ciphered-partially coded message, the plain text of which was as follows:

"CG 5824-S\* will arrive at the end of this week."

(Chicago Office notified telephonically of the above information. NY 694-S\* was advised of the return to the U. S. of CG 5824-S\*.)

*MS*

EX-114

*1-904*  
②

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (RM)
- 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (CI)
- 1 - NY 66-6989 (INV) (CI)
- 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

REC-71 100-428091-6799

MAR 30 1968

JFL:msb  
(7)

*J-m*



98 MAR 25 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



VIA TELETYPE  
MAR 16 1968  
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

*W.C.*

1200 PM URGENT 3-16-68 JLS  
TO DIRECTOR 100-428091 AND NEW YORK  
NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON  
FROM CHICAGO 134-46 SUB B

C.D. *[Signature]*

*[Signature]*

*[Signature]*

SOLO; IS-C.

CG FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR-S ASTERISK RETURNING FROM SOLO MISSION  
TWENTY FIVE VIA TWA FLIGHT EIGHT ZERO ONE, LEAVING PARIS FOUR PM,  
ARRIVING KENNEDY AIRPORT, NYC, SIX PM, MARCH SIXTEEN INSTANT. SA W.A.  
BOYLE AND CG SIX SIX FIVE THREE-S PROCEEDING SEPARATELY TO NYC. BUREAU  
WILL BE ADVISED UPON INFORMANT'S ARRIVAL.

*[Signature]*

RECEIVED: 110 PM EFH

REC-71

100-428091-6801

MAR 20 1968

cc R.C. Putnam

*[Signature]*

98 MAR 25 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. Conrad *JWC*

DATE: March 15, 1968

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: *711* SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*for Sugoy*  
*Bretherton*  
*R. Putnam*

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S\* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 3/15/68, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time a message, NR 435 GR 13, was intercepted.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

The New York Office is aware of the contents.

**ACTION:**

For information. *711*

**Enclosure**

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn.: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. R. C. Putnam)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

*JLM:cspeop*  
*(7)*  
*ENCLOSURE*

REC-71

*100-428091-6802*

6 MAR 20 1968

*S. O.*

98 MAR 25 1968

3/15/68

NR 0435 GR 013

03/15/68

23955 10026 96504 17179 58442 39699 44184 94339 54775 15257

75375 27409 62419

NR 0435 GR 013

03/15/68

~~HUB HUB WILL ARRIVE AT THE END OF THIS WEEK~~

HUB

MORRIS CHILDS

HUB

MORRIS CHILDS

100-428091-6802

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

FOIA b 7 - D

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

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

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: 3/5/68

ReBulet to New York, cc Chicago, dated February 23, 1968, requesting concrete proposals to change Soviet thinking with regard to the need for replacements and/or assistants for our Solo informants. The Bureau further requested comments as to the extent to which it is believed Solo funds could be used to pay one of our informants to operate the laundry proposed by the Soviets as a potential drop.

It has been noted on a number of occasions in correspondence on the subject of activating replacements/assistants for the Solo informants that the Russians are extremely loath to enlarge the circle of knowledgeable agents in this operation. Now, we are discussing the prospect of changing Russian thinking to the point where they will permit more active participation of Solo reserves in the activities of the Solo operation. First of all, we should examine what shapes the current thinking of the Russians on this subject. As they view it, they presently have a functioning apparatus, performing in outstanding fashion, whose existence is known to but three people outside the Soviet Union, only two of whom are operating agents, and these two agents give the impression of indestructibility. So far as the Russians can see, there is no immediate need for replacements since both agents up to now have always given the impression of being in excellent health. If one were to become ill, the other could carry on and at that time introduce one of the reserves. If NY 694-S\* were the one to become ill, the one area in which CG 5824-S\* is not known to be skilled, receiving radio transmissions, can be adequately handled by one of the reserves, NY 4309-S\*. Under these circumstances as viewed by the Russians, why indeed should they change their minds? Certainly we cannot change their minds if their view of their apparatus remains unshakened. As New York so aptly noted in their airtel dated February 19, 1968, when one of two people sharing a secret divulges it to a third person, it is no longer a secret.

2-Bureau (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago  
WAB:MDW  
(4)

REC-71

6 MAR 20 1968

6803



98 MAR 25 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



CG 134-46 Sub B

Therefore, the question of changing Russian thinking on replacements/assistants actually entails changing the Russian concept of the apparatus.

In our view, the Russians will entertain no additions or replacements in the apparatus if the apparatus remains healthy and is required to perform no additional tasks beyond those it has capably handled up to now. This proviso indicates the starting point, we believe, in changing Russian thinking on this subject. NYairtel dated February 19, 1968, contains the logical extension of these thoughts on the subject of the health of the apparatus. It was suggested by the New York Office that the Russians can be stimulated by the provocation from CG 5824-S\* that NY 694-S\*'s recent automobile accident might have been fatal, and sudden death to either or both of the Solo informants is a fact that should be recognized by the Soviet principals. Faced with this prospect, the Russians may well be galvanized into actively seeking replacements/assistants for the Solo informants. Until recently, the Russian passivity on this subject was just as well, for pressure from such a provocation might well have precipitated a demand by the Russians for the production of one of the so-called reserves. This demand would have had to have been resisted since NY 4309-S\* was then unwilling to travel to the USSR. The recent acquiescence of NY 4309-S\*, however, renders this suggestion more readily acceptable. However, in light of the limitations on the availability of NY 4309-S\* to travel, only three days this spring and perhaps two weeks a year from this spring, it would appear that any such stimulation of Soviet concern by our informants at this time might well be premature. Thus, it would appear that the plan already suggested by the New York Office is an excellent plan, but it might better be put into practice at a date more closely approaching the period when NY 4309-S\* will actually be able to travel to the USSR for a period of at least two weeks.

Another approach to changing the present Russian concept of the Solo apparatus is to persuade them of the desirability of broadening or expanding the activities of the apparatus. Once persuaded of this view, a case can be made for the necessity of assistants or legmen, subagents even, to handle the additional tasks entailed. These tasks might entail the collection of information for the KGB in

CG 134-46 Sub B

this country, making contacts which the Russians would prefer not to make themselves, infiltrating and reporting on pro-Chinese communist groups in the United States, perhaps providing the Russians with potential espionage agent recruits in the United States, or any of a number of other tasks. Of course, we could furnish such information which might be of value to the Russians but which would not be damaging per se to the United States. If the true value of the Solo operation resides in the current and potential penetration of KGB activities in the United States as represented by the Solo apparatus, the view adopted by the last Solo conference at Seat of Government, then we should be willing to move in this direction to exploit Solo to its fullest.

Of course, we can expect that the current Solo informants may vigorously object to such a broadening of the activities of the apparatus on the grounds that the Russians do not want a broad espionage network but rather a small secret communications link between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party, USA. This view may be valid at the moment, but we are now discussing changing their viewpoint.

It could not be expected that acceptance would be achieved by the mere suggestion to the Russians that it might be a "good idea" to enlarge the functions of the apparatus in this fashion. Therefore, this may better be accomplished by presenting the Russians with an unexpected dividend, a fait accompli. Through the apparatus or during a Solo Mission itself, the Russians can be provided with a topical and timely piece of information, a juicy tidbit, ostensibly procured by one of the reserves, and the Russians can then be offered the inducement that there is more where this information came from. The Russians are likely to accept this bonus from the Solo operation and the consequent broadening of the apparatus that accompanies it. While performing such additional tasks, these subagents can gradually be given tasks within the framework of the current apparatus function. The Russians may be furnished the identities of such subagents and through a period of proved service to the Russians under the aegis of CG 5824-S\*, a trusted agent, these subagents may eventually take on the color of genuine reserves and, at the appropriate time, even replacements.

As to the identities of such assistants/replacements, the Bureau is already aware of the efforts of the Chicago Office to so qualify two individuals. The Chicago Office is in the

CG 134-46 Sub B

process of reactivating former PSI [redacted] for the purpose of long range development for participation in the Solo operation, and [redacted] has been under development for this purpose over a longer period of time and his qualifications are known to the Bureau and New York. [redacted] is a canny, resourceful individual who apparently has succeeded in winning the complete confidence of JACK KLING, State Secretary of the CP of Illinois, who is one of the closest associates and confidants of CG 5824-S\*. [redacted] is an aggressive individual who has offered his complete cooperation with no reservations. He is currently abroad on a visit to Israel bearing a letter of introduction to MEIR VILNER, a leader of the pro-Soviet group of the CP of Israel, signed by HYMAN LUMER, member of the Secretariat of the CP, USA. With careful development, [redacted] has excellent potential, we believe, for eventual use in the Solo operation.

b7D  
b6  
b7C

At the appropriate time in the development of these two informants, [redacted] and [redacted] CG 5824-S\* can be instructed to inform KLING that he is looking for someone trusted by KLING to perform some small tasks for him. The informant's description of the type person he wants in each case will be tailored to fit the image which these informants will have developed with KLING. CG 5824-S\* would ask for a list of such people from KLING and if done properly the informants will appear on such lists and can be chosen by CG 5824-S\*. This indirect method of introducing these informants into the operation serves two purposes: 1) [redacted] and [redacted] are unknown to CG 5824-S\* and will have to be logically brought to his attention; and 2) in this way, KLING assumes the ultimate responsibility for them instead of CG 5824-S\*.

b7D  
b6  
b7C

It must be noted that this method of changing Russian thinking on the need for assistants/replacements in the Solo operation is a time-consuming process. It lacks the capacity for generating immediacy in action on the part of the Russians as can be done with the New York Office suggestion relating to the health of the current informants, and therefore it is perhaps a method that should be developed concurrent with the provocation about the informants' health. Such a plan cannot be developed in haste and we must reconcile ourselves to the prospect that a considerable period of time will be required from the initiation of such a plan until its fruition.

CG 134-46 Sub B

In regard to the financing of the laundry proposed by the Soviets as a potential drop, the Bureau is aware that GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA, has already accepted the fact that the purchase of the laundry (or other suitable small business) will require the outlay of a substantial sum from CP, USA reserve funds. The object in this instance is the purchase of an already existing and operating business which can be expected to be self-supporting or at least nearly so. Whoever operates the business, whether our informant or not, can be expected to draw his salary legitimately from this business in an amount which would be normal for such an occupation. At this moment, GUS HALL does not anticipate deriving substantial profits from this business. Any payments to an informant of ours for our own purposes over and above the normal salary level would have to be borne by the FBI. Hopefully, insofar as the CP, USA is concerned, the initial outlay would be the only expense entailed. Should the business not prove self-supporting, then additional expenses of its operations will require additional drains upon the CP, USA reserve funds for as long as HALL is content to accept such a situation.

The remarks above concerning methods of changing Russian thinking on the subject of assistants/replacements are set forth for the consideration of the Bureau and the New York Office, whose observations, criticisms, and additional suggestions are invited.

FOIA b 7 - D

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

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

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: 3/15/68

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Contribution of the Delegation of the French Communist Party to the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties, Budapest, Hungary."

On March 13, 1968, there was received from CG 5824-S\* through a drop address in the name of John Shoulders, c/o New Day Books, 3230 North Broadway, Chicago, Illinois, the text of an address by the Communist Party of France delegation to the Budapest Consultative Meeting. The envelope was postmarked March 5, 1968, at Budapest, Hungary, and bore no return address. The communication was obtained from LOU DISKIN, Communist Party of Illinois functionary, by CG 6653-S who furnished it to SAs ROBERT A. VILLEMURE and WALTER A. BOYLE. The date on which this speech was made is not known to this office.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security. It is quite possible that the full text of these remarks has been made public, but this office has not seen the full text appear in the English language. Furthermore, it is believed necessary to classify this document due to the form of its attachment which is exactly as received from the informant.

- 2-Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 2) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

WAB:MDW  
(4)

REC-68

100-428091-6804

3 MAR 20 1968

LIT. BR.



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

98 APR 1 1968

CG 134-46 Sub B

In order to further protect the identity of this highly placed source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as being prepared at Washington, D. C.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.  
March 15, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONTRIBUTION OF THE DELEGATION OF THE FRENCH  
COMMUNIST PARTY TO THE CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES, BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

During March, 1968, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

A Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties convened beginning on February 26, 1968, in Budapest, Hungary. During the course of this meeting, the delegation of the Communist Party of France presented its views to the meeting. Attached hereto is a copy of the text of this contribution of the delegation of the Communist Party of France.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Attachment

~~CONFIDENTIAL  
Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

100-420091-6804

RECEIVED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Contribution of the Delegation of the French Communist  
Party

Comrades!

It is a great pleasure for us to be together at this meeting today, and we wish to convey our feelings of friendship and brotherhood to all fraternal Parties.

We feel we must express to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party our gratitude for the hospitality it has extended to our meeting, and for the care it has taken in its preparations.

Comrades!

Our party, true to its firm internationalist standpoint, reiterated at its last Congress its firm resolve to seek and implement all means which could promote common action in helping the people of Vietnam fighting against United States imperialist aggression, to strengthen the cohesion of the international communist movement, to broaden and consolidate the united front of anti-imperialist forces.

In this respect, our Party has never ceased to regard international conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties as one of the most effective methods for a collective study of the most important problems that life poses in our common fight, and for uniting our efforts in the fight against imperialism, for peace, for national independence, for democracy and socialism.

It is for the above reasons that our Party has stated that during the entire recent period, it has stood for a new international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A great number of fraternal parties sharing the same views have simultaneously declared themselves to be in favour of the convocation of such a conference.

We believe that the present Consultative Meeting constitutes a first phase in the concrete preparation of this conference, the holding of which will be in full conformity with the interests of the international Communist movements. In the spirit of brotherhood and unity our Party is ready to contribute towards its preparation.

As a matter of fact, we believe that at the moment the main task of our parties is to reinforce the unity of our Communist movement in the struggle against the common enemy of all the peoples - imperialism, and primarily American imperialism, the aggressive policy of which constitutes a most dangerous threat to the independence of the peoples and to peace.

There is no doubt that the present international situation is marked first of all by the progress of socialism and of the entity of the forces of liberation.

The socialist world system already includes a country situated in the American hemisphere, the heroic island of Cuba. The Soviet Union and the majority of other socialist countries, are constantly developing their economic and technical strength, their political unity, and their cooperation in all spheres. They are constantly raising the material and intellectual level of their peoples. Thus they are constantly improving in an ever more convincing manner the position of socialism in its competition with the capitalist system. At the same time the policy of peaceful coexistence between states with differing economic and social systems, the resolute policy of these socialist

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countries aimed at defending the independence of the peoples, increase the international diffusion of socialism. The peoples are more and more coming to regard socialism, peace and independence as synonymous. This policy of peace, security and international cooperation plays a most effective role in the struggle against imperialism.

On the other hand, under the pressure of the national liberation movement, since 1960 the number of independent states has continued to increase. Their struggle against neo-colonialism, and for economic independence, which finds irreplaceable support on the part of the socialist camp, constitutes an important factor in the evolution of the world. Some of these states have embarked on a non-capitalist path of development. In spite of certain, sometimes grave troubles, the struggle of these peoples of the old colonial world for their free political, economic and social development, is, on the whole, assuming growing dimensions.

Finally, in the capitalist world the economic and political struggles of the working class, joined by the other social sections of the population, victims of the monopolies, are growing broader. The action for great social demands goes hand in hand with mass struggles for the overthrow of the power of the monopolies and the institution of a new, advanced democracy. The action for peace and European security as well as for the support of the people of Vietnam has set into motion new political forces, mobilizing additional millions of men and women. In the United States actions of great importance are launched against the imperialist policy of the ruling circles and against racial oppression. The policy of the unity of the forces of democracy and peace, pursued by the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, can claim appreciable successes, as confirmed in our country by the new agreement concluded on

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February 23rd between our Party and the Federation International de la Gauche Democratique et Socialiste /Alliance of the Democratic and Socialist Left/.

At the same time the imperialist system finds itself confronted with great difficulties. Under the pressure of factors inherent in the capitalist system, but also as a consequence of the correct policy of the Soviet Union and of other socialist countries, the contradictions between the capitalist powers have sharpened as demonstrated by the crisis experienced in the political-military Atlantic bloc, as well as in other aggressive pacts. The patronage of United States imperialism is no longer wholly accepted with the same readiness by some of its allies. The serious monetary crisis affecting the capitalist world, reflects, on the other hand, the growing difficulties of the imperialist system. These contradictions and these difficulties are bringing about conditions more favourable for the development of the peoples' struggle for national independence, democracy and peace. This we can observe in France.

Nevertheless, we believe it should be stressed that imperialism, primarily the imperialism of the United States has retained considerable forces, and in the recent period has demonstrated growing aggressiveness.

United States imperialism has developed a "global strategy" in its fight against socialism, against the national liberation movement, against the peoples' aspirations for democracy and for social progress. Employing every possible means, intensifying its nuclear armaments race, starting "local wars", it has not renounced its attempts to reverse the wheel of history and reconquer its lost positions. To this end, it has embarked upon a course dangerously

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reminiscent of the policy of "brinkmanship", with the risk of starting to a new world war.

It is constantly opening up new phases in the escalation of its criminal aggression against the people of Vietnam. Despite of the clear declarations of the Vietnam Democratic Republic, according to which it is prepared to begin negotiations with the United States as soon as it unconditionally ends its bombings and other acts of war, the Johnson administration is continuing its murderous raids. In face of the resounding defeats inflicted upon it by the people's forces of all Vietnam it is gradually enlisting all its forces in this war. It has extended its hostilities to Laos, and threatens to carry them to the territory of Cambodia. In the United States demands have been voiced for the use of nuclear weapon by American troops.

At the same time, the Johnson administration seeks to align all forces that could lend it political support, in particular from among the ranks of the pro-American Alliance in Western Europe. Today there is no task more decisive, and more urgent than aid in every form, of all anti-imperialist forces - primarily of the world Communist movement - to the people of Vietnam who are fighting, not only for their own freedom, but also for the freedom of all the peoples of the world. We assure the Working People's Party of Vietnam, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and the entire people of Vietnam of our admiration for their heroic struggle and of our full solidarity. We reaffirm our Party's determination to render them active support in their fight until they achieve victory on the basis of the four points of the Vietnam Democratic Republic, and the five points of the National Liberation Front and its programme. The undoubted victory of the Vietnamese people will be the victory of all mankind, and for imperialism it will be one of its most serious defeats.

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In the Middle East and the whole Mediterranean United States imperialism: after having supported Israeli aggression has continued its activities against the national interests and democratic aspirations of the people. As an accomplice of the Israeli leaders in refusing to abide by the decisions of the United Nations, the United States hinders the liquidation of the consequences of the aggression and keeps this dangerous fire-trap of tension burning in that part of the world.

In Europe, revived West German imperialism has become a privileged ally of United States imperialism on the continent, and it carries on a policy which insures its hegemony over Western Europe, through which its ambitions of revenge endanger the security of all the people in Europe. The problem of European security constitutes, in this respect,<sup>a</sup> problem of major importance, since the expiration of the Atlantic Pact has brought to the agenda the campaign for the liquidation of military blocs and replacing them by a system of collective security in the whole of Europe;

In different parts of the world, United States imperialism multiplies its political and military interventions. It continues its provocations against Cuba, and intensifies them against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. From Santo Domingo to Seoul, from Bolivia to Greece, it seeks to keep the people, in its dependence by imposing reactionary and dictatorial regimes faithful to the USA, and with their help it transforms these countries into United States military bases.

We consider it necessary to attach great importance to imperialist activities, against the national liberation movement, namely against the young independent countries.

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Imperialism tries to block the progress of these countries towards economic and social development by setting into operation all the resources of neo-colonialism, subversion, and ideological penetration. The struggle of these countries to defend their political sovereignty, to achieve, to consolidate their economic independence, and to proceed on a non-capitalist path of development is an integral part of the general fight of the peoples against imperialism. This implies that the problems of giving support to, of solidarity and co-operation with the national liberation movements with young independent countries in the political and economic sphere -have to assume, in our view, a growing importance for the whole of our Communist movement.

The aggressiveness of United States imperialism does not reveal a change in the balance of power to its own benefit, but reveals that it has to face growing difficulties which it tends to solve by brutal intervention, including dangerous military adventures. The present relation of forces remains, in our opinion, favourable to socialism and peace if the fight against imperialist activities is vigilant and unified.

It is an imperative condition to keep United States imperialism and its allies in check, to unite all anti-imperialist forces in the struggle, and primarily to defend and strengthen anti-imperialist unity of action of our Communist and Workers' Parties. And conversely, all who endanger this anti-imperialist unity of action promote the activities of the joint enemy, and should be dealt with as such. Thus obstacles exist which prevent the organization of collective assistance to the people of Vietnam by the socialist countries and Communist Parties of the whole world, and there are undermining and splitting activities aimed at our Parties and other anti-imperialist forces. Everything that tends

to divert from its correct orientation the struggle against imperialism, and tends to divide the ranks of its militants, cannot but encourage the aggressive schemes of the imperialists and create situations that it can take advantage of, as has already happened.

The unity of the militant anti-imperialist movement, a movement most advanced, most consistent and most powerful, that is to say, the international Communist movement, must respond more than ever to the global strategy of imperialism.

Since we firmly espouse this unity, and are convinced that there is no task more important today than to strengthen this unity, we believe it necessary that an International Conference of the Communist Parties should take place without delay.

Indeed, this Conference will provide a possibility for an overall and fraternal gathering of our Parties with a view to analyzing the present international situation and the activities of imperialism. It will ensure a fruitful exchange of experiences which is an indispensable condition for a constant enrichment of our Marxist-Leninist doctrine. And finally, it will ensure the better co-ordination of our struggles against imperialism in order to save mankind from a thermo-nuclear conflict.

We are deeply conscious of the fact that the strengthening of the unity of our movement is, under the present conditions, not a question of declaration, but that it requires perseverance and inventive efforts. We believe that the International Conference of our Parties will constitute, in this respect, an important stage on the path towards strengthening our unity. We do not regard it as an end in

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- 9 -

itself, nor as a final objective, but as an indispensable concomitant of our joint efforts which will create more favourable conditions for the work of consolidating the unity of the Communist movement, and will make it capable, in the near future, of fulfilling its internationalist tasks.

Since we are concerned here with an important stage of our joint activity we believe that each of our parties has a responsibility in concentrating the necessary efforts for the success of the Conference. All questions raised in the course of its preparations should be solved in the spirit of mutual understanding. The atmosphere of fraternity, democracy and effectiveness which must prevail at the Conference should thus be manifested at this stage of the preparations which we have already entered. We are convinced that there will be no insurmountable difficulties if we are firmly determined to assure the success of this initiative, that is to say, to seek an implementation of all means that are likely to increase the fighting capacity of our entire movement against imperialism, for independence, peace and socialism.

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The diversity of conditions in which our parties pursue their activities, the divergent approaches which can sometimes originate from this circumstance and even the differences of opinion over this or that question of theory or tactics must in no manner hinder the strengthening of the unity of the communist parties, must not affect the coordination of their struggles against imperialism or lead to the isolation of the parties. On the contrary, such divergences oblige us to find new forms of coordination and to establish new relationships based on the acknowledgement of the ties binding together the interests of the workers and the peoples of the whole world.

To achieve this goal, we have at our disposal the principles of our common teaching, Marxism-Leninism; we have our adherence to the common sacred duty of proletarian internationalism; we dispose of the rich experiences our movement has gained from the relationships between the fraternal parties and the lessons - positive or negative - which are drawn from these experiences; and finally we have our common will to overcome the present difficulties so that our movement may enter a new phase of development.

If viewed in this spirit, the international conference we support will obviously not and under no circumstances be intended to condemn or exclude any communist party however serious the divergences of opinion with this or that party may be or whether they are present at the conference or not.

It is understood that we wish to continue the struggle against the two dangers affecting the success of our movement, "left" adventurism and right-wing opportunism. We shall also vigorously oppose the desire of the Mao Tse-tung group to interfere with our policy; its attempts to sap and split our forces are directed against our party and the democratic forces of France. Finally,

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we hold that by opposing the coordination of the activities of all socialist countries and of the anti-imperialist struggles of all the communist parties, the group of Chinese leaders professing "Maoism", have broken with proletarian internationalism, one of the essential features of Marxism-Leninism.

When all is said and done, we are of the opinion that the sole aim of the international conference should be to bring about better conditions for the consolidation of the unity of the communist parties and for the harmonization of their efforts in the fight against imperialism, above all against American imperialism.

"It is only by striving to rally in a vast united front all the anti-imperialist forces," the Secretary General of our party, Comrade Waldeck-Rochet, said recently, "i.e. the socialist countries, the national liberation movements, the workers' movements in the capitalist countries, as well as the numerous other forces that are now taking a stand for peace, democracy, and social progress - it is only by taking this course that we shall be able to force imperialism to new retreats and to ensure new successes for all trends of the revolutionary movement of the world."

The communist parties must play a major role in the setting up of this vast united front of all anti-imperialist forces. The importance of the struggle pursued by other parties and movements can in no way reduce the decisive nature of this role. The communist parties are, in fact, the parties of the working class, that is of the class that is the decisive social force of our era, of the most consistent revolutionary class, of the class that gave rise to the socialist camp which bears the decisive role in the general anti-imperialist struggle. The communist parties are armed with a scientific doctrine, a teaching of struggle and of organization which makes it possible for

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them to come forward as the main force in the liberation struggle of the peoples. This is why the consolidation of the communist movement's unity, far from impeding the progress of the union of the widest and most diverse anti-imperialist forces, constitutes, on the contrary, the most powerful basis of the mighty anti-imperialist front that should be brought into existence. This is why, at the present stage, we need an international conference of the communist parties, of the parties, that is, the statutes and organization of which are founded on Marxism-Leninism. The success of such a conference of the communist movement would bring about favourable conditions for establishing a wide world anti-imperialist front. We think, moreover, in this connection, that it would be desirable if the conference took a decision, among others, on the subject of a large-scale initiative concerning the development of this united front of all anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces of the world - an initiative which, at the right moment, could take the shape of a world conference of these forces. Comrades,

The ideas we submit to this Consultative Meeting are based on the following considerations:

1. We are of opinion that the Consultative Meeting should clearly re-assert the necessity of an international conference of the communist parties and to fix its date as exactly as possible. There is, on this point, a wide agreement between our parties in general, this being a very positive and encouraging factor. As, on the one hand, a great number of the fraternal parties have declared for this conference and as, on the other hand, the fight against the

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aggressive ventures of US imperialism has raised some pressing problems, we suggest that the conference be held at the end of 1968. We also suggest that it be held in Moscow if the comrades of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union agree.

2. All communist parties of the world must be invited to attend this conference. It is, of course, the 81 parties that attended the 1960 conference that we have in mind. We also have in mind the League of Yugoslav Communists which constitutes an integral part of the international communist movement and which must be invited on the same basis as all other fraternal parties. Finally, we have in mind the communist parties that have been founded in a number of countries since 1960.

3. One of the essential tasks of our Consultative Meeting must be to set down and formulate the agenda of the conference.

We are of opinion in this connection that an agenda should be drawn up that would correspond to the spirit in which <sup>we</sup> together with all fraternal parties envisage the conference.

We think, therefore, that this agenda should be a limited one. It does not seem to be opportune at the present moment to draw up a general and universal agenda as was done in 1960.

First because experience has proved that while taking into consideration some corrections made necessary by certain developments that have since taken place, the fundamental theses of the 1960 Declaration relative to the great issues of our age are still valid.

Secondly, life has put into the foreground of our concerns and obligations the struggle against imperialism, first of all against American imperialism, its aggressive deeds and its growing menace threatening the peace and independence of the peoples. As far as urgency is concerned, this is the task that must be given priority when submitting

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our actions to a collective analysis and to a closer coordination.

Lastly, as we have stated, the international conference must be a phase in the essential task of consolidating the unity of our movement. We have to and shall proceed with this work. The conditions in which this work will be accomplished will be all the more favourable if the success of the present phase will be greater.

This is why we feel that the agenda of the conference should be restricted to the essential question of the hour which we put into these words: the current tasks of the fight against imperialism.

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By this we mean that the conference should analyze the situation and the policy of imperialism in its various aspects at present; that it should study the topical problems of the fight against imperialism and for peace, that it should bring about the best possible conditions for coordinated action of all communist parties, of all democratic and peace-loving forces against imperialist foe.

Such an agenda would make clear the spirit and the aim of the conference. It would exclude speculations seeking to convey the idea that the goal of the conference is the condemnation of this or that party. As far the most immediate and most common objective of all communist parties, this agenda would create favourable conditions for pursuing our activity for uniting the world communist movement. Lastly, it would open up the possibility of a most precious strengthening of our movement's anti-imperialist fighting power and, in particular, of new and ample developments in the steps to give support to the Vietnamese people - a problem which must, of course, take a central place in our work.

4. As a consequence of the limited nature of the agenda we are of opinion that the conference should approve a sole basic fundamental document that would correspond to the agenda and reflect the joint conclusions to be reached as a result of the work of the conference.

As a matter of fact, just as we think it inopportune for the conference to seek approval of a programmatic document of a general and universal nature, so we also are of opinion that the conference should not <sup>be</sup> considered as a simple gathering in the course of which the communist parties merely exchange views and experiences without drawing any collective conclusions, and without establishing any perspective of joint

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action. We think it is possible and necessary for the conference to approve a document that would not only contain an analysis of the situation and of the policies of imperialism but would also include certain conclusions which could later serve as a guide in the struggle led by the parties under the particular circumstances in which they pursue their activities, and would comprise, finally, the general outline and the main practical points of a coordinated action against imperialism, for national independence, for peace and for socialism.

Naturally, a special document will have to be devoted to the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam, to our unreserved support of that struggle, to the support that all peoples of the world should give the Vietnamese people.

5. We hold that it is of decisive importance that the preparation and the organization of the conference in all phases should be of a really collective nature.

It is a fact that all communist parties are independent and have equal rights. They all have to have the possibility of contributing towards enriching our doctrine and towards the effectiveness of our actions. As has been said at various occasions, today when the communist parties have become substantial forces in national politics and when the conditions under which they carry on their struggle have become considerably diversified, there do not and should not exist "centres" or one "centre" directing the activities of the communist parties.

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There are no "dominant" and "subordinate" Parties; there cannot be such. Consequently, no Party can seek to impose its views on others. On the contrary, they must all give proof of the greatest mutual understanding.

At the same time, proletarian internationalism is an integral part of the doctrine and action of all Communist Parties. This international obligation compels everyone to face their responsibilities before the working class, the people of their country and also before the revolutionary workers' movement of the world. The contribution of each Party to the common source of our doctrines and to the experiences of the movement are irreplaceable; at the same time, no Communist Party can forego the collective wisdom represented in the thinking and action of the entire international Communist movement. All Communists are faced with the sacred duty of considering the general interests of the revolutionary working class movement in its entirety and their resolve in meeting this under all conditions is one of the reasons for the glorious role that is the responsibility of the Communist movement in our epoch. This requirement is not in contradiction with the national responsibilities of each Communist Party. On the contrary, this is the safest way, the prerequisite for effectively fulfilling responsibilities.

These are the reasons of principle for our conclusion that the preparations for the Conference should assume a deeply collective and democratic character. All questions pertaining to the preparations and the proceedings of the Conference - the order of the day, the methods of work, the forms to be given to the conclusions of the Conference, etc. - must therefore be resolved collectively by the Parties which accepted the principle of such a Conference. This collective character of our work is at the same time a factor of, and a pre-

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requisite for the strengthening of the unity of our movement.

From this it follows that all interested Communist Parties should participate, in the preparations for the Conference, with fully equal rights.

We consider it appropriate to set up a preparatory commission, one essentially charged with drafting the document which will serve as a basis for the work of the Conference. This commission is to consist of representatives of all Communist Parties which desire to participate, all with fully equal rights. Those fraternal Parties which for one reason or another, do not participate at the present Consultative Meeting or in the initial work of the Commission, could join whenever they consider it appropriate.

If the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party would accept the task which it has been good enough to assume up till now, the commission's headquarters could very well be in Budapest.

The collective character of the preparations for the Communist Parties' Conference implies that its responsibilities should not be distributed to organizations on the border of the movement. It must be made clear that the Consultative Meeting of the Communist Parties is the one which prepares the International Conference and the commission of their responsible representatives mandated by the Conference for this occasion.

Let us state in conclusion that concrete decisions should be adopted by this Meeting, thus permitting us to reach an active phase in the preparatory work. It is taken for granted that all those who desire should participate in the prepara-

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tions for the Conference during the period of its work and in the form convenient for them.

Although we do not believe that the participations of this or that Party is a precondition for the holding of the Conference, major efforts should be made to achieve a conference which will rally the greatest number of Communist Parties.

Comrades.

Strengthening the unity of action of the international Communist movement is a necessity which corresponds both to the interests of the entire anti-imperialist struggle and to the interests of the struggles of the people in each country.

The safest foundation of this unity is that very tie which indissolubly unites in Communists the most consistent patriotism and the highest degree of proletarian internationalism.

Each Party determines, and should independently determine its politics, its forms of action and its methods of struggle. We stand resolutely on this principle and take a vigorous stand against any and all attempts of interference in the determination and implementation of our policy. Our Party determines under all circumstances its policies on the basis of scientific socialism in the interests of the French working class and nation, as well as in the concrete conditions of the masses' struggles in our country.

At the same time, our Party is drawing constant inspiration from the common objectives and interests which unite the workers and the peoples of the whole world. The working

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class, the peoples of all countries - whether socialist countries, capitalist countries or people still engaged in struggle for their political and economic independence - are following joint objectives which can only be achieved through their common struggle. The precondition for the success of the struggle lies in the ability of linking the national interests of each people with the joint interest of the peoples all over the world. We realize that this task is faced at times with real difficulties, due to objective reasons. Nevertheless, we feel that this diversity should never mean division and that the independence based upon the specific character of the conditions under which each Party struggles, should never mean isolation, dependence on oneself or nationalism.

Our Party considers its struggle, the struggle of the French working people, as part of the grand world-wide movement of the people against oppression, exploitation and war. It considers that the strength and effectiveness of each Party depends both on its own successes at home and on the successes of the fraternal Parties all over the world. Finally, it considers that under present-day conditions the prerequisite for the success of each Party depends more than ever on the broadest and deepest co-operation between the Communist Parties in all parts of the world. Or, to put it the other way, everything that hampers the co-ordinated action of the Communist Parties and the setting up of a large, anti-imperialist united front, works dangerously in favour of the imperialists' undertakings, weakens our movement and is harmful to the cause of peace and socialism.

This is why the French Communist Party will contribute with all its power to the success of the next International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. We are convinced

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that this will multiply the effectiveness of the struggle led by our Parties against imperialism and will create the best conditions for drawing into this struggle all forces which desire independence, democracy, social progress and socialism.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

*Memorandum*

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

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

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: 3/15/68

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Contribution of the Delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party's Central Committee at the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Budapest, Hungary."

On March 13, 1968, there was received from CG 5824-S\* through a drop address in the name of John Shoulders, c/o New Day Books, 3230 North Broadway, Chicago, Illinois, the text of an address by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party's Central Committee delegation to the Budapest Consultative Meeting. The envelope was postmarked March 5, 1968, at Budapest, Hungary, and bore no return address. The communication was obtained from LOU DISKIN, Communist Party of Illinois functionary, by CG 6653-S who furnished it to SAs ROBERT A. VILLEMURE and WALTER A. BOYLE. The date on which this speech was made is not known to this office.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security. It is quite possible that the full text of these remarks has been made public, but this office has not seen the full text appear in the English language. Furthermore, it is believed necessary to classify this document due to the form of its attachment which is exactly as received from the informant.

2-Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 2) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago

WAB:MDW  
(4)

6 MAR 20 1968



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CG 134-46 Sub B

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as being prepared at Washington, D. C.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.  
March 15, 1968

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CONTRIBUTION OF THE DELEGATION OF THE  
HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY'S  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE AT THE CONSULTATIVE  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES,  
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

During March, 1968, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

A Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties convened beginning on February 26, 1968, in Budapest, Hungary. During the course of this meeting, the delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party's Central Committee presented its views to the meeting. Attached hereto is a copy of the text of this contribution of the delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party's Central Committee.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Attachment

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Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-420191-6805

Contribution of the Delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party's Central Committee at the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

Comrades!

On the authority of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party we wish to submit to the participants of the Consultative Meeting our views and proposals on the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

It follows from the consultative character of our meeting that each fraternal Party's representative makes known the views of his own Party on the problems arising in connection with the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party puts forward its views and proposals in the hope that the fraternal Parties will listen to them and give them consideration. We receive the contributions of representatives of the fraternal Parties with the same desire. We regard it as our duty to hear, weigh and consider what concurs with, and also what differs from our views.

We are convinced that both bilateral and multilateral exchanges of views between communists are designed to advance mutual understanding and serve our common cause in a concrete manner. Both bilateral and multilateral consultations and exchanges of opinion can only be fruitful if neither side puts forward the desire to set unchangable, predetermined conditions for the other, nor makes its participation in the exchange



of views, and the results of the consultation dependent on their fulfilment.

We are representing the standpoint of our Party with the consideration that we do not regard our proposals as the only acceptable ones, and we are ready to recognize and accept other proposals as better, if we are convinced that they are correct. We are striving for understanding and agreement. We regard as most important not the acceptance of our own ideas, but the advancement of our joint cause, the realization of the International Conference. It is only possible to reach agreement, to move ahead, to serve our joint goal properly, if we carefully and attentively study each other's proposals, if we have the mutual will to move ahead on the road to preparing the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

Comrades!

We are putting forward the views and proposals of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party at the Consultative Meeting from the premise that our Party has long believed it necessary to organize a new International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. In November, 1966, the Ninth Congress of our Party took a stand as follows:

"The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party favours the idea of a great conference, not for the sake of the conference itself, but for the sake of strengthening and broadening our unity, our cohesion. We desire unity of action primarily and at once in helping Vietnam, and generally in the fight against our joint enemy, imperialism."

Since our Ninth Congress, up to the end of last year, we conducted bilateral exchanges of opinion with representatives of 52 fraternal Parties, and spoke several times with a number of these parties. We formulated our own standpoint by taking

into account the experiences of these bilateral meetings and carefully studying the views of the fraternal Parties.

Objectively, the development of the world favours the forces of socialism, national liberation, independence, and peace. As evidence of this the Marxist-Leninist Parties fighting on all the continents enumerate many facts in the resolutions of their Central Committees and Congresses. At the same time, when we stress the favourable character of the objective world situation, we must also face up to the successes achieved by imperialism in the application of its so-called global strategy, as a consequence of which the international situation has become steadily more serious and complex. Its well-known facts <sup>are</sup> as follows: the fighting in Vietnam demands heavy sacrifices; the destructive bombing of a socialist country, the Vietnam Democratic Republic, has been going on for years; the blows struck at the national liberation struggles in Indonesia, Ghana, and Latin America; the military coup and the establishment of a dictatorship in Greece; Israeli aggression against the Arab countries.

If we are compelled to acknowledge and realistically reckon with the fact that there are necessarily weak points in the development of the Third World, countries that can become the prey of neo-colonialism, we cannot disregard the fact that the imperialists are profiting by the lack of unity in the international Communist movement. The break in unity, the loosening of internationalist solidarity are slowing the development of the international Communist movement and are offering the imperialists an opportunity to step up their aggression.

The task facing all the Communist and Workers' Parties today, and coming before everything else is: to intensify the strength and scope of the antiimperialist struggle. And this can be achieved through an increase in understanding between the fraternal Parties, the strengthening and development of unity.

The world situation, the conditions that have come about in the international Communist movement make it imperative that internationalist solidarity be brought to the forefront. To our mind one of the main reasons for the disruption of unity and the main obstacles to the restoration of unity lies in deviation from proletarian internationalism. It is commonly known that Mao Tse-tung and his group - motivated by great-power chauvinism - with their anti-Soviet campaign and campaign of calumny against the fraternal Parties are objectively giving an advantage to the imperialists. If the Chinese leaders - despite all the serious ideological and political differences - had a minimum of internationalist spirit and, if instead of attacking the fraternal Parties strove to achieve united action with the Communist and Workers' Parties at least in the support of the struggle of the Vietnamese people, this would immediately create a new situation, not only in South-East Asia, but also generally in the field of world politics.

The phenomena of the spread of nationalism, attempts to isolate themselves, and the artificial counterpoising of Party independence to internationalism, and the weakening of international Communist solidarity are the greatest obstacles to the unity of the international Communist movement. And vice versa: the path to consolidating the unity of the international Communist movement and its advancement leads through the implementation of internationalist ideas not in words, but in reality.

The internationalism of the Parties in power and the Parties struggling for power is expressed in their solidarity with each other, because their efforts interact and depend on each other's success. In principle it is unacceptable and in practice unexpedient for either a Communist Party in power or for a Communist Party struggling for power to try to prove its own independence by assuming an anti-Soviet attitude. No Party struggling for power can be correct in principle or can

achieve lasting results if, under bourgeois pressure, it tries to gain popularity by attacking the socialist countries and thus tries to increase its mass influence. On the contrary, what does not help the Communist Parties struggling for power cannot be useful for the Party of a single socialist country.

Communist and Workers' Parties must not be classified as first-rate or second-rate Parties, as small or great parties, all fraternal Parties are of equal rank. No confrontation of any kind is permissible that would discriminate against relatively small Marxist-Leninist Parties with little mass influence, in favour of the supposedly "great", "influential" and "respected" liberation movements of the Third World or national democratic parties.

The enhancement of international solidarity and the consolidation of the unity of the international Communist movement is one of the most timely and most important task of every Communist and Workers' Party. In the present situation this is the precondition for strengthening the unity of action against the imperialists both between the fraternal Parties as well as between the international Communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces. Our Party is avowedly internationalist, a detachment of the international Communist movement with all the rights and obligations deriving from it. That is why it is important for us to promote, as far as possible, the consolidation and enhancement of unity.

Increased efforts for unity have been made in recent years by the Communist and Workers' Parties. One proof of this is the increasing frequency of bilateral and regional meetings. Our present consultation, this Meeting in Budapest, is another proof of the fraternal Parties' strive for unity. In our view, whereas until now our discussions were principally about whether there should be or should not be an International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties, at present

most of our exchanges of views are concerned about the kind of agenda, about the place and time and about the concrete method of preparing for the International Conference.

It is the opinion of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party that there can be two main reasons and aims for the International Conference of the Marxist-Leninist Parties. One reason and objective is: since the 1960 Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties a great deal of time, almost a decade, has passed, changes have taken place in the world, and this in itself justifies the holding of an international conference.

As to the main policy and basic theoretical conclusions that were reached at the Moscow Conferences of the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 and 1960, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party still identifies itself with them and regards them as the basis for its international activity. Emphasising this, we are also facing the fact, that the Declaration adopted at the 1960 Conference is not valid in some respects. Admitting this, we do not renege the 1960 Declaration and we will adhere to it today and in the future.

The progress of the world is also raising new problems, problems to which we must find the answers; we cannot be satisfied with citing previous declarations. A thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis of the struggle between the imperialists and the anti-imperialist forces has become necessary. Of course, all the fraternal Parties are engaged in this. However the question is now that the Communist and Workers' Parties working under different conditions should collectively study the situation together, should draw the necessary conclusions, and work out the program of action for the anti-imperialist struggle, in order to increase activity and make united action more effective. We are convinced that on the basis of the collective experience and wisdom of the fraternal Parties

this work can be better performed than if it is done by one Party or a few Parties. On the basis of joint efforts and collective work it is possible to find - more fully than today the points on which we concur, by means of which the effectiveness of the anti-imperialist struggle can be increased.

The other main reason for, and at the same time, the aim of convening the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties is: to consolidate and enhance the unity of the international Communist movement. In our judgement the mere fact that the vast majority of the fraternal parties have come together for a Consultative Meeting on an International Conference demonstrates unity and promotes its consolidation and improvement. In our opinion this effort of the fraternal Parties not to stress the difference in ideological and strategical problems that disrupt our ranks, but rather to emphasize the problems of the anti-imperialist struggle, is correct for this latter course provides many points on which we concur, and, therefore, it corresponds with our efforts for unity. Democratic, comradely exchanges of ideas, becoming acquainted with each other's views, exchanging fighting experiences, joint analytical work, and a programme of action to be worked out together will strengthen mutual confidence in each other, and strengthen internationalist solidarity. The development of internationalist solidarity strengthens the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties. This in turn increases the respect of the Communist Parties and the attraction of the ideology of socialism among the working masses and among the forces allied with us in the anti-imperialist struggle. All this together improves conditions for increasing the anti-imperialist struggle.

Along with the other fraternal Parties we are also aware that the organization of the International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties will not immediately solve all the problems and will not at once fully restore the unity of the

international Communist movement. But for us the slogan of "everything or nothing" is unacceptable. If we today have so far not achieved everything, that does not mean that we should not do anything. We must no longer permit ourselves to be compelled to remain passive because it is not yet possible to restore full unity today. Let us do what we are able to do today, thus we are effectively promoting goals that can be achieved only later, and thus we are making a big stride forward to restore full unity.

Comrades:

On the basis of the previously expressed views we formulated the concrete answer of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to those questions which we are examining in a consultative form at the present Meeting.

We proposed in the letter of invitation of our Central Committee that at our Consultative Meeting we should elaborate our common platform about the aim, character, agenda, preparations, date and place of the International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, we propose the following

a/ The Consultative Meeting should appeal to all Communist and Workers' Parties to participate in the International Conference and in preparations for it.

b/ The International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties shall place on its agenda the problem of rallying of all progressive forces in the struggle against imperialism.

c/ The International Conference should take place by the end of this year.

d/ The International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties should be held in Moscow. This is obvious from every point of view and it appears to be the best of all.

e/ The preparations should proceed in the most democratic manner, with due consideration for the position of all fraternal Parties. All Communist and Workers' Parties should be given the opportunity to participate; a Preparatory Committee should be established.

We asked ourselves the question: is it not too early to convene the International Conference still this year? It is our firm belief that the fraternal Parties cannot blame themselves for making too much haste. But what is most important: the next three quarters of the year left, constitute a sufficiently long period to make thoughtful, efficient preparations. On the other hand, it would damage the prestige of the fraternal Parties and constitute political harm, if the preparations for, and the convening of the International Conference would be too much delayed. With mutual, collective efforts the fraternal Parties are able to cope with the tasks they undertake.

We consider it would be necessary to work out a declaration of a political character reflecting the joint position of the fraternal Parties. We propose a declaration of a political character, in which we could take a stand concerning the present questions of the anti-imperialist struggle, and could together formulate the tasks for rallying the anti-imperialist forces. Apart from the main document, we think it would be necessary to prepare a declaration of solidarity with Vietnam and a peace-proclamation.

In our opinion, the documents that are to be jointly prepared and approved should not deal with an analysis, or evaluation of the policy of any of the fraternal Parties, neither should there be any stigmatizing, calling of names or exclusions.

On the other hand, it is the inalienable right of the individual fraternal Parties to take a stand on theoretical-political issues, on the questions of strategy and tactics



of the international Communist movement, and to express their opinions publicly as well as at bilateral and multilateral meetings. Our Party is of the opinion that no Party can claim the right to lay down what any other Party should or should not say in its published declarations, or at the meetings of the fraternal Parties. Likewise, participation at either bilateral or multilateral meetings of the Parties cannot be bound by any preconditions. As a consequence of the principle of independence of the fraternal Parties, each Party decides for itself, what it intends to say, at which place, at which time and in what form. And this can never be considered as interference in the internal affairs of other fraternal Parties. A principled expression of opinion, does not in itself constitute interference.

Our Party - scrupulously keeping to the principle of independence and non-interference - has always wished to learn of the positions, opinions, even the principled Communist criticism of other fraternal Parties. We do not consider the fraternal Parties' opinion about our policy as interference into our internal affairs or a violation of our independence, but as an offer of friendly assistance. We believe it is our duty to give consideration to this criticism, but only and exclusively, the governing bodies of our Party have the right and possibility to adopt decisions and resolutions.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is of the opinion that at present an International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties is needed, at the preparation for which it should be made possible for all the fraternal Parties to participate and all the Communist and Workers' Parties should be invited to the Conference. As far as we are concerned, we shall continually endeavour together with the other fraternal Parties, to obtain the consent of the Communist and Workers' Parties, existing at present in 88 countries, to participate at the Conference. However, we have to face the hard fact that if we were to rigidly insist on the participation of all the fraternal Parties at the International Conference, we would be likely

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to give up the idea of convening it, because it would be an unattainable objective in the near future. The position of our Party was determined at our 9th Congress;

"We want to consult and to unite in the anti-imperialist struggle with all revolutionary Parties, with all forces of progress, naturally also with the Communist Party of China, as well as with the Albanian Party of Labour. But if today their leaders reject this by all means, the international working-class movement cannot remain deadlocked, and we cannot afford to postpone convening a conference with wide representation till the end of time."

As a consequence we openly declare: The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party - striving to obtain the maximum of representation of fraternal Parties - considers the organization of the International Conference possible, after thoughtful, careful, collective and democratic preparations, and it has decided to participate, even if at present a certain number of Parties do not consider it possible to attend. It is the right of every Party to decide to participate at the International Conference, or not. To clarify our position in full, we have to state that on our part we intend to develop bilateral contacts and we are determined to fight together for the common objectives with those fraternal Parties as well which, perhaps, will not participate at the International Conference.

Our Party firmly believes that to-day it is in the interest of the international Communist movement, and of all the anti-imperialist forces to organize the International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties. In the

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present situation of the international Communist movement it seems that the most important thing is to reinforce the unity and internationalist solidarity of the Communist and Workers' Parties in order to raise the effectiveness of the anti-imperialist struggle. We are of the opinion that when we speak about the problem of the International Conference of the Marxist-Leninist Parties, and that of the World Conference of all the anti-imperialist forces, we speak about two different questions. It has been proved by the history of the international Communist movement, as well as by a large number of examples today, that if Communist policy and objectives are to be determined, they have to be done by the fraternal Parties themselves, individually or by joint efforts, and only after that can they approach their allies. That is the fundamental condition of being able to win over an ally and to strengthen our contacts in the joint struggle. The Communist and Workers' Parties cannot resign from elaborating their own policy, preserving their own individual character, either on a national or even more on an international scale.

The Marxist-Leninist Parties are not motivated by sectarian isolation, or by secretiveness toward their allies, when they decide to exchange their views and experiences at international conferences. It would be unreasonable to replace the conference of the Communists by some indefinite, ideologically and politically vague, and loose political gathering with incalculable aims and results.

We all know, that there are quite a number of problems to solve due to the present differing views among the fraternal Parties. We should only unpredictably multiply the difficulties that are to be overcome, if we were to add the political

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disagreements between ourselves and the national-democratic and other anti-imperialist Parties to the problems of the international Communist movement and <sup>if</sup> they participated at the International Conference. It is also doubtful if it would be politically useful for the national-democratic Parties to attend the International Conference of the Marxist-Leninist Parties. Consequently, there is not any acceptable reason, why the results that can be expected from the International Conference of Communist character should be given up for the sake of an anti-imperialist world conference with an uncertain outcome. Only the Marxist-Leninist Parties are able to work out Communist policy and the tasks of the development of international unity.

In our opinion, the International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties could investigate the problem whether it would be purposeful to convene the World Conference of all the anti-imperialist forces at a later date. We, on our part, would not reject an examination of this. In the present world situation - in our opinion - it would be even more expedient to discover if after the International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties it would be possible to convene a world conference on solidarity with the people of Vietnam with the participation of all Communist and Workers' Parties as well as all the forces of solidarity with Vietnam - Parties, trade unions, youth and women's organizations, international organizations, and outstanding personalities. After the International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties a world solidarity conference with Vietnam would be an event of the utmost political significance and would constitute an immense international demonstration held on the initiative and with the leading role taken by Communists - in the struggle against imperialism.

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We are not convinced by such views that the national-democratic and other anti-imperialist Parties at the International Conference should participate as observers, as has already been the case at the congresses of some of the fraternal Parties. These are two different kinds of aspects, and what seems to be right in one case, can be actually harmful in the other. Knowing the sensitivity of the leaders of the national-democratic Parties, they could even consider - rightfully, to a certain extent, - this treatment as insulting. A whole series of politically unsurmountable conflicts could occur: we ought to invite the national democratic Parties as observers from countries from which fully or semi-illegal Communist Parties would be present with full rights; we might even invite such Parties - which at home in their own countries persecute the Communists - to the International Communist Conference though only in the status of observers. Such and similar political difficulties would only turn upside down everything we hoped to gain by the invitation. Giving a realistic consideration to both the theoretical-political and the practical problems, we have arrived at the conclusion that at present it is the International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties that has to be organized - making the participation possible for all the fraternal Parties - and the participation of the national-democratic and other anti-imperialist Parties in any status should be dispensed with.

Comrades,

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party like most of the other fraternal Parties, is seriously concerned with the concrete results which can be expected from this Consultative Meeting.

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Our party feels that it is not enough for us only to talk and exchange views and then go home and leave the fate of the international conference to chance. We believe it is important not to discontinue the preparations after this meeting, but we should in an organized manner advance towards realization of the international conference.

The past experiences of communist methods of work show that if we want to solve a problem, we have to act firmly and purposefully. This also applies to the international conference. We believe there would be a great response if all fraternal parties attending the Consultative Meeting would agree that the International Conference should be held this year in Moscow; We should appeal to all Communist and Workers' Parties to share in the preparatory work and to attend the International Conference. This would be a decisive initiative welcomed by all communists and by all forces in solidarity with us and would, at the same time, deal a political blow to our enemy - the imperialists.

Comrades:

We are submitting our ideas and proposals, while stating that we are prepared to listen to and examine all suggestions which differ from ours. Our aim is to find a concrete solution which will be satisfactory if possible to all fraternal parties. The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is convinced that our Consultative Meeting can fulfil its task by taking a big step forward towards the International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

Thank you for your attention.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 3/15/68

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

SUBJECT: -SOLO  
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Speech of the Head of the Delegation of the Romanian Communist Party at the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties, Budapest, Hungary."

On March 13, 1968, there was received from CG 5824-S\* through a drop address in the name of John Shoulders, c/o New Day Books, 3230 North Broadway, Chicago, Illinois, the text of a speech by the head of the delegation of the Romanian Communist Party to the Budapest Consultative Meeting. The envelope was postmarked March 5, 1968, at Budapest, Hungary, and bore no return address. The communication was obtained from LOU DISKIN, Communist Party of Illinois functionary, by CG 6653-S who furnished it to SAs ROBERT A. VILLEMURE and WALTER A. BOYLE. The date on which this speech was made is not known to this office.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum has been classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security. It is quite possible that the full text of these remarks has been made public, but this office has not seen the full text appear in the English language. Furthermore, it is believed necessary to classify this document due to the form of its attachment which is exactly as received from the informant.

REC-68

6806

- 2-Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 2) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

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MAR 20 1968  
FBI - CHICAGO  
BY \_\_\_\_\_



98 APR 7 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CG 134-46 Sub B

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as being prepared at Washington, D.C.





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.  
March 15, 1968

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SPEECH OF THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION  
OF THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY AT THE  
CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND  
WORKERS PARTIES, BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, during March, 1968, advised as follows:

A Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties convened beginning on February 26, 1968, in Budapest, Hungary. During the course of this meeting, the head of the delegation of the Romanian Communist Party addressed this meeting. Attached hereto is a copy of the text of the speech presented by the head of the delegation of the Romanian Communist Party.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Attachment

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Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

100-428091-6806  
ENCLOSURE

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Speech of the Head of the Delegation of  
the Romanian Communist Party at the  
Budapest Consultative Meeting

Dear Comrades,

First of all I wish to convey to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the hosts of our meeting, to all the communist and workers' parties you are representing, a warm and fraternal salute of international solidarity from the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, from the Romanian communists and the entire Romanian people.

The Romanian Communist Party decided to take part in this consultative meeting animated by the desire to make its contribution, alongside other parties, to finding the best ways for the organization of a world conference that should contribute to the improvement of the climate and serve the rapprochement and understanding between the fraternal parties, should lead to the strengthening of the cohesion of the international communist and working-class movement under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

An essential feature in the evolution of international life is the growth of the forces of socialism and peace. The socialist countries are continuously increasing their material potential through their achievements in the economic development and the building of the new system. The greater the importance of their results in the growth of the forces of production, in the solution of the problems of social life, in the development of democracy, in the field of science and culture, in the raising of the living standards of the working people and in the establishment of international

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relations of a new type, the greater is the increase in the confidence of the peoples in the superiority of the socialist system and the greater the prestige of socialism in the world. Resolutely fighting for the vital interests of the masses of the working people, the communist parties of many capitalist countries have in recent years increased their ranks and accumulated a rich experience, exercising a growing influence on the political life of society. In a number of countries there is a growing trend for joint, united actions of the communist and the socialist parties. The newly independent states are asserting themselves in the international arena more and more as a progressive and peace-loving force; the liberation movements of the oppressed peoples are striking heavy blows at imperialism and colonialism in several regions of the world.

In the capitalist countries large social forces, democratic mass movements are carrying out big actions against the domination of the monopolies, against the military block policy, against the maintenance of foreign bases and troops on their territories. Realistic and lucid currents advocating a detente and the normalization of international relations are making headway on the European continent; the intensification of links on several levels between European countries having different social systems, the development of contacts and collaboration with governments, parties and political organizations, with public personalities and statesmen standing for the elimination of discriminations in international relations, for peace and collaboration, is leading to positive results in the improvement of the political climate of Europe - an outstandingly important condition for the prospects of building security on this continent.

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Comrades,

At the same time it should be noted that this evolution is lately accompanied in international life by a number of phenomena which arouse the justified anxiety of the peoples. There is an intensification of the aggressive actions of the imperialist circles, and in the first place of American imperialism, which in recent years has resorted to a number of increasingly overt attempts on the revolutionary gains won by the peoples, to plots and coup-d'etat and to direct military interventions. The most flagrant expression of this policy is the aggressive war against Vietnam, the continuous escalation of this typically imperialist, brutal and barbarous intervention.

At our consultative meeting which has to discuss the ways of preparing a conference of the communist parties we obviously do not intend, Comrades, to make an analysis of the international situation. We have made the above references because

the entire development of international life emphasizes that the problem of the unity of the communist and workers' parties, the strengthening of their fighting solidarity, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism, the strengthening of the solidarity of all the anti-imperialist forces is the categorical imperative of our days, that, in the last instance, it is a vital cause of the international working class and of the whole of progressive mankind.

Having the firm belief that what unites the communist parties is the fundamental factor which must be above differences of views, and proceeding from the need to intensify the

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joint struggle against imperialism, the Romanian Communist Party considers that there exists no international duty more important than to resolutely and perseveringly act for the re-establishment of the unity of will, struggle and action of the communist and workers' parties. In this context our Party considers that all efforts have to be concentrated in one positive and constructive direction - towards the improvement of relations between all communist and workers' parties without any exception, the development of fraternal collaboration in the interest of the cause of unity. Because it proceeds from the major interests of the international working class, of all the peoples, our Party considers that one of the most important general duties at present is to undertake absolutely nothing that could add new elements of tension, absolutely nothing that would lead to a worsening of the relations between the communist and workers' parties and weaken the capacity of the joint struggle against imperialism. We believe that everything should be done to eliminate the elements of tension and strain, to improve the atmosphere between parties in the interest of the re-establishment and strengthening of their fighting cohesion.

It is in this spirit and in keeping with the cause of unity that the Romanian Communist Party has militated and militates for the developing of the alliance and the fraternal collaboration between Romania and all the socialist countries on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism, of equality, independence and non-interference in the inner affairs, of mutual advantage. The Romanian Communist Party is continuously developing its relations of internationalist solidarity with all the communist and workers' parties. Our Party appreciates the importance of the strengthening of friendly relations between the communist parties, of the development of bilateral relations which favour direct information, from leadership to leadership, better acquaintance with the

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respective positions and reciprocal clarification, and the finding of ways to highlight joint conclusions.

At the same time the Romanian Communist Party decidedly stands for multilateral contacts, for large meetings between the communist and workers' parties and in principle is in favour of international conferences.

The utility of each multilateral meeting, of each international conference must naturally be assessed according to the concrete situation, to the conference's character, scope and results. In the present circumstances, when the deep divergencies between the communist parties persist and numerous elements of suspicion have accumulated, - generated especially by infringements of the norms of relations - the Romanian Communist Party believes that such a conference, in order to be useful to our common cause, must serve rapprochement and understanding, must make a real contribution to the elimination or at least to the attenuation of some of the sources of tension, to the improvement of the relations between the communist and workers' parties, to the cause of their unity. Conversely, in the present day conditions, an international conference could but impair the major interests of unity if it would lead to the hardening of relations between the communist parties, to the worsening of the situation in the communist movement and would add new reasons for suspicion and lack of understanding to the present differences.

Proceeding from these premises, and with the sincere desire to see the entire future preparations of an international conference directed in such a way that they smooth the way to a conference serving the need for a normalization of relations between the communist parties, we would like to speak of some aspects regarding the preparation of the

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present consultative meeting.

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In our view, any action in which the communist parties are called upon to participate has to be definitely organized on the basis of their previous consultation, on the basis of their agreement. In this context we believe that it would have been normal and useful to have had prior to the convening of this consultative meeting an initial information and consultation of all the parties, in keeping with the norms of relations between fraternal parties. We have to express our regret that our Party was not previously consulted about the intention to call this consultative meeting. We first learned of the decision to call this meeting from reports transmitted around the 8th of November by the Moscow correspondents of bourgeois newspapers and press agencies, although during that very period our delegation, like the delegations of other parties, attended the festivities of the semi-centenary of the October Revolution. As far as we know, other fraternal parties were in a similar situation too. Speaking openly, as between comrades, such a procedure to put parties before a fait accompli does not seem natural to us; it does not serve rapprochement and understanding, it can only add new elements of reserve towards the conference, it does not appear to be of good omen for the international conference.

The convening of the meeting by the 18 parties which participated in the March 1965 reunion - which itself was at that time a matter of divergencies between the communist parties, - has led to a limitation of the consultations between parties, to the actual exclusion of a great number of communist and workers' parties from these consultations and even from the preparations for this Consultative Meeting.

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We also believe that it would have been in the interest of a good preparation of the Budapest meeting if all communist and workers' parties with no exception whatever had been invited to this meeting, without having recourse to the "criterion" of participation in the 1960 Moscow Conference. Eight years have passed since that conference, life has evolved in the meantime and we see no reasons of principle to consider another international conference as a continuation of the 1960 conference.

In this connection we wish to declare that a new international conference should not discuss the 1960 conference, should not proceed to its analysis or re-confirmation, in whatever form, of its documents. Each international conference is a separate, independent manifestation, and to conceive international conferences as having a certain succession and membership would mean to attribute to them the character of sessions of an organized body, to introduce into the relations between the communist parties the elements of an organizational structure.

In this connection the Romanian Communist Party considers that the absence of an invitation to the Yugoslav League of Communists and to other communist and workers' parties to the consultative meeting of Budapest is a discrimination.

Likewise, in the conditions in which, as a result of circumstances and factors which we are not called upon to analyse, the communist parties of India and Israel have split and are carrying on as two communist

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parties, only one party has been invited from each of those countries. Now, in these cases the only ones entitled to decide which party should be considered as the true spokesman are the communists, the working class and the respective people alone. Any decision from outside inevitably appears as a form of support for one party group or of one party against the other. Therefore, to invite only one party does not mean in these cases a road to the reestablishment of the unity in these countries, the unity in which, as shown by experience, resides the source of the force of each communist party. In our view, a fruitful road to a constructive international conference, to a conference in keeping with the interests of unity, can only pass through the strengthening of the internal cohesion of all fraternal parties.

We wish to emphasize, dear Comrades, that we have dwelt on these aspects because we believe that it is necessary and useful to prevent their future repetition, and because we are guided by the desire that from now on all preparatory work should proceed in a spirit and in forms which should not generate new elements of dissatisfaction in the relations between parties, should not strengthen the reserves of some parties with regard to the conference.

It is of course positive that in this consultative meeting a great number of communist and workers' parties are participating. But for our Party there is a matter of deep concern that numerous communist and workers parties are not present at this meeting.

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The Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania are not participating. The Working People's Party of Vietnam is not present, which means that a preparatory meeting for a conference on the problems of the struggle against imperialism is not attended by the representative of the very people directly engaged in the sharpest struggle, in a fierce war against imperialist aggression. Nor is the consultative meeting attended by the Communist Party of Cuba, a socialist country in the immediate neighbourhood of the USA, having to face the pressure and the repeated hostile acts of American imperialism. We note equally the absence of the Party of Labour of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, a socialist country against which the USA is continuing to commit acts of provocation.

The reasons for non-participation in the Budapest meeting are varied from party to party, but the absence of the above-mentioned parties is a fact. And if these parties will also be absent from the international conference dedicated to the problems of the struggle against imperialism, this would mean that nearly half of the number of socialist countries, the main stronghold of the peoples' anti-imperialist struggle, will be absent. There is no doubt that such a conference would in no way be a demonstration of the unity of the socialist countries.

Also a number of communist parties from capitalist countries and developing countries are not present at this meeting - such as the communist parties of Japan, Indonesia, Burma, Laos, Thailand, Malaya, Sweden, Holland, and of other countries. We cannot help noting that most of the communist and workers' parties of the continent of Asia are absent from the present consultative meeting. The continent of Africa, where the number of communist and workers' parties is, as you know, small, is also not well represented. More than half of the world's population lives on those two continents, where there are numerous centres of sharp struggle against imperialism.

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In this situation, which mirrors the state of things in the communist movement, the fundamental, essential problem is, we believe, to join and concentrate our efforts and direct the entire work of preparation to the creation of the conditions necessary for the organization of a conference which would make a real contribution to the normalization of the relations between the communist parties and really serve the interests of their fighting unity.

In this sense, we believe our meeting here should mark the beginning of preparations which would be based on the principle of large consultation in the spirit of full equality, esteem and mutual confidence, and would open the road to bringing the viewpoints closer together and achieving joint agreements on the essential problems of the organization and procedure of the international conference.

We therefore consider that at this consultative meeting we should have a constructive exchange of views, to examine together and consult on what should be done to prepare a conference which would help to improve the climate between the communist parties in order to create conditions for the participation of all the communist and workers' parties in the conference. Pronouncing itself for the organization of the conference, for its good preparation the Romanian Communist Party thinks that it would be good to reach here unanimous agreement, that is to agree on such essential problems as the character and aim of the international conference, its agenda, the nature of the final document, the procedure for its adoption, a.s.o. The achieving of principled agreements on such problems in the framework of our consultations here, would be, without any doubt, particularly useful for the preparation of the conference.

Along this line, we wished, in determining the agenda, to point to the necessity of maintaining the consultative character of the present meeting; so as it has been convened, this is in our opinion, an important question of principle.

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After we get to know each other's viewpoints through the exchanges of views taking place here, and after we consign the common conclusions we will draw with the efforts made by all of us, it will obviously be necessary to give our parties and their leading bodies, the Central Committees, the possibility to analyze the opinions expressed, to deeply judge them and declare on them, taking decisions, fully cognizant of the situation, on all problems regarding the respective party and the international conference. We think that such a procedure will serve for a better preparation of the conference, corresponding at the same time to the democratic spirit characterizing the communist parties, the norms in the relations between fraternal parties, the only ones who have the right and are in a position to take decisions on any problem regarding them directly.

The adoption of decisions at the Budapest meeting, convened as a consultative meeting, would deprive even the parties represented here of the possibility of analysing the materials of the meeting, the points on which an agreement has been reached as well as those on which possible disagreements may still persist - and thus take the necessary decisions regarding the further unfolding of preparations.

Moreover, we cannot overlook the fact that many parties are absent from this consultative meeting. The adoption of decisions at this consultative meeting would narrow their possibilities of subsequent participation in the preparation of the conference and in the international conference itself, would face them with an accomplished fact as - practically speaking - they would only have the alternative of upholding or not some decisions already taken by this meeting, of ratifying or not, decisions of the meeting. This will not contribute to the removal, but, on the contrary, to the growth of the reserves expressed by a considerable number of parties with regard to the international conference, we wish all of us to hold.

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In this light, we consider that it is on the manner in which this consultative meeting unfolds that depends to an overwhelming extent the whole subsequent progress of the preparations for a conference. Proceeding from the pre-requisite that it is necessary that the next conference constitute a manifestation of unity, and desiring to bring its full contribution to its preparation the delegation of the Romanian Communist Party is ready, to bring at the present meeting, its contribution for the achieving of agreements of principle on the characteristics of the international conference, on what should further be undertaken to pave the way for the participation in the conference of all parties without any exception, so as to ensure the possibility to the parties present here or not, of examining the opinions expressed here and deciding upon them. Thus, the present consultative meeting will really be a positive factor and will mark an important step forward along the line of the thorough preparation of an international conference. It is so that the Romanian Communist Party looks upon the basic features of the consultative meeting at Budapest.

Comrades,

In the view of our Party, one of the main problems that should be clarified by the consultative meeting is the character of a future international conference, so that the question of what kind of conference is intended to be organized and what shall be its nature and aims be fully elucidated.

The Romanian Communist Party considers the international conference to be a reunion devoted to a free exchange of views between the fraternal parties on the tasks evolving from their joint struggle against imperialism, with a view to the development of their international solidarity and the strengthening of unity in action.

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A new international conference should under no circumstances re-enact a conference of the 1960 type which had the intention of giving universal solutions and adopt programme-documents with the character of directives for all communist and workers' parties. The independent establishment by each party of its home and foreign policy, of its tactics and strategy, of the ways, forms and methods of its activity on the basis of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the huge diversity of the conditions in which they are working, is an inalienable right of each party, an obligation and an imprescriptible duty to the working class, to its people, and also a lofty internationalist duty.

If, at this meeting, we were to reach the clear conclusion that a future international conference is not to be organized for the establishment of directives and normative lines, this would contribute to a better understanding of the aim of the conference, to a diminution of the reserves of some parties, to the smoothing of the way for the adhesion of all fraternal parties.

As regards the agenda of the international conference our Party believes that in order that it may serve unity, the conference should have as its agenda - which defines the precise scope of the conference - the discussion of those problems on which joint conclusions can be reached.

Our Party has noted with interest the idea formulated by several fraternal parties according to which a future international conference should discuss the concrete problems of the present struggle against imperialism. It seems to us that this is a judicious, well-founded proposal. In the first place, because, in view of the intensification of the aggressive acts of imperialism and of the stringent need of a strong and united rebuff, it responds to the major current requirement of reaching

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consistently militant attitude on the part of all the communist and workers' parties and of the entire anti-imperialist front. This would also have the advantage that it would clearly circumscribe the agenda of the international conference and would favour the finding of a common ground of practical action.

In the present circumstances, when so many divergencies of a political and theoretical strategic and tactical nature have accumulated, we do not believe it to be opportune to give the international conference a character of ideological discussion.

Of course, our party does not exclude the fact that in the relations between fraternal parties divergent ideological problems should be discussed. But what we are discussing here is the concrete question whether to discuss in the next conference of the communist and workers' parties the great divergences existing in the communist movement. It is our opinion that if we follow such a line in preparing the conference, this would not lead to clarify the divergences, but, on the contrary, to the hardening of the disputes and to the aggravation of the relations between parties; it would also hamper the finding of a common ground of action.

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Therefore the Romanian Communist Party backs the idea that the future international conference should have an agenda limited to the problem of the concrete tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle, where there can also be different appreciations, different points of views, but where, on our opinion, it is not only necessary but also possible to reach to common conclusions. Of course, in a discussion on the problems of the struggle against imperialism, a central fundamental place would be held by the support of the struggle waged by the heroic Vietnamese people against the American aggression. Our Party expresses once again its agreement with the opinion that an appeal of solidarity with the Vietnamese people would be adopted in the present Consultative Meeting. In this connection the position of the Romanian Communist Party is known; it has always consistently voiced its active solidarity with the fight of the Vietnamese people, it has given and gives it its entire support, it resolutely works for the immediate and unconditional cessation of the American air raids against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, for the observance of the Vietnamese people's right to decide its fate by itself.

In view of the present situation, of the fact that numerous fraternal parties are not represented at our meeting, we believe it all the more necessary that throughout the preparatory work persevering efforts be made, that everything should be done in a spirit of understanding and comradely rapprochement, on strictly principled lines, to create conditions for the participation of all the fraternal parties in the conference.

An important requirement in this direction would be that we establish here that all communist and workers' parties, without any exception or discrimination, will be invited to the international conference. As regards the situation in India and Israel, we believe that a correct, equitable and principled solution would be the invitation of both communist parties existing in each of those countries.

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In connection with the problem of participation, several parties have emphasized the need to find forms which would make possible also the participation of other political and social forces actively fighting imperialism in an international conference dedicated to the problems of the anti-imperialist struggle.

We believe this to be justified and well-founded proposal. The vanguard role of the communist parties in the struggle against imperialism is obviously well known. But there are countries, geographical zones, where - because there are no communist parties or for other reasons - an important role in the struggle against imperialism is played by other political and social forces, by national, anti-imperialist movements.

In the interest of a full discussion of the problems of the fight against imperialism and in keeping with the major requirements of consolidating the unity of action of all the anti-imperialist forces, we consider it useful that the planned international conference should be attended by such movements as the fronts of liberation, the people's movements of national liberation, other anti-imperialist forces and a number of socialist parties having clear-cut anti-imperialist attitudes and which are interested in the achievement of the unity of action of all forces fighting imperialism.

We therefore believe that at this Consultative Meeting we have to proceed to an exchange of views on this question, on the forms or ways in which the participation of such forces in the international conference would be possible.

In our view, the international conference could become an important moment in the creation and consolidation of a powerful world-wide anti-imperialist front, not by way of excluding, but

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on the contrary, by drawing into the discussion, alongside the communist parties, other political and social forces as well which are in the front lines of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The Romanian Communist Party considers it important that we should within the Consultative Meeting discuss and clarify what kind of final document a future conference might adopt.

We are of the opinion that the document should include the main questions related to the struggle against imperialism on which an agreement had been reached. We are convinced that even when divergencies of views between parties on the interpretation of certain international events are manifest, common points of agreement can be found - certainly, if there is the necessary goodwill -, leaving it to time and life to solve the unsettled issues. It goes as a matter of course that a document of such a nature can only be adopted on a democratic basis, through a consensus of the conference participants, without any tendency whatever of recording in it points of view some parties are in disagreement with.

We do not exclude even the situation that a party did not agree with some of the appreciations or with the whole document, and that it would express its position in this respect. But it is essential that this should not lead to the worsening of the relations between fraternal parties. We consider it necessary to underline that documents of international conferences of the communist parties cannot be adopted on the basis of vote or of majority. The principle of democratic centralism is valid only on the inner party plane. This principle cannot be transferred, in a mechanical way on international plane, as it is not at all possible to apply it in the relations between communist parties.

Conceiving the international conference within the normal framework of a forum for the free exchange of views, the Romanian

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Communist Party considers that the document to be eventually adopted cannot have a programmatic character, cannot be a norm-setting act for the parties' activities. In the opinion of our Party it is life itself, the best judge of everybody's actions, which demonstrated the low efficiency of the pretention to cover and explain in one document the whole development of world events and point out to the communist parties the paths to follow as well as the concrete tasks in their activities.

A clear agreement as part of this meeting on the nature of the document would doubtlessly be a stimulating factor along the line of the participation of fraternal parties in an international conference.

A cardinal requirement for the thorough preparation of the Conference lies in very clearly establishing that a future international conference should not in any form discuss and criticize the internal and international activity or policy of any fraternal party, present or not present at the conference, should not resort in any case and in no way to blame or condemnation with regard to other parties.

In the discussions here, it has been justly shown, that it is the sovereign right of each party to present anywhere and unhindered, its own point of view. We wish to underline once more that this is of course a sovereign right, particularly dear to the Romanian Communist Party - but to this right it is equally incumbent the obligation of appreciation what is useful to the conference we want to organize and what is not, what would serve the conference and what would bring it prejudice. This is the sense of the comradely appeal made here by the Romanian delegation that in the course of this Consultative Meeting the fraternal parties should abstain from criticizing other parties.

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Our Party has noted with attention as an important positive fact that lately a series of parties in their stands on various occasions have emphasized that a future international conference must not in any form criticize or discuss the internal or international policy of any party. The public assertion by our Consultative Meeting of the principle according to which a future international conference is not convened in order to discuss or condemn the internal or international political line of other parties would have a powerful positive international response, would contribute to removing suspicion, would doubtlessly inspire confidence and pave the way for the participation of fraternal parties in the conference.

In this connexion, we desire to express the profound regret of the delegation of the Romanian Communist Party for the fact that even in this present Consultative Meeting the policy of a fraternal party has been discussed.

The Romanian Communist Party has in this respect a clear position. We know all of us that in the communist movement there are numerous divergencies, but the way of solving them is not the one of discussing the parties, is not the one of their being criticized and tried by external forums.

Experience has shown to the full that the criticism and condemnation of certain fraternal parties not only does not solve the controversial issues but, on the contrary, it sharpens divergencies of views, increases tension and discord, weakens the unity of the fraternal parties, bringing serious prejudice to the joint struggle against imperialism, to the cause of socialism.

There were already international meetings or conferences where parties were condemned or blamed with the ill-fated results we know, and whose consequences still make suffer the communist movement. One knows also the prejudice caused by the practice of

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dividing the fraternal parties in nationalist or internationalist, in other different categories.

We want to declare now most sincerely that if this Consultative Meeting is transformed in a rostrum for discussing and trying other parties, this will not be a constructive factor in the process of preparation, it will not contribute to create the necessary conditions for a conference that should serve unity. On the contrary, this would lead to tighten the possibilities for the participation in such a conference, it would strengthen even more the reserves manifested by some parties, it would be a new source of worsening the relations between communist parties.

As regards ourselves, the Romanian Communist Party most clearly declares in support of not discussing in any form - neither at this Consultative Meeting, nor at a future consultative meeting, nor at the international conference - the internal or international activity or policy of other communist and workers' parties.

Along the same line we think it useful for our Consultative Meeting to emphasize that the decision to take part or not to take part in the international conference should not in any case be regarded or turned into a reason of discord and it should not affect the relations of comradely cooperation between the communist parties. Regarding the participation in a conference as well as any question related to its internal and international activity, the only one who has the right and is in a position to decide is the respective party.

We note as a positive tendency that of late this principle is being recognized on an ever wider scale. Reasserting this principle in the present Consultative Meeting we would doubtlessly do something positive for the thorough preparation of an international conference.

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A cardinal pre-requisite for the success of a future international conference is that it should unfold on a democratic basis, with the strict observance of the norms in the relations among the communist and workers' parties.

Historical experience has proved that the assertion of every communist party as political vanguard of the working class, of its people, as well as the efficient solution of the problems, of the struggle for socialism and against imperialism, are incompatible with the existence of any international leading centre. Consequently, all problems connected with the preparation of the conference should be conceived and resolved in such a way so as not in the least to let it be inferred that the relations between communist and workers' parties were based on the idea of a leading centre. Among the communist and workers' parties there cannot be "superior" parties and "inferior" parties, all parties are equal, no party can or should hold a place apart, a privileged position, no party can or should interfere in the internal affairs of another party. Within the present historical framework, starting from the irreversible processes of development of the parties the conception has widely gained understanding and recognition which provides that the unity and internationalist solidarity - the communist movement is in such great need of - can only be built on the foundation of the principles of the parties' independence and sovereignty, of equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other parties, of the observance of the right of each and every party to decide by itself on its policy and activity.

In our Party's opinion it will be necessary all through the conference preparation that the consultations between parties should be carried on democratically, evincing receptivity with regard to the opinions expressed by each and every party, avoiding all action or manifestation meant to alter the climate of comradeship, principledness and sincerity, which is absolutely necessary for the thorough preparation of a constructive international conference.

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It results from all this that in our Party's opinion for the organization of an international conference which should meet the interests of unity, thorough and strenuous preparatory work still has to be carried on, in order to create conditions for the participation of the communist and workers' parties, present or absent at the present Consultative Meeting, as well as for the eventual participation of other anti-imperialist political and social forces.

The very fact that this Consultative Meeting is not attended by a great number of parties, even if their non-participation is determined by various reasons, reflects the serious reservations a number of communist parties have at present with regard to the idea of the conference and shows that conditions are not ripe at the present time for a world conference of the communist and workers' parties. A conference held in such conditions would only even more flagrantly illustrate on a world scale the lack of unity between the communist parties and would inevitably appear, whatever the intentions, as an acknowledgement of the phenomena of division and scission.

In view of all the above, the Romanian Communist Party considers that it would be premature to establish the date of the conference in the present consultative meeting or to create now preparatory commissions or committees. The establishment, now, of a date would mean the relegation on to a secondary plane not only of the conditions in which the conference would be held but also of the results it would conclude with, would shift the stress from the adequate preparation of the conference to the aspect of its convening at any price at a fixed date, irrespective of whether the preparations were completed or not. But the essential thing is not to precipitate things, but to thoroughly prepare the conference, patiently, as long as will be necessary, for what is naturally of primary interest is not the calendar date, but the consequences

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the conference should have, the way it should find its reflection in the relations between the communist and workers' parties, in the development of international events. Taking into account that the necessary conditions do not exist now and, hence, we would not be in a position to declare on the date - we are of the opinion to take up this question again at the next consultative meeting. If in a few months time, depending on the stage of the preparatives, we realize that they are being successfully carried on and tend to lead to the existence of the necessary premises, then we will certainly be in a position to tackle in a more concrete way the question of establishing the date of the conference.

In this sense we think that it would be premature to establish here the place where a next international conference should take place.

In this connexion, our Party is of the opinion that the place of the next consultative meetings and of the international conference should be chosen on the basis of assuring the rotation of the host parties of such manifestations. This would correspond to the principles of equality among parties and would exclude at the same time the possibility of undesirable interpretations - in the sense of the existence of a leading centre. The establishment of the place could form the object of the discussions in the next consultative meeting, corresponding to the interests for preparing the conference in the best conditions.

Comrades,

We have outlined the point of view of the Romanian Communist Party, animated by the desire that this consultative meeting should conclude with positive results, should mark a real contribution to the re-establishment of a climate of principledness and normalization of relations between the

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communist and workers' parties, to the creation of conditions for the participation of all brother parties in an international conference that should meet the interests of unity.

We wish to emphasize once again that the Romanian Communist Party will most actively participate in the preparation of such an international conference.

The unfolding of the preparatory work for the international conference on the basis of the strict observance of the norms in the relations between the fraternal parties will be a contribution to creating conditions for the re-establishment of the unity of the communist and workers' parties, the unity on which the cohesion, strength and success in struggle of the whole anti-imperialist front depend to a decisive extent.

Proceeding from the lofty internationalist responsibility incumbent on it for our common cause, the Romanian Communist Party expresses its determination not to spare its efforts with a view to the re-establishment and strengthening of the unity of all the communist and workers' parties, to do its utmost to contribute to the cohesion of the communist movement, of all forces fighting for socialism, peace and social progress.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ROUTED IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 3/15/68

*MW*  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Communique of the Special Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, March 1, 1968."

On March 13, 1968, there was received from CG 5824-S\* through a drop address in the name of John Shoulders, c/o New Day Books, 3230 North Broadway, Chicago, Illinois, the text of a communique of the Special Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, March 1, 1968. The envelope was postmarked March 5, 1968, at Budapest, Hungary, and bore no return address. The communication was obtained from LOU DISKIN, Communist Party of Illinois functionary, by CG 6653-S who furnished it to SAs ROBERT A. VILLEMURE and WALTER A. BOYLE.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum has been classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security. It is quite possible that the full text of this communique has been made public, but this office has not seen the full text appear in the English language. Furthermore, it is believed necessary to classify this document due to the form of its attachment which is exactly as received from the informant.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as being prepared at Washington, D. C. EX-110

- 2-Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM) **REC-68**
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 2) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

WAB:MDW  
(4)

**6 MAR 20 1968**



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**98 APR 1 1968**



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.  
March 15, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIQUE OF THE SPECIAL PLENARY  
MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF  
THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, MARCH  
1, 1968

During March, 1968, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

On March 1, 1968, a Special Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Romania was held to discuss the situation which had arisen affecting the attendance of the Communist Party of Romania delegation at the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties which had convened beginning on February 26, 1968, in Budapest, Hungary. At the conclusion of the Special Plenary Meeting, a communique was prepared. Attached hereto is a copy of the text of this communique.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-428091-6807

Attachment

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

C O M M U N I Q U E

of the Special Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, . . . . .

- - - - -

A Special Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party was held on March 1, 1968.

The Central Committee examined on the first item of the agenda the account with regard to the activity of the Romanian delegation and the way in which the sessions of the Budapest Consultative Meeting proceeded so far, and approved the decision which is published below.

On the second item on the agenda, the Plenary Meeting examined problems relating to the participation of the Romanian delegation in the meeting of the political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries to be held in Sofia on March 6, and adopted relevant decisions.

In conclusions the floor was taken by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, Comrade Nicolai Ceausescu, who emphasised the outstanding importance of the problems discussed by the Central Committee -- the supreme body of our Party -- which between Congresses discusses and decides upon the basic issues of the policy and activity of the Party, the measures of vital importance for the interests of the Party, of the Romanian people, of our Socialist nation, the activity conducted by the Party and Government for the development of the cooperation relations with all Socialist countries, with all fraternal communist and workers' parties, and the detachments of the national liberation movement, with all states, irrespective of the social system, for the safeguarding of peace and cooperation among peoples.

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- 2 -

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, met on March 1, 1968, heard the account with regard to the activity of the Romanian delegation and the way in which the Sessions of the Budapest Consultative Meeting proceeded so far.

The Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party had decided at the Plenary Meeting of February 14, 1968, that a delegation of our Party should participate in the Consultative Meeting of Budapest, for the purpose of making its active contribution to the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the communist movement, to act, together with the other participating parties, for the preparation of an international conference, meant to be a real share to the normalization of the relations between the communist and workers' parties, to the re-establishment of their unity.

At the Consultative Meeting, already before the start of the debate, the delegation of our Party addressed to all the participating delegations a comradely appeal to refrain from criticizing, from discussing and from judging in any form the internal or external political activity of any fraternal party, present or not present at the proceedings. Nevertheless, the previous understandings, the positions expressed by documents as well as the assurances given by public declarations by the representatives of some parties that there would be a free and democratic exchange of views concerning the preparation of the international conference of the communist parties, that no fraternal party would be attacked, condemned or judged, were infringed from the beginning.

In the address of several speakers, there were criticisms and attacks against a number of fraternal communist

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- 3 -

parties. Thus, at the February 28 Session of the Consultative Meeting, the delegation of the Communist Party of Syria permitted itself to discuss the international policy of the Romanian Communist Party and of the Socialist Republic of Romania and resorted to attacks and offensive qualificatives against our Party and its stand concerning the international conference of the communist and workers' parties.

The delegation of the Romanian Communist Party made a vigorous statement of protest in this connection. In its reply, the Syrian <sup>delegation</sup>/evaded to retract the attacks against our Party and, although a number of delegations dissociated themselves with regard to those attacks, the Meeting did not take a stand of disapproval of the Syrian delegates' attitude. Taking note of the reply of the Syrian delegation to this protest, and in view of the gravity of the attack against our Party, and of the spirit in which the proceedings unfolded, our delegation informed the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party.

In analysing the situation that has arisen following the attacks against a number of communist parties among which also our Party, the Executive Committee of the Central Committee deemed it necessary to address immediately the leaderships of several communist and workers' parties, participating in the Meeting, showing that "under such conditions the agreement reached concerning the convocation of this meeting is being infringed, that the unfolding of a free and democratic exchange of views in connection with the problem of the convening of a world conference of the communist and workers' parties is not ensured. We consider that the attack against other parties, against the Romanian Communist Party, is aimed at preventing the free exchange of views and, consequently, does not create

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- 4 -

the conditions for the normal progress of the meeting. It is known that today, the problem of the free and democratic exchange of views is one of the elementary requirements of normal relations between the communist and workers' parties".

The leadership of our Party appealed to the leaderships of the respective parties, to act through their representatives at the Budapest Meeting for a solution to be reached that would ensure the unfolding in a comradely, constructive spirit of the Meeting and enable the further participation of the delegation of the Romanian Communist Party in its proceedings.

In keeping with the mandate received from the Central Committee of the Party, the Romanian delegation at Budapest also raised this problem before the other delegations, showing that in the situation that had developed, it was necessary to find a form by which the Consultative Meeting should express its disagreement over the attack directed against the Romanian Communist Party. Furthermore, the delegation emphasized the necessity for appealing to all the delegations of the participating parties that, during the Meeting, they should refrain from any attack against a fraternal party, present or not present at the Meeting. It emphasized once more that this was a problem of principle, on which the character and nature of the Meeting, the very orientation being imprinted both to the present meeting and to the future international conference depended.

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5.

The Romanian Communist Party considers as an elementary requirement the ensuring, at every meeting of the Communist Parties, of a comradely spirit and a climate of principledness strict observance of the demand not to discuss and not to condemn in any form the policy and activity of other parties.

The delegation of our Party in Budapest made the most persevering efforts for the ensuring of a normal unfolding of the sessions of the meeting, wishing that a solution be found that would serve this aim and should be acceptable to all participants, our delegation proposed that in the meeting's minute, of an internal character, the following declaration be laid down: "the delegations participating in the Budapest Meeting note with regret that the Syrian delegation criticized a fraternal party - the Romanian Communist Party - and considers that this does not correspond to the spirit of the meeting. They take note with satisfaction that the Syrian delegation withdrew its assertions with regard to the policy and activity of the R.C.P.

The delegations express their wish that at the Consultative Meeting no fraternal Party should be attacked, the need for the efforts to examine freely, in the form of discussions, in a comradely atmosphere, the problems relating to the international conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties. Each Party bears the responsibility for its addresses.

"The delegations take note that thereby the incident is closed, a fact which accords with the democratic spirit in which the sessions of the Consultative Meeting must proceed."

In spite of the insistence of the delegation of our Party for providing an acceptable solution to this problem and although some delegations regarded the addresses of the Romanian delegation as justified, the above-mentioned proposal was not accepted.

Since the meeting did not disapprove the attacks against our Party by the Syrian delegate, and did not endorse the appeal that another fraternal Party should not be attacked

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6.

at the Consultative Meeting the R.G.P. delegation could not continue to participate in the proceedings of the meeting. In keeping with the decision of the Executive Committee, the delegation made a statement of principle which remarked upon the grave situation following the infringement of the standards in the relations between the fraternal parties. It pointed at the obstacles which hamper a democratic exchange of views at the Meeting and left the Meeting before the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party could have made a decision on it.

The Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party after analyzing the situation developed at the Budapest Meeting approves the attitude and activity of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee conducted by the delegation of the Romanian Communist Party at the Budapest Meeting inclusive of its walking out of the Meeting.

Noting that at the Budapest Consultative Meeting there were not created conditions for a democratic discussion of the Parties' points of view with regard to the preparation of an international conference, that the course of discussion, criticizing and blaming of other fraternal Parties was impressed to this meeting, the plenary meeting of the Central Committee decided that our Party should no longer participate in the proceedings of this meeting. The Plenary Meeting considers that further participation in the Budapest Consultative Meeting would signify acceptance of the promotion of practices and methods of condemning other parties, of imposing the will of some parties on other parties, practices which seriously harm the efforts for the normalization of the relations between parties, contribute to the increase of the divergencies existing within the communist movement, aggravate still more the danger of intensifying the scission. The Romanian Communist Party thinks that the promotion of relations between the Communist Parties based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, of observance of independence, equality and non-interference in internal affairs, on each Party's right to shape its internal and international political line in-

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7.

dependently, is of a vital importance for the unity of the Communist movement. The Romanian Communist Party works for the promotion of a truly democratic climate in the Communist movement, a climate of understanding and comradely cooperation, for the liquidation of any form of pressure against other Parties, of the attitudes of discrimination of the practice of invectives and accusations, of any attempts at classifying the fraternal Communist Parties in Marxist or non-Marxist in internationalist or nationalist, or in any other categories.

Our firm position has been and continues to be that nothing must be undertaken, in any form, that would result in the aggravation of the relations between parties, in the increase of disagreements and divergencies. On the contrary, every action of the Communist Parties must lead step by step to the re-establishment of their unity, to the strengthening of the cohesion of all the progressive, anti-imperialist forces in the world.

A conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties must not be an aim in itself. It can contribute to the normalization of the situation in the Communist movement, can lead to the strengthening of the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties the world over only if in its organization one proceeds views in connection with the international conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties. The decision says that the Romanian Communist Party is animated by the desire to further work for the development of relations with all the fraternal parties - attending or not attending the Budapest Meeting - for the normalization of the relations in the Communist and working class movement, for strengthening its unity, for strengthening the solidarity of all progressive forces in the world, of the entire anti-imperialist front, for the cause of socialism, peace and progress.

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8.

Our Party proceeds from the conviction that the strength of every party lies in its ability of expressing the will and interest of the working class it represents; the will and interest of the people to which it belongs. This is also an essential prerequisite for that particular party to meet its internationalist obligation, increase its contribution to the success of the common cause of socialism and peace and strengthen the anti-imperialist front.

The Romanian Communist Party when deciding on its non-participation in the continued work of the Budapest Consultative Meeting, because it does not ensure the free and democratic exchange of views connected with the international meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties, at the same time expresses its determination that it will continue to take a stand for the development of relations with all fraternal parties, irrespective whether or not they participated at the Budapest Meeting; it takes a stand for the normalization of relations within the Communist and Workers' movement for the strengthening of the movement's unity, for increasing the solidarity of all progressive forces, of the entire anti-imperialist front, for the victory of the cause of socialism, peace and progress.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 3/12/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

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

SOLO  
IS-C

*Handwritten notes:*  
5-1-1-1  
S-1-1-1  
S-1-1-1

On 3/12/68 there were received from CG 5824-S\* two communications addressed to the Solo drop address NORMA HANSEL, P.O. Box 7363, Chicago, Illinois 60680. The first of these was postmarked 3/4/68 at Budapest, Hungary, and contained two newspaper clippings. The first of these was dated 3/4/68 and contained the following handprinted notation:

Hi - How are you? Will be on the way to winter resort in 3-4 days.

/S/ John

The second clipping in the first letter merely bore the notation: "Ask Miss Yogila" (CG 6653-S). This last reference apparently was due to the fact that the clipping was a picture of ANNA LIISA HYVONEN, a delegate from the CP of Finland to the Budapest conference, an individual who is personally known to CG 6653-S.

- 1-904
- ③-Bureau (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

REC-71 100-428091-6808

WAB:MDW  
(5)

MAR 19 1968

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

8 MAR 25 1968

CG 134-46 Sub B

The second communication was postmarked 3/8/68 at Montreal, Quebec, Canada, and bore the return address, "JOHN GREER, Holiday Inn, Montreal, Quebec, Canada." Apparently this communication was mailed for CG 5824-S\* by WILLIAM KASHTAN, General Secretary, CP of Canada, on his return to Canada. The text of this communication dated 3/7/68 is as follows:

In a day or two I will leave for a holiday at a winter resort. At this point I don't know how much time I will take. But I suppose there is no point in being impatient. As it looks I may want to take only five-six days and Mr. Broad is supposed to leave me alone for a week at the most then he will start complaining.

Otherwise business as usual--a vacation it is not. I hope you are well and not too lonesome. Except for colds and lack of enough time everything is normal...All my love as always.

/S/ John

P.S. I wish I could give you a schedule but I can't, it is up to the boss.

The substance of CG 5824-S\*'s communications is that he expected to leave Budapest for Moscow, USSR, on 3/8 or 9/68 and may spend 5-6 days in Moscow. Thus, CG 5824-S\* is pointing toward a departure from Moscow sometime about 3/13-15/68. Apparently CG 5824-S\* and GUS HALL (Mr. Broad) have an agreement that after HALL has returned to the U.S., he will allow one week following which he will inform the CP of the Soviet Union that he desires CG 5824-S\* to return to the U.S. as soon as possible. CG 5824-S\* may have made this arrangement with HALL in order to preclude his being detained for an extended period of time by the CP of the Soviet Union.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENCL 100-428091-6809

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 3/14/68

*[Handwritten initials]*  
FROM :

SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637-Sub C)

SUBJECT:

SOLO  
IS - C  
(REPLACEMENT AND NEUTRALIZATION PROGRAM)

*[Handwritten initials]*  
*R.P. [unclear]*

[redacted] who is on the [redacted] of the New York Office has been selected for interview under the SOLO - Replacement and Neutralization Program.

b7D

### Background

[redacted] a White male, was born 4/4/16, in Brooklyn, New York of Russian parents, was educated in Brooklyn public schools and attended the [redacted] in New York City in 1930 and 1931. Since 1931 he has been [redacted] and since 1947 has [redacted] and [redacted] currently located at [redacted] Street, New York City. [redacted] whom he married in 1939 presently reside at [redacted] New York City, second floor. They have three grown children.

b7D

*MS*

### Subversive Activities

[redacted] served in [redacted] with the [redacted] [redacted] from about May, 1937 to March, 1939 during which time he was reportedly wounded.

b7D

By 1945 the subject had been a Communist Party member for ten years. In 1940 [redacted] signed a CP Nominating Petition and in 1948 was reported to have CP USA membership card number [redacted]. The subject's wife, [redacted]

b7D

- 1-904, 942
- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - New York

REC-75

100-428091-6809

JAH:rmp  
(3)

EX-105

MAR 21 1968

*[Handwritten marks]*

*30 P. cut  
3/14/68*  


NY 100-134637-Sub C

held Communist Party membership card number [redacted] of the [redacted] of the Communist Party, which indicated that she had been a Communist Party member since about 1932.

b7D

In 1956 and 1957, [redacted] attended regular meetings of the [redacted] CP Section and was present at one or more sessions of the NYSCP Convention as a delegate. In March, 1957 he attended the Reconvened NYSCP Convention.

b7D

Apparently [redacted] who was a supporter of the JOHN GATES faction, became inactive in the Communist Party after the 1957 CP National Convention. In June, 1957, efforts to reactivate him in the Communist Party failed and in 1958 he refused to renew his subscription to "The Worker".

b7D

In 1959, the late WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Chairman, Ementus CP, USA described [redacted] who "was right-wing but he might have changed".

b7D

#### Miscellaneous

In [redacted] applied to the [redacted] for a [redacted]. Under oath [redacted] admitted Communist Party membership from 1939 to 1952. Although there was evidence of CP membership by [redacted] until 1957, the Department of Justice declined prosecution of Fraud Against the Government on the opinion that there was insufficient evidence. [redacted] was subsequently granted the [redacted].

b7D

In [redacted] was arrested for causing a disturbance at the United Nations. He had shouted repeatedly against "American Imperialists" in Guatemala was subsequently

b7D

NY 100-134637-Sub C

arrested and sent to [redacted] No evidence [redacted] was found and he was given a suspended sentence of six months and one year probation. b7D

During World War II [redacted] in the [redacted] and in 1946 maintained a [redacted] in his residence. b7D

[redacted] was interviewed by Bureau agents in 1958 and 1962 as a Security Index subject. He was uncooperative and in 1962 stated, "I have no interest in the American Communist Party and I have nothing else to say".

#### Recommendation

[redacted] left the Communist Party without fanfare in 1957 when so many others did - during the EUGENE DENNIS - JOHN GATES split. While in the Communist Party both [redacted] were very active and were considered trustworthy members. b7D

[redacted]  
an excellent front.

[redacted] - certainly a desirable quality for any one in the espionage field. b7D

Bureau authority is requested to contact [redacted] in an effort to enlist his cooperation and with the view of possibly using him in the SOLO operation.



# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, New York (100-134637 Sub C)

3/21/68

EX-105

REC-75

Director, FBI (100-428091)-6859

- 1 - Mr. W. H. Floyd
- 1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

**SOLO**  
**INTERNAL SECURITY - C**  
**(REPLACEMENT AND NEUTRALIZATION PROGRAM)**

Reurlet 2/14/68 requesting authority to interview [redacted] for the purpose of determining if he could be utilized in the Solo Apparatus. b7D

Authority is granted to interview [redacted] in accordance with Section 87D of the Manual of Instructions. This interview should be designed to determine his attitude. Care should be taken during the interview to preclude the possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau. Advise Bureau of results of interview and submit recommendations for further action.

RCP:cst <sup>cst</sup>  
 (5)

NOTE:

Soviets have instructed CPUSA to obtain a laundry or gift shop to be utilized as a drop. Requirements for individuals to operate such a drop called for old-time Party members who have not been active in the recent past. [redacted]

[redacted] which is an excellent front. [redacted] a desirable quality for anyone to be utilized in our apparatus. He served in the [redacted] and was reported to have been wounded. If cooperative, his business could be utilized as the drop. This interview falls under our program designed to locate individuals to be developed as informants and utilized in the Solo Operation. b7D

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 24  
 MAR 20 1968  
 COMM-FBI

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten initials]*

98 MAR 23 1968

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

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

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C  
(REPLACEMENT AND NEUTRALIZATION PROGRAM)

DATE: 3/19/68

*Bfm*

*R. C. [Signature]*

[Redacted] a former Security Index subject of the New York Office has been selected for contact under the SOLO-Replacement and Neutralization Program.

b7D

### Background

[Redacted] a White male, was born July 21, 1916 in Brooklyn, New York. [Redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

In the early 1940's subject was employed in the [Redacted] Florida area where he was also [Redacted] Branch of the Communist Party. In 1944 he entered the United States Service where he was [Redacted] and subsequently [Redacted]

b7D

From about [Redacted] by GEORGE W. SPRINGSTEEN, an [Redacted] in New York City until 1954 when [Redacted]

b7D

[Redacted] also in New York City. In 1955 he was [Redacted] (later known as [Redacted]) until January, 1964 when he accepted his present [Redacted] Street, New York City.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[Redacted] reside at [Redacted] Street, Brooklyn, New York.

- ① - 904
- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - New York

REC-75 100-428091-6810

EX-105

6 MAR 21 1968

JAH:rmp  
(3)

*W.P. [Signature]*

Let to NY 3/20/68 authorizing distribution  
 RE: cont



NY 100-134637-Sub C

Subversive Activities

Informants reported [redacted] as Communist Party members in Washington, D. C. in 1941. In 1943 and 1944 [redacted] of the [redacted] Florida Communist Party, and [redacted] was an active member of that branch and meetings of that branch were held in the [redacted] home.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

In 1948 [redacted] a meeting of [redacted] of CP (Brooklyn, New York) and signed a Communist Party nominating petition the same year. In [redacted] a CP nominating petition for SIMON GERSON, candidate for Congress.

b7D

In 1954 and 1955 he was active in the [redacted]

b7D

No additional Communist Party or Communist Party front activity on the part of the subject until 1967.

On 2/17/67, LEMENT HARRIS was observed by Bureau agents entering premises at 1 Sheridan Square, New York City carrying five zipper brief cases. One of the tenants in this building is VIOLA BROTHERS SHORE at whose residence certain meetings of a group (believed to be the Professional and Cultural Section of the NYDCP) have been held. Approximately one hour later unsub male, later identified as [redacted] was observed departing 1 Sheridan Square carrying a brief case similar to those carried by HARRIS. A short time later HARRIS emerged carrying two brief cases and DAVE FREEDMAN was with him carrying one brief case.

b7D

MARY RUSSAK, who usually attends these meetings was under separate surveillance that evening and did not go to that address.

NY 100-134637-Sub C

On [redacted] HARRIS, FREEDMAN, RUSSAK [redacted] were observed entering 1 Sheridan Square, New York City. HARRIS could be observed entering the SHORE apartment number 6D. About one hour later [redacted] FREEDMAN emerged and [redacted] was followed to his residence at [redacted] Street, [redacted] New York and his identity verified. b7D

On [redacted] RUSSAK, FREEDMAN [redacted] were observed entering the SHORE apartment. b7D

Recommendation

Inasmuch as [redacted] appears to be a member of the CP, NYD [redacted] and therefore an associate of LEMENT HARRIS, a counselor in the Party's financial affairs, it appears [redacted] may be regarded by the Communist Party as usable in its funds operation. b7D

Therefore Bureau authority is requested to contact [redacted] to enlist his cooperation for potential recruitment into the SOLO operation or if uncooperative to neutralize his eligibility for use by the Communist Party in the financial set up. b7D

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 3/18/68

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

*R.O. Johnson*

Enclosed herewith are three copies, and one copy for Chicago, of an informant's statement entitled "LEE SILBERSTEIN."

The information set forth in the enclosed informant's statement was orally furnished by CG 5824-S\* on 3/16/68 to SA WALTER A. BOYLE.

*7/13*

- 1-904, 9/2/68 with 1 enc.*
- 2** - Bureau (Enc. 3) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - New York (41)

WAB:msb  
(5)

*Let CG  
1-NY  
3-21-68  
RCP/cet*

REC-75 100-428091-6811

EX-105

MAR 21 1968

*5-n*



3/16/68

Lee Silberstein

During a recent meeting held in Moscow, USSR, between a representative of the CPUSA and Mikhail Polonik, KGB Officer in charge of the communications apparatus between the CPUSA and the CPSU, the following was discussed:

Polonik stated that while Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CPUSA, was in the USSR during late 1967, he had been asked concerning the identities of individuals in the U. S. who would be good contacts for the Russians, information which had previously been promised to the Russians by Hall. At that time, Hall furnished to the Russians the name of Lee Silberstein, who, together with his wife Beverly Silberstein, operates the Georgetown Graphic Art Gallery, Inc., 3207 O Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. When informed of this, the CPUSA representative asked Polonik whether or not the Silbersteins had been contacted by the Russians at Washington, D. C. Polonik stated that the Russians have been in the art gallery on a few occasions, but have not yet become friends with the Silbersteins. He stated that the Russians do not wish to make a precipitous approach to the Silbersteins, but will endeavor to become friendly over a period of time before pressing their advantage and actively cultivating the Silbersteins.

100-428091-6811

ENCLOSURE

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, Chicago (134-46 Sub B)

3/21/68

EX-105 REC-75  
Director, FBI (100-428091) — 6811

1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ReNYlet 3/18/68, which enclosed a statement from CG 5824-S\*, captioned [redacted]

b6  
b7c

As the statement now reads, it appears to have been taken out of a larger discussion. In order for the Bureau to be in a position to fully analyze this matter, more details of this discussion are necessary. Of particular interest is the context in which the matter concerning [redacted] was originally brought up by Mikhail Polonik. Exactly how did the discussion start? Did Polonik ask for additional names of American citizens to be furnished him? Why did the informant ask Polonik if the Soviets had contacted [redacted] Normally, an espionage agent would not ask such a question of his superior. Did CG 5824-S\* feel there were reasonable grounds for him to safely pose this question? If so, what were those grounds?

You should immediately recontact the informant regarding this discussion and submit full details to the Bureau and New York.

1 - New York (100-134637)

MAILED 5  
MAR 20 1968  
COMM-FBI

RCP:cst  
(5)

NOTE:

The Soviets have previously requested the Communist Party, USA, to furnish them the names of American citizens who could be "useful" to the Soviets. While Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, was in the Soviet Union in late 1967, he furnished the name of [redacted] to the Soviets. In discussing this matter with the Soviet Section, questions set forth above were raised. We are considering interviewing [redacted] ourselves and the answers to these questions set forth above would be of benefit.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

*Handwritten initials and marks:* RCP, JH, and a checkmark.

98 MAR 29 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. Conrad

DATE: March 18, 1968

FROM : E. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S\* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 3/18/68, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

**ACTION:**

For information.

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn.: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. R. C. Putnam)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS:ccb  
(7)

REC-75

100-428091-6812

EX-105

6 MAR 21 1968

5-10

17 Jue

98 MAR 28 1968



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. Conrad *JWC*

DATE: March 20, 1968

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY-C

*wet*  
*C. Downing*

On 3/19/68, the New York Office furnished the text of three messages which the informant desired to send and requested that they be enciphered. The cipher text was furnished to New York on the same day.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

**ACTION:**

For information.

*JWC*

Enclosure

**ENCLOSURE**

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. R. C. Putnam)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

*HS*  
HS: cspwsp  
(7)  
*Newpher*  
*W*

REC-66

100-428091-6813

MAR 22 1968

*5*

98 MAR 28 1968

3/19/68

99350 08597 09699 50767 40684 72106 96709 12625 42755 99092  
45638 72865 15509 33672 82410 62753 48113 55817 87448 43944  
07754 88324 16836 74834 29763 62346 59902 96017 06691 36136  
23622 99987 05515 81554 26247 03079 99710 80487 10928 76045  
11464 63119 24931 75966 33040 81256 92618 20828 14609 33411  
79178 54948 50410 54212 44455 70896 30640 49673 00176 58308  
69655 81607 96143 24923 87083 01346 36814 19524 72653 89586  
46978 13893 00503 52780 07279 18586 20659 48498 02404 57992  
17614 38874 25533 33018 52495 54467 10363 78485 63402 82279  
76014 83217 73731 48153 47901 99811 82021 51769 60275 89881  
65542 57971 25331 38135 81276 11020 34798 10168 01748 08645  
85092 90087 61504 96186 38540 33808 28337 84955 84642 77057  
67838 34020 63472 35917 95339 93840 73912 65780 11818 38847  
85758 23638 01734 77936 85841 11914 85749 85389 07071 88397  
63702 02570 62937 26774 43474 88458 46931 84064 25490 77775  
56020 76478 07758 19940 83068 30607 18351 96145 27613 10950  
44133 90831 58303 31368 70577 24978 55868 80330 23618 09078  
96824 29863 95170 82088 44802 54990 83751 69911 06182 15570  
90671 70539 50313 75249 53871 10959 78062 26199 17851 10479  
90595 61042 90904 51882 82620 74092 57173

100-425091-6813  
ENCLOSURE

02/26

○

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○

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○

ABLE|KIT|HILL|MOST|CONFIDENTIAL|.IT|IS|OUR|OPINION|THAT|H  
OP|IN|WISCONSIN|ON|APRIL|2|2|2|MAY|VERY|WELL|DECIDE|ISSUE|O  
F|FIST|POLICY|FOR|LONG|TIME|TO|COME|.POSSIBILITY|OF|DELIVERI  
NG|DECISIVE|BLOW|TO|LEO|WAR|POLICY|IS|VERY|GREAT|.WE|IN|COX|ARE|  
GOING|TO|CONCENTRATE|ALL|OUR|EFFORTS|AND|RESOURCES|ON|THIS|W  
ISCONSIN|HOP|.I|WANT|TO|EMPHASIZE|THAT|THERE|IS|A|NEW|POLITI  
CALLY|EXPLOSIVE|SITUATION|IN|FIST|NOW|.THERE|IS|A|POSSIBILI  
TY|OF|MAKING|A|SHARP|TURN|IN|DOMESTIC|AND|VINE|POLICIES|.IN|VI  
EW|OF|THESE|DEVELOPMENTS|.MATTERS|DISCUSSED|WITH|HUR|ARE|EV  
EN|MORE|CRUCIAL|.I|DO|NOT|THINK|I|HAVE|OVERSTATED|POSSIBILIT  
IES|.I|CANNOT|THINK|OF|ANY|OTHER|MOMENT|IN|MY|LIFETIME|THAT|PR  
ESENTED|SUCH|POSSIBILITIES|.KOX|HAS|GREAT|LEVERAGE|IN|THIS|  
SITUATION|.WARMEST|REX|REGARDS|AND|GREETINGS|.OAK|REO|TAB  
LE|COX|...

ABLE	CENT COM, NAT COM
COX	CPUSA
FIST	UNITED STATES
HILL	URGENT
HOP	ELECTION
HUB	MORRIS CHILDS
KIT	CPUSSR
KOX	CPUSA
LEO	L B JOHNSON
OAK	GUS HALL
REO	SECY GENL
REX	COMRADE
VINE	INTERNATIONAL

67686 27883 43717 21699 55278 08157 09948 16453 94817 87416

64424

ABLE-KIT-HUBRETURNEDTOFISTOK...

ABLE	CENT COM, NAT COM
FIST	UNITED STATES
HUB	MORRIS CHILDS
KIT	CPUSSR

89078 02217 51478 41888 13626 68055 50522 82135 43234 28430

50711 06398 45833 99514 65521 64943 48331 38932 18340 47805

19993 78862 71292 70760

|CONCERNING|COLOUR|PRINTS|CONTACTS|,|BEACH|AND|PARK|HAVE|BEE  
|N|CHECKED|AND|ARE|OK|,|SPRING|,

PARK            DROP

BEACH           DROP

SPRING           JACK BROOKS

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, New York (100-134637 Sub C)

3/25/68

Director, FBI (100-428091) — *6814*

1 - Mr. W. H. Floyd  
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
(REPLACEMENT AND NEUTRALIZATION PROGRAM)

[Redacted]  
SECURITY MATTER - C

b7D

[Redacted]  
SECURITY MATTER - C

Reurlet 3/18/68 requesting authority to interview the [Redacted] under secure conditions for the purpose of developing them for possible utilization in the Solo Apparatus.

b7D

Authority is granted to interview subjects to determine their attitude. Conduct interviews in accordance with Section 87D, Manual of Instructions. Care should be taken to preclude the possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau as a result of these interviews. Advise Bureau of results of the interviews and submit recommendations for further action.

RCP:cst *cst*  
(5)

NOTE:

Soviets have instructed CPUSA to obtain a laundry or gift shop to be utilized as a drop. Requirements for individuals to operate such a drop called for old-time Party members who have not been active in recent past. Subjects referred to above, if cooperative, could be utilized in operating such a venture. [Redacted] and [Redacted]

b7D

[Redacted] Both were formerly active in the CP during the 1950's and in 1956 [Redacted] for the assignment of operating a CP cover company. Both are known to Irving Potash who has been instructed by CPUSA leader Gus Hall to locate individuals to operate the drop. These interviews constitute part of a program designed to locate individuals to be developed as informants and utilized in the Solo Apparatus.

MAILED 88  
MAR 22 1968  
FBI - NEW YORK

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*wcgs*

*[Handwritten signature]*

98 MAR 23 1968

TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 3/18/68

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

*JH*

SUBJECT: SOLO  
(REPLACEMENT AND NEUTRALIZATION PROGRAM)  
IS - C

*R. B. Johnson*

[Redacted]

SM-C

b7D

[Redacted]

SM-C

ReNYlet to Bureau 3/13/68, concerning an interview with [Redacted] under this program.

b7D

[Redacted] are being considered as interviewees under the captioned program.

[Redacted] is a practicing [Redacted]. They live at [Redacted] NYC with [Redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

In 1957, [Redacted] by the CP, along with [Redacted] as [Redacted] who were to [Redacted] for the CP in which [Redacted] were to be sold at a profit for the CP. The project was to be handled by IRVING POTASH. However, POTASH was arrested and jailed in 1957 and the project never materialized.

b7D

[Redacted] and [Redacted] have long been associated with the Communist movement. A graduate of the CP leadership school [Redacted] of the Middtown (New York City) CP Club as early as 1944.

*we*

[Redacted] regarded as a substantial contributor to the CP, was a member of the [Redacted] of the CP in 1950. Over the years since, each individual has all but ceased active association with the CP. They have however, maintained contact with CP personalities. The [Redacted] a [Redacted] with a Soviet Mission to the UN employee, NIKOLAI P. KULEBYAKIN (Bufile 105-80947) and his wife.

b7D

*Let to SAG, NY  
Rec: ext  
3/25/68*

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - New York (41)

REC 13

*100-428091-6814*

6 MAR 25 1968

*50*

RJQ:msb  
(3)



NY 100-134637-Sub C

[redacted] was last interviewed in 1957. He was not cooperative. [redacted] was last contacted, telephonically, in 1963. During two previous contacts she was cordial and pleasant but stated that she would "like to be able to talk...", " but could not because she would of necessity involve others.

b7D

Because of her designation by POTASH in 1956-57 to run [redacted] and her general background, it is possible that POTASH might seek her out for his current project--the [redacted]  
[redacted]

b7D

It is therefore recommended that [redacted] be personally contacted and interviewed at this time. Authority is hereby requested to contact and interview [redacted] and [redacted] within the provisions of Manual of Instructions, Section 87B. The Bureau will be advised promptly of results.

b7D

## Domestic Intelligence Division

## INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 3/17/68

Attached contains synopsis highlights of mission of NY 5824-S to the Soviet Union.

CG 5824-S returned from Solo Mission 25 during p.m. of March 16, 1968. During debriefing reported Soviet Union will subsidize Communist Party of U. S. to extent of one million dollars in 1968. Informant reports Western Hemisphere Conference against war in Vietnam planned at initiative of Communist Parties of U. S., Chile and Canada and meeting to be set up in October, 1968, in Montreal, Canada, to have maximum impact on U. S. elections. Communist Party of the Soviet Union almost not on speaking terms with Communist Party of Cuba. Soviet leaders state trade negotiations between USSR and Cuba at stand-still, since Fidel Castro told USSR, "If you want us to pay for anything, there is no use talking. If you want to trade with Cuba, you will have to give us everything free." Informant expressed opinion USSR continuing to tighten up ideologically and militarily. Debriefing of informant continuing.

As soon as detailed information received, it will be disseminated to top officials of the Government.

RHH:lmr

*WCS/*  
*OB/*  
*[Signature]*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/19/02 BY SP9CZ/DLB  
 922087

VIA TELETYPE  
MAR 17 1968  
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

*Am. P. 100*  
*mcys*

~~AMENDED~~

WA 6

6PM URGENT 3-17-68 BAB

TO DIRECTOR CODE

ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 5P 100-134637

INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST  
SOLO; IS - C

*C. Brennan*  
*R. [Signature]*

REFERENCE CHICAGO TELETYPE, MARCH SIXTEEN LAST;  
NEW YORK TELETYPE, MARCH ONE SEVEN, SIXTY - EIGHT.

*MB*

THE FOLLOWING IS AN AMENDED TELETYPE IN LIEU OF  
ABOVE-REFERENCE <sup>E NEW</sup> YORK TELETYPE.

*100-134637-118*  
*[Signature]*

CHICAGO FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR DASH S RETURNED TO NEW YORK  
CITY EVENING OF MARCH SIXTEEN LAST FROM SOLO MISSION, TWENTY-  
FIVE WHICH BEGAN FEBRUARY TWENTY-ONE LAST. DURING MISSION,  
SOURCE TRAVELED TO BUDAPEST, HUNGARY, MOSCOW, USSR AND PRAGUE  
CZECHOSLOVAKIA. DEBRIEFING OF SOURCE LIMITED DUE TO PHYSICAL  
CONDITION OF SOURCE BUT FOLLOWING HIGHLIGHTS OBTAINED THUS  
FAR.

*100-428091-6815*

REC-4

END PAGE ONE

12 MAR 22 1968

*5-10*

54 MAR 28 1968

PAGE 2

PARAGRAPH ONE; BUDAPEST CONSULTATIVE MEETING. SOURCE WAS DELEGATE OF COMMUNIST PARTY, USA TO CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES IN BUDAPEST, HUNGARY, FEBRUARY TWENTY-SIX TO MARCH FIVE LAST. PARTICIPATED IN INDIVIDUAL MEETINGS WITH WORLD COMMUNIST LEADERS. FURNISHED NUMEROUS DOCUMENTS FROM MEETING AND ADVISED MANY OTHERS SENT BY MAIL, SOME OF WHICH ALREADY RECEIVED AND FURNISHED TO BUREAU.

SOURCE HAS *NOT* YET FURNISHED ASSESSMENT OR ANALYSIS OF MEETING BUT SAME WILL BE OBTAINED EXPEDITIOUSLY.

PARAGRAPH TWO; SOVIET SUBSIDY OF CPUSA. COMMUNISTS OF SOVIET UNION ADVISED THEIR SUBSIDY TO CPUSA DURING NINETEEN SIXTY-EIGHT WILL AMOUNT TO ONE MILLION DOLLARS. FIRST DELIVERY OF FUNDS TO BE MADE AT NEW YORK CITY APRIL TEN TO TWENTY NEXT.

APR 10 1 33 PM '68

APR 10 1 33 PM '68

PAGE THREE

PARAGRAPH THREE: WESTERN HEMISPHERE CONFERENCE AGAINST  
WAR IN VIETNAM PLANNED FOR NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT. AT INITIATIVE  
OF <sup>COMMUNIST PARTIES</sup> (CPS) OF USA, CHILE AND CANADA, REGIONAL MEETING OF CPS OF  
WESTERN HEMISPHERE EXCEPT CUBA HELD IN BUDAPEST. MEETING TO  
ORGANIZE BROAD WESTERN HEMISPHERE CONFERENCE AGAINST ~~QUOTE~~  
"US IMPERIALIST WAR OF AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM" ~~END QUOTE~~. EFFORT  
WILL BE MADE TO OBTAIN ATTENDANCE OF PROMINENT PERSONS FROM  
THROUGHOUT LATIN AMERICA, US AND CANADA. MEETING TO TAKE  
PLACE IN MONTREAL, CANADA WHERE HEADQUARTERS TO ORGANIZE MEETING  
BEING SET UP. MEETING <sup>E</sup> PLANNED FOR OCTOBER, NINETEEN SIXTY  
EIGHT TO HAVE MAXIMUM IMPACT ON US ELECTIONS.

PARAGRAPH FOUR: CUBA, ACCORDING TO SOURCE, <sup>COMMUNIST PARTY-SOVIET UNION</sup> (CPSU)  
CONSIDERS PROBLEM OF CUBA ONE OF THEIR MOST SERIOUS PROBLEMS AND  
TWO PARTIES ~~QUOTE~~ "ALMOST NOT ON SPEAKING TERMS, JUST LIKE  
CHINESE" ~~END QUOTE~~. CPSU BELIEVES RECENT TRIAL OF CP OF CUBA

1968 1 29 11.00

SECRET

PAGE FOUR

LEADERS WAS FOR PURPOSE OF ATTACKING USSR. SOVIET LEADERS  
STATE TRADE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN USSR AND CUBA AT STAND STILL.  
FIDEL CASTRO TOLD USSR ~~QUOTE~~ "IF YOU WANT US TO PAY FOR  
ANYTHING, THERE IS NO USE TALKING. IF YOU WANT TO TRADE WITH  
CUBA YOU WILL ~~HAVE~~ HAVE TO GIVE US EVERYTHING FREE" ~~UNQUOTE~~.

BECAUSE OF CLOSE CONTACTS OF CUBAN AND US AMBASSADORS TO  
SPAIN, SOVIETS SUSPECT CUBA IS TRYING TO MOVE TOWARD  
ACCOMODATION WITH USA.

PARAGRAPH FIVE: IMPRESSIONS RE USSR. SOURCE EXPRESSED OPINION  
USSR CONTINUING TIGHTENING UP BOTH IDEOLOGICALLY AND  
MILITARILY. GREATER EMPHASIS THAN EVER BEFORE ON MILITARY  
PREPAREDNESS PROMPTED BY VIETNAM WAR.  
DISCUSSIONS WITH CPSU LEADERS INDICATES NO LOOSENING OF PARTY  
DISCIPLINE, ESPECIALLY AS REGARDS INTELLECTUALS, POETS, ET CETERA.

SECRET

PAGE FIVE

DEBRIEFING OF SOURCE CONTINUING AT NYC AS  
EXPEDITIOUSLY AS POSSIBLE COMMENSURATE WITH SOURCE'S HEALTH.  
SOURCE EXPECTS TO REMAIN AT NYC SEVERAL DAYS FOR  
DISCUSSIONS WITH GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY, CPUSA AND  
NEW YORK SIX NINE FOUR DASH S.

~~END~~ <sup>MEMO</sup> FOLLOWS.

↓  
AIR MAIL COPY TO CHICAGO.

END

273

HWL

FBI WASH DC

TAP FTB AOK 10Y6

NOV 11 9 50 AM '63

NOV 19 1 53 PM '63

CE - Putnam

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE 1 ENVELOPE

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 3/22/68

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

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

*Handwritten notes and signatures:*  
X...  
... (cont)  
...  
...

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two copies and for New York one copy of an informant's statement entitled, "DISCUSSION WITH MIKHAIL POLONIK, MOSCOW, USSR, MARCH, 1968."

The information set forth in the enclosed informant's statement was orally furnished by CG 5824-S\* on March 16, 1968, to SA WALTER A. BOYLE.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/10/02 BY SP7 CJB/DB  
#922087

REC-100

100-428091-6816

1-904, 9+ Smith level.

- 2-Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

25 MAR 26 1968

WAB:MDW  
(4)

ENCLOSURE

INT. SEC.

*Letters to NY 4/3/68 re  
Wagoner as informant*

99



MAR 18 1968



**DISCUSSION WITH MIKHAIL POLONIK,  
MOSCOW, USSR, MARCH, 1968**

During mid-March, 1968, a discussion was held in Moscow, USSR, with Mikhail Polonik, a representative of the KGB who is in charge of the Soviet end of the clandestine communications apparatus between the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). This meeting was held in a special suite in the Central Committee, CPSU hotel in Moscow beginning about eleven o'clock in the morning and extending until about eight o'clock in the evening, and all meals were delivered to this suite while the discussion continued.

Polonik was aware of the fact that the CPSU subsidy for the CP, USA for the year 1968 had been approved by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, CPSU. He stated that the delivery would be made in two installments as in previous years. The first installment will be made in the United States between April 10 and 20, 1968. The second installment will be made at a later date, but no date for the second delivery was set at this time.

Polonik stated that he would like to be informed by Jack Brooks, who handles the technical aspects of the communications apparatus in the United States, what Brooks thinks of the two locations for the passage of money which had previously been furnished to Brooks by the CPSU. Polonik was told that Brooks has already said that these locations are all right, but Polonik said this was not enough. He wants Brooks' opinions and suggestions concerning locations for delivery of money. Before any delivery is made, he will wait to hear what Brooks has to say about these places and makes whatever suggestions he may have.

Then, Polonik asked what is happening with Ford, the individual being inserted into the apparatus by the CP, USA. Polonik was informed, as he had been on previous occasions, that there were a few problems to be worked out since Ford would probably lose his job which he has held for a number of years and thus blow his cover if the CP, USA acceded to the Russian request for Ford to come to Moscow for so extended a period as the eight weeks the Russians had previously asked. Polonik commented that "it looks as if we are standing still." He was told that this was not so but that Ford has to wait until he gets his vacation.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/10/02 BY SP7CJ/WJB  
#922087

- 1 -

100-428091-6816  
ENCLOSURE

Polonik then asked when Ford is coming to Moscow. He said it is not enough to just say he is coming--they want him there. He was told that it is just not that simple. Ford is trying to make arrangements to get an extended vacation but at this point he cannot say whether or not he can get that much time. Polonik was asked whether the Russians could meet Ford for a shorter period, some place in Western Europe, which would be much better from a security standpoint. Polonik said it was out of the question. Polonik was then asked if, in order to save time, the Russians could meet Ford in Czechoslovakia as they had once suggested. He replied that he could see no difference between going to Moscow and going to Prague since, in his opinion, it would take a little longer to go from Prague to Moscow. Polonik reiterated that the Russians want Ford to undergo training in Moscow and become better acquainted.

Polonik then outlined the following things as the desires of the CPSU regarding Ford:

- 1) They want Ford in Moscow for at least one month;
- 2) Ford's wife is not to accompany him;
- 3) Ford is to travel illegally;
- 4) Ford is to enter the socialist orbit through East Berlin. In this latter regard, Polonik stated that Ford should go to West Berlin, board the subway which travels through both West and East Berlin and get off at the Freidrichstrasse subway stop in East Berlin. Customarily, the East German Police pick up any Westerners who alight at this stop. Polonik stated that the CP, USA should let the CPSU know the day and time that Ford will be there and the Russians will meet him at that subway stop.

Polonik then turned toward a discussion of the pending project in which the CP, USA is to establish a laundry or similar business for use as a drop location for the transfer of funds from the CPSU to the CPUSA. Once again Polonik asked if "we are standing still." He was told "no" and was informed of the efforts being made through Irving Potash to locate the right person to operate the business.

Polonik was asked what the CPSU intended to use this business for. He was told that Gus Hall, General Secretary, CP, USA, does not want to pay out \$20,000 to \$25,000 for such a business which would be used only once or twice a year.

Polonik responded that the CPSU will use this drop more often than that. He said they will use the business drop for the money "perhaps" and maybe use it four or five times a year to deliver other things, but he gave assurances that the Russians would not jeopardize this drop by using it any more than four or five times a year.

Polonik asked why the CP, USA was worried about putting out this much money, wouldn't they use some money on the operation of this business? He was told in reply that the individual being chosen to run the business was being selected on a basis other than his business ability, as he knew, and therefore there was no guarantee that this business was going to be a paying proposition. Polonik then stated that the business did not have to be a laundry; it could be a stationery store, or a card shop, which would be just as good for this purpose.

Polonik was then informed of the identity of the individual being considered for the job of running the business, Max Cooperman, and was given the background concerning him. He was also informed that the mother of Bernice Diskin has been under consideration. Polonik immediately responded that neither of these people sounded good to him. He said that if Cooperman is related to John Williamson of the CP of Great Britain, the CP, USA should not assume that the FBI does not have a record on him or that the FBI is not keeping track of him. Polonik cautioned that if there is a slight chance that the police agencies know that a person is related to someone in the CP, then that person is not to be considered for this job. Polonik was then informed that his arguments had proved the point which had just been made to him that finding the right person for this job is not so easy as he had seemed to think.

~~Polonik turned from this discussion to other matters.~~  
First of all, he asked the CP, USA for information concerning the following individuals:

He asked if the CP, USA knows anything about Frank Weissman who lives in The Bronx and has a drugstore located on Castle Hill Avenue, not too far from Yankee Stadium. He is about 55 years of age. He visited the USSR in 1950 and again in 1965 or 1966. Weissman knows Art Shields and Joe Freeman who has worked for Tass for about 30 years or more.

Polonik also asked if the CP, USA could supply information concerning Paul Semonin (or Semonun) who is connected in some way with Yale University and worked for some period in Ghana. He is supposed to know Paul M. Sweezy. Semonin carried on this work by getting money from the Rabinowitz Fund.

Polonik then asked if the CP, USA has yet prepared for the CPSU the requested list of biographies of people connected with various progressive magazines. He was informed that Gus Hall had indicated that he would bring this list to Budapest, Hungary, when he went there for the Consultative Meeting but had arrived without it. Polonik was assured that this matter would be followed immediately to insure that Arnold Johnson who was given this task completes it quickly. The biographies will then be supplied to the CPSU through a drop.

Polonik then asked why he had not heard any more from Jack Brooks about the request the CPSU had made for information on the latest types of electronic bugging equipment. He was told that Brooks is working on it. Polonik then reiterated that if the equipment is not the type which you can just walk in and buy in a store, then Brooks should not bother with it.

Polonik's discussion then turned to an inquiry on political events in the United States which lasted for several hours. Polonik had a large notebook in front of him from which he was reading questions and in which he was taking notes on the answers. This is the type material that Polonik has previously described as "political intelligence" and in which he has expressed a great deal of interest.

Polonik's first area of inquiry was concerning the Negro freedom movement in the United States. He asked such questions as why the CP, USA and others in the United States say there is going to be a "long, hot summer"? What are the grievances of the Negroes? Why do U.S. press reports say there are going to be more Negro riots? How sure is the CP, USA that this will happen? What is happening in the Negro freedom movement? What kind of leadership does the Negro movement have? Polonik also stated that the CPSU would like to get copies of the "Kerner Report" sent to them by air mail.

Another topic explored by Polonik was the coming election campaign in the United States. He asked how serious are the splits in the political parties. He asked for an

explanation of the CP, USA "three-pronged policy": 1) working within the Democratic Party; 2) working in the independent third ticket movement; and 3) the independent role of the CP, USA. He went into every detail of the election struggles. He asked about all the press reports about President Lyndon B. Johnson and whether all the things said about him by his enemies are true. He said that the CPSU wants copies of the new book, "Quotations From Chairman LBJ" sent to them by air mail. Polonik continued asking questions about the personalities in the election campaign: how does the CP, USA see the outcome of the elections? What are the real issues? What is the difference between Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard M. Nixon, if any? Does the CP, USA see any possibility that Nelson Rockefeller will gain the nomination of the Republican Party. What would be the result of the formation of a third ticket campaign? How can the CP, USA run an independent ticket and at the same time urge support of a third ticket or peace candidate?

Polonik then turned to consideration of the anti-Vietnam war movement in the United States. He asked similar questions as those raised above on other topics.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, New York

b7D

3/19/68

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. M. J. Rozamus  
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

NY 4309-S\*

100-428091-

b7D

Reurlet 3/8/68 which set forth results of interviews with captioned informants. It is noted that NY 4309-S\* has agreed to become more involved in the Solo Operation and to travel to the Soviet Union for training.

Data set forth in relet constitutes a major breakthrough in our efforts to activate additional personnel in the Solo Operation. This matter should be afforded the closest supervision to insure that it brings the desired results.

With regard to your request to purchase a \$100 U. S. savings bond per month at a cost of \$75 in the names of captioned informants to be held until their services are terminated, the following is noted.

Prior to approving this request, the Bureau desires additional information regarding the current income of NY 4309-S\*. You should also determine the amount of money that goes into his retirement fund each month and submit your observations as to the extent of additional financial contributions the Bureau will be required to make to have the informant operate full time in the Solo Apparatus.

1 - 100-428091 (SOLO)

RCP:cst  
(7)

DUPLICATE YELLOW

NOTE:

Prior to submitting a memorandum requesting approval of New York's request, it is believed that additional data is necessary.

ORIGINAL FILED IN 65-57387-130

98 MAR 28 1968

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

DIRECTOR, FBI

3/8/68

SAC, NEW YORK

b7D

NY 4309-S\*

NY 4309-S\*  
[Redacted] memylet 2/28/68, captioned SOLO, IS-C (CP REPLACEMENT AND NEUTRALIZATION PROGRAM).

NY 4309-S\* was interviewed on 2/15/68 at the Biltmore Hotel, NYC, by Supervisor JOHN J. KEARNEY and SA PHILLIP M. BROOKS. The objective of the interview was to review in detail the informant's activities to date in his association with NY 694-S\* and CG 5824-S\* and to ascertain his willingness and ability to become further involved in the apparatus.

After discussing the role that he has been assigned, and the manner in which he has handled it, the interview was then pointed toward the proposal made to the informant in early 1967 by NY 694-S\* concerning informant's going to Moscow for orientation and training. NY 4309-S\* maintained the attitude he originally displayed, in that he is most reluctant to undertake such an assignment because he is fearful of his personal safety. He stressed the fact that his father disappeared in Russia many years ago and he is not sure in his mind whether the father died of natural causes or was killed by the Russians. He also advanced the reason that his age, his family status and his present position in life were also important factors in his desire not to go to Russia. However, he clearly pointed out that he has only expressed a reluctance for this mission to NY 694-S\* and that he would not close the door on any future overtures that NY 694-S\* might make to him in the future.

NY 4309-S\* stated that he is willing to take on any assignment that NY 694-S\* might give him and that he has expressed this willingness to NY 694-S\* on many occasions. He stated that the last suggestion made to him by NY 694-S\* was for NY 4309-S\* to go to any city in Europe where arrangements could be made for him to meet with the Russians. He said that

- ③ - Bureau (RM)
- (1-100-428091)(SOLO)
- 1 - NY 100-134637-Sub C)(41)
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]

100-428091-

NOT RECORDED  
199 MAR 21 1968

PMB:msb  
(6)

b7D

ORIGINAL FILED IN 65-57387-136

b7D

[REDACTED]

he is willing to go along with this arrangement and that he will make this known to NY 694-S\* or CG 5824-S\* when the occasion arises. (According to NY 694-S\*, this arrangement is no longer possible; however, NY 4309-S\* does not know of this change.)

After allowing him to express his reasons for his reluctance to undertake an extended trip to the Soviet Union, the interview was pointed toward convincing him of the extreme importance of this mission and the fact that he has been selected by the Russians to be taken up into their confidence. Particular stress was placed upon the fact that he would be involved in a political, rather than military, apparatus and that his fears for his personal safety are thus not as critical as they might appear to him. The point was stressed that he has been highly recommended to the Russians by NY 694-S\* and CG 5824-S\* and is known to the Soviets by his service in the 1930's and that the invitation for him to go to Russia appears not to be for the purpose of putting him to a test, but rather for the purpose of welcoming him as a guest and introducing him to the hierarchy, as well as to the latest techniques used in the Soviet system. He was impressed with the fact that he is unique, in that opportunities to assist the government in such a capacity are rare, to say the least, and that to drop the matter without giving it serious consideration would be most grave. He was told that the resources of the Bureau would be available to him commensurate with his participation in the apparatus and that if his assignment should take his full time, he would be adequately compensated. Great stress was placed upon the value of the work he has done to date on behalf of the government and on the inestimable rewards that could accrue to the United States if he would give his assent and go along with NY 694-S\* on the visit to Moscow.

NY 4309-S\* listened attentively to all the arguments proposed in favor of his going overseas and, while he interjected opposing remarks at times, these appeared to be more rejoinders than concrete arguments against his eventually acceding. He fully understood that he would be compensated for his time and trouble; however, he appeared more impressed by the patriotic aspect of his proposed full-time involvement. He was pointedly asked not to make any definite reply at this time, but to give the matter full consideration [REDACTED] before coming to any definite decision. [REDACTED]

b7D



b7D

[redacted]

On 2/16/68, NY 4309-S\* contacted the NYO to indicate that he had enjoyed the opportunity to discuss matters in detail with SAS KEARNEY and BROOKS and stated that he would appreciate having another meeting arranged [redacted] b7D  
[redacted] He stated that he had discussed [redacted]  
[redacted]  
A meeting was set up for 2/27/68.

On 2/27/68, NY 4309-S\* [redacted] interviewed at the Biltmore Hotel by Supervisor KEARNEY and SA BROOKS. After a brief period of general conversation, during which [redacted] was put at ease, agents outlined [redacted] the program which the Bureau and the Soviets, ostensibly, have in store for [redacted] NY 4309-S\*. Highlighted in the program was the [redacted] trip to Russia which NY 694-S\* had proposed to NY 4309-S\*. [redacted] b7D  
[redacted] immediately became apprehensive and displayed emotional strain at the thought of [redacted] going behind the Iron Curtain. At this point, while agents were attempting to allay [redacted] NY 4309-S\* joined ranks with the agents in attempting [redacted] that all would be well and that there would be nothing to worry about. It was then that it was evident that NY 4309-S\* had decided to go along with the trip to Russia and, as has been set out in relet, he displayed an enthusiasm for accepting the challenge and responsibility.

With the main objective obtained, the interview was then geared to reassuring [redacted] as well as eliciting from NY 4309-S\* the extent to which he was willing to become involved. The political aspect of the apparatus and the idea that NY 4309-S\* would be a guest within the Soviet Union was brought to bear on [redacted] stated that the decision was up to NY 4309-S\*, that [redacted] and would interpose no objections. As has been pointed out in previous communications, [redacted] is a very practical individual who displays an acumen for details and logic in [redacted] Once it was established that NY 4309-S\* would accept the offer made [redacted] b7D  
to him by NY 694-S\*, [redacted] posed many questions as to how the program could be carried out as far as adjusting [redacted] of life and explaining matters to [redacted] and acquaintances. Since [redacted] planning a three-week trip to Europe in June 1968, and have made arrangements with friends and relatives in Europe, the question of NY 4309-S\* going into Russia for an extended stay at this time was ruled out; however, [redacted] suggested that if NY 694-S\* should invite NY 4309-S\* to visit Moscow for a few days,

b7D

[redacted]  
he could make the trip while [redacted] in Vienna and that [redacted] he was on a business trip.

b7D

In each instance where [redacted] questioned a procedure to be followed, [redacted] joined in the deliberation as to how to solve each problem, thereby manifesting [redacted] though somewhat reluctant, for NY 4309-S\* to undertake the project. [redacted] objections concerned the fear [redacted]

b7D

[redacted] for retirement, the upsetting of a comfortable, normal life which [redacted] years to build up. Each objection was met in kind with arguments [redacted] that [redacted] and aspirations could be achieved while still serving the United States, in a capacity of inestimable value. While concerned with [redacted] and financial security, [redacted] understood the magnitude of the mission and agreed that it was something that could not be lightly pushed aside. [redacted] was first contacted by the FBI, [redacted] trepidation, but that time had eased these feelings and what had seemed like impossible obstacles had become routine procedures. [redacted] if things are taken step by step, they are then placed in their proper perspective and are more easily overcome. (As a point in question, [redacted] to the [redacted] which the informants have in [redacted] [redacted] was concerned about it being in the [redacted] but [redacted]

While reassuring [redacted] concerning [redacted] welfare, careful attention was given to questioning NY 4309-S\* concerning his availability to NY 694-S\* in the future. NY 4309-S\* stated that since [redacted] for June has been pretty well finalized, he could not alter it other than to provide for a few days behind the Iron Curtain. However, he stated that he would be able to make an extended visit to Russia after the first of the year and still be able to maintain his current employment. The matter of his possible full-time involvement in the apparatus was also discussed and [redacted] with [redacted] security, that the government would not let them down.

b7D

In all, the interview with both informants present was highly successful in that a definite commitment was received from them both that they would cooperate to the fullest with the Bureau in going along with the proposal made by NY 694-S\*. On this

[REDACTED] b7D

occasion, NY 4309-S\* evinced an enthusiasm to become further involved and to establish himself with NY 694-S\* a feeling which he probably had before, but which he kept in check because he worried about the reaction of [REDACTED] while still apprehensive of the whole matter. [REDACTED] agreed to its importance and the necessity of [REDACTED] following through to the best of his, [REDACTED] ability. b7D

As set forth in relet and previous communications, both informants have a strong dislike for NY 694-S\* personally. They described him as a braggart who is not only impressed with his own importance but who also goes to excessive means to try to impress associates of the same thing. They stated that he was rude and obnoxious to his wife and family on the occasion when they visited him last Summer, to the extent that they both were embarrassed for the family's sake. On the other hand, they both look upon CG 5824-S\* as being a gentleman, polite and mannerly and of a nature far removed from that of NY 694-S\*. They both expressed the hope that they would never have to associate with NY 694-S\* on a social basis.

NY 4309-S\* has been employed by the same company for several years. He is completely happy and satisfied with his work, as well as being most suited to it. He is respected by his fellow employees and his superiors. This is apparently the first time in his life that this has been true. [REDACTED] realizes this and is not only happy for the peace of mind of NY 4309-S\* but is also reassured of [REDACTED] security of a life free from worry and debt, as well as the probability of [REDACTED] b7D

[REDACTED] thoughts, it is easy to see additional reasons, apart from those of fear of physical danger, why informants have been extremely reluctant to agree to all dangers inherent in our proposals.

With the agreement of NY 4309-S\* and [REDACTED] to become more deeply involved in the SOLO apparatus and with the agreement of NY 4309 S\* to enter Russia for the Bureau, both informants have materially enhanced their value to the Bureau. NY 4309-S\* is, in fact, a true replacement for NY 694-S\*. It is felt both informants have sacrificed peace of mind and a guaranteed placid retirement. We have actually [REDACTED] In order to b7D

b7D

[REDACTED]

show good faith on our part [REDACTED] for this personal sacrifice and to [REDACTED] in the SOLO apparatus, it is recommended that the Bureau authorize the NYO, in lieu of a cash payment for services, to purchase, at \$75.00 per month, one \$100.00 face value, in the name of NY 4309-S\* [REDACTED] U. S. Government Bond, which will be retained in a safe deposit box in NYC by the NYO. The bonds will be released to informants upon their termination of services.

b7D

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 3/21/68

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

Enclosed herewith are the original and three copies for the Bureau and one copy for Chicago of a LHM entitled "Speeches Delivered at Consultative Meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties, Budapest, Hungary, by Delegates from Ecuador, Soviet Union, Chile, Turkey, Czechoslovakia, Mexico, Australia, India, Nepal, Argentina".

The information in the enclosed LHM and the documents attached thereto were furnished on 3/16/68 to SA WALTER A. BOYLE by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed LHM has been classified "~~Confidential~~" in order to protect the identity of this source, who has furnished information on the highest level, concerning the international communist movement, the unauthorized disclosure of which could jeopardize his security, thus adversely affecting the national security. It is not known by this office whether the full texts of any or all of these speeches have been made public in the English language; nevertheless, it is believed necessary to classify this LHM "~~Confidential~~" in view of the form of the attachments thereto, which are exactly as made available by the informant with the exception of the deletion of certain identifying numbers on the original. CG 5824-S\* has advised that it is his belief, although he is not sure, that speeches made by delegates from countries where the communist party is the ruling party, such as Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, were published in full text in their own countries; however, only partial excerpts were published of speeches by delegates from other communist parties.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared in Washington, D.C.

- 2-Bureau (Encls.44) (RM)
- 1-Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (Encls.11) (RM)
- 1-New York

WAB:jca

(5) ENCL.

W. Rutstein



8 APR 1 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

100-428091-6817

25 MAR 26 1968

REC-100

L. KATZ SEC.

ENCLOSURE

7/5

Copy to State, CIA  
for review for (Liaison)  
3-26-68  
by REP/ab

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.

March 21, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Speeches Delivered at Consultative  
Meeting of Communist and Workers'  
Parties, Budapest, Hungary, by  
Delegates from Ecuador, Soviet Union,  
Chile, Turkey, Czechoslovakia, Mexico,  
Australia, India, Nepal, Argentina

During March, 1967, a source who has furnished  
reliable information in the past advised as follows:

During the period February 26 to March 5, 1968,  
there was held in Budapest, Hungary, a Consultative Meeting  
of Communist and Workers' Parties. During the course of  
this meeting, delegates from the various parties present  
addressed the gathering. In almost all cases, these  
speeches were delivered by the heads of the delegations,  
although during the debates on motions, other members of the  
delegations were permitted to express themselves also.

Attached hereto are copies of the speeches delivered  
at the Consultative Meeting by delegates from the following  
communist parties:

1. Communist Party of Ecuador (CPE)--delivered during  
the morning session on Tuesday, February 27, 1968; the head  
of this delegation was Elias Munoz, a member of the Political  
Committee, Secretary of the Central Committee, CPE.

2. Communist Party of the Soviet Union -- delivered  
during the afternoon session on Tuesday, February 27, 1968,  
by Mikhail A. Suslov, a member of the Political Bureau and  
a Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the  
Soviet Union.

3. Communist Party of Chile (CPC) -- delivered during  
the afternoon session on Tuesday, February 27, 1968; the  
head of this delegation was Oscar Astudillo, Deputy General  
Secretary, CPE.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This document contains neither  
recommendations nor conclusions  
of the FBI. It is the property  
of the FBI and is loaned to your  
agency; it and its contents are  
not to be distributed outside  
your agency.

~~GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

Attachments - 10

ENCLOSURE

100-42441-6617

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Speeches Delivered at Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Budapest, Hungary, by Delegates from Ecuador, Soviet Union, Chile, Turkey, Czechoslovakia, Mexico, Australia, India, Nepal, Argentina

4. Communist Party of Turkey -- delivered during the afternoon session on Thursday, February 29, 1968; the head of this delegation was Jakub Demir, First Secretary, Communist Party of Turkey.

5. Communist Party of Czechoslovakia -- delivered during the morning session on Friday, March 1, 1968 by Vladimir Koucky, a Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

6. Mexican Communist Party (MCP) -- delivered during the afternoon session on Saturday, March 2, 1968; the head of this delegation was Manuel Terrazas, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee, MCP.

7. Communist Party of Australia (CPA) -- delivered during the morning session on Monday, March 4, 1968; the head of this delegation was Claude Jones, Vice President, CPA.

8. Communist Party of India (CPI) -- delivered during the morning session on Monday, March 4, 1968 (although the attachment incorrectly bears the date March 1, 1968) by Shripad A. Dange, President, CPI.

9. Communist Party of Nepal (CPN) -- delivered during the morning session on Monday, March 4, 1968; the head of this delegation was Manandsra, a member of the Central Committee, CPN.

10. Communist Party of Argentina -- the source was unable to state when this speech was delivered; the head of this delegation was Alcira De La Pena, member of the Political Committee and a Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Argentina.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE 100 RECEPT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 3/19/68

FROM : *[Signature]* SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

*R. [Signature] (not)*

ReCGlet dated March 6, 1968, captioned as above.

On March 13, 1968, the Chicago Office received through the mail drop box maintained in the name of JOHN SHOULDERS, Modern Book Store, 6624 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois 60626, for CG 5824-S\* an air mail communication from the Brazilian Communist Party (BCP). The communication bore the return address Laboratorios Silveira de Araujo, Departamento de Pesquisas, Rua Rocha, 420 - Rio de Janeiro - Guanabara - Brasil, and was postmarked March 5, 1968, Copacabana, Brazil. The contents of this communication consisted of a copy of "Voz Operaria," #36, February 1, 1968, the monthly publication of the BCP and two pamphlets entitled, "Nota Politica da Comissao Executiva" and "Bulletin D'Information Pour L'Etranger," November, 1967.

The Bureau was previously furnished "Voz Operaria" and "Nota Politica da Comissao Executiva" as enclosures to reCGlet.

The Chicago Office also received on March 13, 1968, in the mail drop box maintained in the name of MILTON ADAMS, Box 4367, Chicago, Illinois 60680, for CG 5824-S\* an air mail communication from the BCP. This communication bore the same return address as the other communication mentioned in this letter and was postmarked March 3, 1968, Ipanema, Brazil.

- (2)-Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

RAV:MDW

(4)

*enc. GA*

Copy to \_\_\_\_\_  
by \_\_\_\_\_  
Date 3-22-68  
by RCP/ul

REC-100

100-12111-6818

6 MAR 26 1968

*[Handwritten initials]*



CG 100-428091

This communication contained two copies of the "Bulletin D'Information Pour L'Etranger."

Enclosed for the Bureau are two Xerox copies and for New York one Xerox copy of the above Bulletin.

The original publications received on March 13, 1968, are being returned to CG 5824-S\* for eventual transmission to GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA.

ENCLOSURES (2) TO BUREAU FROM CHICAGO

Two Xerox copies of "Bulletin D'Information  
Pour L'Etranger"

RE: SOLO  
IS-C

Bufile 100-428091  
CGfile 134-46 Sub B

Transmitted via CGlet to Bureau 3/19/68



100-428091-6818

ENCLOSURE

# BULLETIN D'INFORMATION POUR L'ETRANGER

## PARTI COMMUNISTE BRÉSILIEN

### DANS CE NUMÉRO:

- Résolution Politique de la Session Plénière du Comité Central de Septembre 1967.
- Mouvement ouvrier: situation actuelle et perspectives.
- Notre Parti commémore le 50<sup>ème</sup> anniversaire de la Révolution Socialiste d'Octobre.
- Le 70<sup>ème</sup> anniversaire du Camarade Luiz Carlos Prestes.

Bulletin élaboré par la  
Section de Relations Extérieures du Comité Central

Novembre 1967

100-428091-6818

## POUR L'UNITÉ DU PARTI — (Résolution du Comité Central du Parti Communiste Brésilien; Session Plénière de Septembre 1967).

1 Le centralisme démocratique représente la base de la structure et du fonctionnement du Parti. Il ne s'agit évidemment pas d'un simple dispositif inclus à nos statuts. C'est une exigence du caractère révolutionnaire du Parti comme organisation de la classe ouvrière et de la nature de ses tâches et de ses buts. C'est pour cela que le centralisme démocratique figure entre les principes d'organisation des partis marxistes. C'est même le principe essentiel. Dernièrement pourtant les violations du centralisme démocratique se répètent.

Les Comités de l'Etat de São Paulo, de l'Etat de Rio et de l'Etat de Rio Grande do Sul, sous l'influence de quelques membres du Comité Central tentent d'imprimer à l'activité du Parti une orientation contraire à celle du Comité Central, ainsi qu'aux directives de la Commission Exécutive (Bureau Politique). Cette orientation diverse s'est parfois traduite dans le contenu de la presse locale, comme c'est le cas des Comités de Rio Grande do Sul et de l'Etat de Rio, ainsi que sous forme de documents transmis aux militants. Récemment l'orientation transmise aux organisations du Parti par les Comités de S. Paulo et du Rio Grande do Sul sous forme de documents, au sujet de l'agression de l'Etat d'Israël contre les pays arabes, était contraire à l'orientation donnée par la Commission Exécutive, sur le même problème. Le contenu des documents en question étaient de plus en divergence avec la Résolution du Comité Central sur la situation internationale et traduisaient clairement une tendance anti-soviétique. En conséquence la Commission Exécutive ordonna leur retrait.

La diversité d'orientation de la part de certains Comités d'Etats, violant le centralisme démocratique et la subordination des organes et des organisations du Parti au Comité Central, ont provoqué la rupture de l'unité d'action des communistes dans leur activité auprès des masses. C'est ce qui a déjà lieu dans les syndicats et de façon plus accentuée dans le mouvement des étudiants.

On cherche par ailleurs à empêcher que l'orientation de la direction centrale arrive aux organes et organisations du Parti, en s'abstenant de faire la distribution de "VOZ OPERÁRIA", ainsi que d'autres matériaux édités par la Commission Exécutive. Dans l'Etat de Rio, depuis décembre de l'année dernière, le Secrétariat du Comité a suspendu la distribution de "VOZ OPERÁRIA", de la "REVUE INTERNATIONALE" et de tous les fascicules publiés par la Commission Exécutive. Tous ces matériaux, sans mentionner le Manifeste émis en Janvier par la Commission Exécutive, ne furent même pas retirés du local où ils se trouvaient. La situation fut telle que les deux endroits convenus étaient encombrés avec plus de 80 paquets, livrés par la Section d'Agitation et Propagande du Comité Central. Ainsi, l'action de sabotage vis-à-vis de la direction centrale se trouve parfaitement définie.

2 Un autre aspect du même problème consiste dans le fait que certains camarades cherchent à imprimer à l'activité du Parti les idées contraires par eux défendues dans le débat des Thèses présentées par le Comité Central. De cette façon, ils violent les règles établies pour le débat. La préparation du Congrès se fait à travers les réunions aux divers échelons, ainsi que le débat dans la presse du Parti ("Tribune des Débats"). Le tout se complète par la réunion des délégués représentant l'ensemble du Parti, qui adoptent des résolutions sur les questions en discussion et font le choix du nouveau Comité Central. Mais des camarades en divergence, quelques uns d'entre eux membres du Comité Central, cherchent dès maintenant à donner au Parti une orientation d'accord avec leurs points de vue personnels. Ils violent ainsi, à la fois, les Statuts et les Règles du débat. Ils se superposent à l'ensemble du Parti. Ils essaient d'imposer leurs opinions de façon antidémocratique. Les résolutions adoptées au sujet des Thèses, lors des réunions, se limitent aux dé-

bats et ne peuvent servir d'orientation à l'activité politique du Parti. Elles représentent l'opinion de la majorité des membres d'une organisation. L'opinion générale de la majorité est connue à la fin du Congrès, sous la forme des résolutions adoptées, qui deviennent obligatoires pour tous les membres et les organisations du Parti. Ne pas admettre ceci équivaut à admettre que chaque organisation du Parti puisse avoir sa propre orientation, ce qui amène à la rupture de la structure du Parti comme un ensemble d'organisation, dirigée par un centre unique, qui est le Comité Central. Sans quoi, ce serait morceler le Parti, briser son unité, rompre sa discipline et supprimer l'unité d'action des communistes. C'est la voie qui mène à la désagrégation organique du Parti.

3 Cette activité destructive de la part de quelques camarades s'est transformée, dans l'Etat de Guanabara, en activité ouvertement scissionniste et anti-parti. Trois ex-membres du Comité d'Etat de Guanabara, n'ayant réussi à obtenir l'appui de la majorité à leur position, s'organisèrent en groupe et rompurent leur liaison avec le Parti. Ils publient leur propre journal et y attaquent le Comité Central, ses résolutions et son orientation. Ils ont simulé la réalisation d'une conférence opposée à celle du Comité de Guanabara et se déclarent faussement de la condition de direction du Parti, cherchant ainsi à tromper nos militants et nos amis. Le camarade Paul, membre du Comité Central, est inclus entre les membres de cette prétendue direction.

4 La Commission Exécutive a déjà informé le Parti que le camarade Menezes décida personnellement, sans en avvertir l'organisation à laquelle il appartient, de se rendre à Cuba où il participa de la réunion de la OLAS. A Cuba, par la radio et par des déclarations à la presse, il attaqua la direction de notre Parti et son orientation politique. Avant même du coup d'état de 1964, le camarade Menezes, membre de la Commission Exécutive, ne s'adonnait pas entièrement à son activité. Il en participait presque formellement et en même temps cherchait à se livrer à une activité parallèle à celle de la direction et hors des fonctions qui lui étaient attribuées. La conciliation idéologique, alors régnante à la Commission Exécutive, favorisait cette conduite individualiste et anarcho-anarchiste du camarade Menezes.

Après le coup d'état et la réunion du Mai 1965, le Comité Central s'engagea dans une voie d'auto-critique et commença à combattre les erreurs et les défauts de son fonctionnement. Le Commission Exécutive, en conformité avec les résolutions du Comité Central, fait des efforts, afin de développer le mode de direction collective et de responsabilité individuelle de ses membres, de contrôle et de planification de son activité dans les divers secteurs. Le camarade Menezes, maintenu comme membre de la Commission Exécutive à cette occasion, ne s'engagea pas dans cet effort auto-critique. Bien au contraire, il abandonna son poste, ce qui

amena le Comité Central à l'en destituer. Dans la lettre envoyée en Décembre de l'année dernière à la Commission Exécutive, le camarade Menezes affirmait: "En sollicitant ma démission de membre de l'actuelle Commission Exécutive, je désire rendre publique ma disposition de lutter comme révolutionnaire, auprès des masses et de ne jamais rester dans l'attente des règles du système politique bureaucratique et conventionnel qui règne à la direction. Il est bien clair que le camarade Menezes révèle sa disposition de ne pas se soumettre aux principes et aux règles de la vie du Parti, de ne pas prendre en considération le rôle dirigeant du Comité Central, d'agir enfin d'accord avec sa propre opinion et ses désirs et en se plaçant en dehors et au dessus du Parti. C'est ainsi qu'il agit, en se rendant à Cuba.

En ce faisant, le camarade Menezes manqua à ses devoirs de membre du Comité Central, viola sous divers aspects les règles du fonctionnement du Parti et adopta une attitude anti-parti. Pendant que nous étions en pleine voie de réalisation du Congrès, dans une évidente manifestation d'individualisme petit bourgeois, qui n'a rien à voir avec l'idéologie du prolétariat, le camarade Menezes annonça publiquement, d'une tribune internationale, son orientation personnelle. Il révèle ainsi son mépris pour l'ensemble du Parti, montrant que pour lui le Congrès n'a pas de valeur.

Devant la nature et la gravité des fautes commises par le camarade Menezes, le Comité Central considère que sa conduite est incompatible avec la condition de membre du Parti.

5 Le mouvement anti-impérialiste, surtout après Seconde Guerre Mondiale, grandit et s'amplifia au Brésil. Cela se doit à des facteurs objectifs et aussi à l'activité de notre Parti.

Le développement du capitalisme dans notre pays provoqua d'importantes transformations dans la société brésilienne. Signalons en premier lieu le développement numérique et qualitatif de la classe ouvrière, ainsi que la formation d'une classe moyenne urbaine, comme conséquence de l'accroissement accéléré des villes (en 1965, le numéro total des habitants des villes équivalait déjà à celui des zones rurales). Sous un autre aspect, le développement économique, dans les conditions de la domination impérialiste et de la présence de la grande propriété foncière, accentua la contradiction entre la majorité de la nation d'un côté, avec l'impérialisme, ses agents et alliés internes, de l'autre. Le mouvement patriotique et démocratique gagna en ampleur et en rythme. L'accroissement qualitatif et quantitatif du prolétariat se traduisit politiquement par la grandissante influence du mouvement ouvrier dans la vie nationale. Néanmoins, la participation plus accentuée d'autres forces sociales, en particulier de larges secteurs de la petite bourgeoisie urbaine, aux luttes anti-impérialistes et démocratiques, mena à y approfondir son influence idéologique. Cette influence s'exerça et s'exerce encore au sein même du Parti, entre militants et dirigeants idéologiquement faibles, un champs propice à son développement.

Ainsi, l'influence de l'idéologie petite bourgeoisie dans nos rangs s'accroît, favorisant les tendances "gauchistes" et aussi celles de droite, sous l'aspect politique, aussi bien que sous celle de l'organisation. Dans le terrain de l'organisation, les manifestations de ces tendances allaient dès le libéralisme et le faux esprit d'autonomie, jusqu'à la réapparition des vieilles habitudes de despotisme sous des formes nouvelles, ainsi que l'individualisme et le mépris à la direction collective et à l'opinion de l'ensemble du Parti. Dans le domaine politique, cette influence allait depuis la remorque à la bourgeoisie jusqu'à la prosternation aux groupes ultra-gauchistes de la petite bourgeoisie. Le développement de ces tendances a été, sans aucun doute, favorisé par l'influence de fausses positions et des agissements du groupe de Mao-Tse-Tung, dans le mouvement communiste et, d'une façon toute particulière, par les conceptions erronées propagées en Amérique Latine, sur la révolution dans le Continent.

Après la défaite essuyée en Avril 1964, il se produisit au sein du Parti une exacerbation de ces tendances, surtout du "gauchisme", parmi quelques dirigeants, entre les

lycéens et les étudiants. Nous voudrions signaler à peine les manifestations de ces tendances du point de vue de l'organisation. Des attaques aux dirigeants et à la direction du Parti étaient suivies de violations des principes de notre vie interne. On arrivait même jusqu'à nier le centralisme démocratique et ses divers aspects. On cherche aussi à propager, en se réclamant du marxisme, une "nouvelle conception" sur le Parti, qui est, en réalité, la négation même du marxisme. Cette "nouvelle conception" proclame la "caducité" des Partis Communistes dits orthodoxes, ainsi que la nécessité de "rompre tout assujettissement aux partis politiques, afin de substituer les avant gardes politiques défaillantes". On affirme que la "guerrilla est le parti en gestation" et que "l'accent principal doit être mis sur le développement de la guerre de guerrilla et non sur le renforcement des Partis". On prétend comme nécessaire la suspension temporaire de la démocratie interne et l'abolition provisoire du centralisme démocratique. C'est, enfin, le vieux liquidationisme qui se présente sous un nouveau plumage et travesti en marxiste créateur. Cela aurait comme résultat que la classe ouvrière, privée de son parti, se transforme en appendice politique de la petite bourgeoisie. D'ailleurs ce n'est pas par hasard que l'on cherche à réduire ou à nier le rôle révolutionnaire de la classe ouvrière dans les pays d'Amérique Latine, alors que l'on exalte le "révolutionnarisme" des secteurs de la petite bourgeoisie, en particulier des intellectuels et des étudiants. On fait aussi la défense de la fausse thèse que, dans les rapports internationaux, la contradiction entre le socialisme et l'impérialisme n'est pas la principale, mais si celle qui existe entre les pays coloniaux et dépendants et l'impérialisme. De là, on franchit le pas à l'anti-soviétisme.

La diversité et l'ampleur des forces sociales, qui prennent part à la lutte anti-impérialiste et démocratique, est un facteur très important du développement de la révolution brésilienne. Nous devons prendre cela en considération, de sorte que notre orientation politique mène en fait à unir autour de la classe ouvrière toutes les forces, dans l'action commune contre le principal ennemi de notre peuple. Mais pour réaliser cette tâche avec succès il nous faut, avant tout, renforcer du point de vue idéologique et organique le Parti.

La violation des règles et des principes qui nous sont propres, plus grave encore dans

les conditions de la vie clandestine, détruit l'unité d'action des communistes, affaiblit leur action entre les masses et entrave le développement de la lutte contre la dictature. Elle représente un obstacle à l'action de la Commission Exécutive pour appliquer les résolutions du Comité Central et cause des tracasseries à la préparation du Congrès. Sous l'étiquette du droit à la divergence, on cherche à donner au Parti une orientation contraire, fait qu'il faut combattre. Par ailleurs, les manifestations de scission et de lutte contre le Parti ne peuvent être tolérées. Le Parti doit se présenter au Congrès comme un ensemble d'organisation, et non pas comme un tas de groupes. C'est l'existence même du Parti qui se trouve en jeu, ainsi que son caractère d'organisation politique de la classe ouvrière. Le premier devoir des communistes c'est la défense de leur Parti. Ce devoir incombe de façon plus impérieuse encore au Comité Central, comme centre dirigeant, de même que cela oblige personnellement chacun de ses membres qu'au Congrès précédent reçurent cette tâche insigne.

#### DECISION DU COMITE CENTRAL

6 Tenant compte des faits ci-dessus, le Comité Central décide:

a) Approuver les mesures adoptées par la Commission Exécutive en ce qui concerne la Conférence de la OLAS, du camarade Menezes et le retrait des documents publiés par les Comités de São Paulo et de Rio Grande do Sul.

b) Considérer le comportement du camarade Menezes comme incompatible avec la conduite de membre du Parti, et de l'expulser.

c) Considérer comme une scission, ce qui veut dire contraire à la discipline et à l'unité du Parti et incompatible avec les Statuts, l'activité de trois ex-membres du Comité de l'Etat de Guanabara, et ratifier l'expulsion de Juca, Hilda et Roberto.

d) Expulser du Parti le camarade Paulo, membre du Comité Central, en raison son activité et de ses liaisons avec le groupe scissionniste de Guanabara, de la direction duquel il faisait partie.

e) Appliquer au camarade Silveira, pour activité scissionniste, la peine de suspension de l'exercice de son poste de membre du

Comité Central, sauvegardé son droit de participer au Congrès.

f) Censurer publiquement les camarades Toledo, Lima e Rodrigo, pour avoir manqué à leur devoir de membre du Comité Central et pour avoir cherché à imprimer, dans les Comités où ils se trouvaient, une orientation contraire aux résolutions du Comité Central et de la Commission Exécutive.

g) Déterminer à la Commission Exécutive l'adoption des mesures considérées nécessaires, afin d'assurer la distribution régulière de "Voz Operária", de la "Revista Internacional", ainsi que du matériel par elle publiée.

h) Autoriser la Commission Exécutive à adopter toutes les mesures jugées nécessaires à l'application des décisions ci-dessus.

#### MENER UNE LUTTE IDÉOLOGIQUE EN DÉFENSE DE L'UNITÉ DU PARTI

Pendant que les mesures approuvées par le Comité Central seront mises à la connaissance de l'organisation du Parti, il faut profiter de l'occasion pour mettre en action une lutte idéologique en défense de son unité et de son renforcement. La Commission Exécutive doit planifier en sorte son activité, en mettant surtout en évidence le rôle joué par la classe ouvrière dans la révolution brésilienne, la nécessité du Parti comme organisation politique de la classe ouvrière, son caractère révolutionnaire, ses principes d'organisation et de fonctionnement. Il est également nécessaire que le Parti mette en application la Résolution sur la Situation internationale, approuvée par le Comité Central en Mai, en combattant toutes les manifestations anti-soviétiques. Dans ce sens, les commémorations du 50ème anniversaire de la Révolution Socialiste d'Octobre acquièrent une importance toute particulière.

En même temps, les organisations du Parti doivent intensifier leur activité entre les masses, surtout parmi la classe ouvrière et les travailleurs agricoles, en développant la lutte en faveur de leur revendications immédiates, de leurs droits et intérêts, en défense des libertés démocratiques et contre la dictature.

Le Comité Central se dirige à tous les militants, aux organes et organisations du Parti et les met en garde contre l'action désagrégeante des scissionnistes et des fractionnistes, et les conclame à serrer les rangs en défense du Parti, de son renforcement, de son unité en vue du développement régulier des luttes d'opinion, du respect à la démocratie interne et du centralisme

démocratique, afin que le Congrès, traduisant la pensée et la volonté de l'ensemble du Parti, soit un facteur d'élévation du niveau politique, idéologique et organique du Parti.

Septembre 1967  
Le Comité Central du  
Parti Communiste Brésilien

## Mouvement ouvrier: situation actuelle e perspectives

La classe ouvrière, contre laquelle se destinait, en premier lieu, le coup d'état, ne manqua pas, dès le début, de lui manifester sa plus formelle condamnation. Profondément touchée, elle ne put passer tout de suite à l'action. Néanmoins, depuis quelque temps, prenant conscience du sens des changements survenus, acculée par la politique anti-ouvrière de la dictature et orientée par notre Parti, elle commence à prendre publiquement position contre la politique inaugurée par le premier gouvernement fascitoïde et fidèlement suivie par Costa e Silva. Ces manifestations ont pris un caractère plus sérieux récemment, avec la réalisation de la II Conférence des Dirigeants Syndicaux, convoquée par plusieurs Confédérations importantes, parmi lesquelles figuraient aussi des représentants des travailleurs agricoles. La Conférence fut préparée par des rencontres locales, notamment à São Paulo, Porto Alegre, Belo-Horizonte, et d'autres villes.

Naturellement, la répression, sous toutes ses formes, se fit présente dès les premiers instants. Elle fut particulièrement violente à Porto Alegre, malgré l'appui du Conseil Municipal. La fonction publique qui eu lieu à São Paulo fut aussi très importante et compta avec la présence et l'appui d'une nombreuse masse ouvrière. Les 22 syndicats qui résistèrent à la pression de la police et à la campagne sournoise des confédérations soumises au gouvernement scellèrent leur unité et adoptèrent un programme d'actions immédiates. La présence à la Conférence des travailleurs agricoles du Nord-Est du pays, qui firent de graves accusations au gouvernement, et dénoncèrent la misère et la faim de milliers d'ouvriers et de paysans, donna un renfort important à la lutte.

La IIème Conférence de Dirigeants Syndicaux eut une profonde signification politique, que l'on peut ainsi résumer:

- condamnation de la politique anti-ouvrière et pro-impérialiste du gouvernement;
- exigence de liberté de réunion, des libertés syndicales et démocratiques;
- réforme agraire;
- commémoration d'un 1er Mai de luttes ouvrières;
- journée nationale de protestation contre la politique ouvrière sur les salaires;
- campagne nationale, en vue de la syndicalisation des travailleurs de ville et de la campagne, ayant un caractère de plébiscite, exigeant la révocation des lois anti-ouvrières.

Il faut ajouter que le représentant de l'Ambassade des États Unis, présent à la Conférence, fut longuement hué.

L'on doit aussi signaler que des réunions des travailleurs, comme celle des employés de banque, réunirent plus de six mille participants. D'importantes victoires aux élections syndicales doivent être encore enregistrées.

Il est à prévoir que les luttes ouvrières iront en grandissant et gagneront en vigueur. Elles ont l'appui de larges masses, qui exercent une pression sérieuse sur les Syndicats, les Fédérations et les Confédérations. Les agents du Gouvernement dans le mouvement syndicale se voient obligés à céder ou à se démasquer. Elles comptent aussi avec la sympathie et la solidarité d'une bonne partie de l'opinion publique et du clergé. Fait nouveau: les contradictions régnantes au sein du gouvernement amènent certaines forces politiques à des prises de position favorables au mouvement ouvrier.

Les nouvelles perspectives qui se présentent actuellement peuvent être un sérieux facteur dans la lutte contre la dictature et l'impérialisme.



## Notre Parti commémore le 50ème anniversaire de la Révolution Socialiste d'Octobre

Malgré la clandestinité et la vigilance exercée par un gouvernement anti-communiste à outrance, notre Parti, les milieux progressistes et démocratiques de notre pays célébrèrent la grande date d'Octobre.

Le Comité Central, les Comités d'Etats et de nombreuses autres organisations du Parti avaient préparé un plan d'activités. "Voz Operária", organe du Comité Central, paru en une édition spéciale. Toute la presse du Parti fit écho. Des fêtes, des Conférences, des réunions, eurent lieu un peu partout.

La Section de la Jeunesse Communiste du Comité Central, émit un intéressant document politique destiné aux jeunes. Les murs des principales villes du Brésil furent égayés par de nombreuses inscriptions, glorifiant le grand événement.

Le Comité Central de notre Parti, exprimant le sentiment de nos militants et d'une bonne partie de notre classe ouvrière et de notre peuple, adressa un chaleureux message de félicitations au Parti du grand Lénine, le Parti Communiste de l'Union Soviétique.

## Le 70ème anniversaire du Camarade Luiz Carlos Prestes

Le Camarade Luiz Carlos Prestes aura 70 ans le 3 Janvier 1968. C'est une date chère à notre Parti et à notre peuple. La figure de Prestes comme révolutionnaire et dirigeant des luttes du peuple brésilien est incontestée. Prestes, Secrétaire Général de notre Parti, a dédié et dédie encore le meilleur de sa vie au renforcement, à la grandeur de l'organisation révolutionnaire de notre classe ouvrière, ainsi qu'à l'accroissement de son influence dans la vie politique.

La vie de Prestes est, de plus, étroitement liée à la vie, aux luttes et aux victoires de notre Parti, pendant les années qui viennent de s'écouler.

Tenant compte de tout cela, et d'accord avec une Résolution de la Commission Exécutive du Comité Central, notre Parti fêtera le 70ème anniversaire du Camarade Prestes. Le mois de Janvier, à part les nombreuses initiatives de notre organisation, sera dédié au renforcement du Parti, à la défense de son unité et à la lutte contre l'influence et l'esprit d'aventure, propres à la petite bourgeoisie, ainsi qu'à la sauvegarde de la pureté des conceptions révolutionnaires de la classe ouvrière et du marxisme-léninisme. C'est là certainement le meilleur hommage de notre Parti à son Secrétaire Général.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, New York (100-134637 Sub C)

3/25/68

Director, FBI (100-428091)

1 - Mr. W. H. Floyd  
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

**SOLO**  
**INTERNAL SECURITY - C**  
**(REPLACEMENT AND NEUTRALIZATION PROGRAM)**

Reunlet 3/10/68 which requested authority to interview [redacted]

b7D

Authority is granted to interview [redacted] in accordance with Section 87D, Manual of Instructions. Care should be taken during the interview to preclude possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau. Advise Bureau of results of interview and submit recommendations for further action.

b7D

RCP:cst  
(5)

NOTE:

[redacted] appears to be a member of the NY District Communist Party USA [redacted] Section. He appears to [redacted] of Lement Harris, a key figure in the Party's financial apparatus. The Party could consider [redacted] as usable in the funds operation. If [redacted] is not cooperative, the least we could expect from interview is neutralization. [redacted] was active in Party work 1940 to early 1950s. In early 1967, he was observed associating with members of the highly secret [redacted] Section. He is [redacted] and was [redacted] in [redacted] If not suitable for Solo and cooperative, we would have penetrated a Party section where we have no coverage.

*wo*

b7D

MAILED 11  
MAR 25 1968  
COMM-FBI

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100-428091-6819

6 MAR 26 1968

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*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten initials]*

8 APR 1 1968

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

# Memorandum

TO: *[Signature]* DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: *[Signature]* SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: 3/21/68

Enclosed herewith are the original and three copies for the Bureau and one copy for Chicago of a LHM entitled "Communiques Issued by Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Budapest, Hungary, February 26 to March 5, 1968".

The information in the enclosed LHM and the documents attached thereto were furnished on 3/16/68 to SA WALTER A. BOYLE by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~Confidential~~" in order to protect the identity of this highly placed source who has furnished information on the highest level, concerning the international communist movement. Disclosure of this information from this highly placed source could jeopardize his security and thus adversely affect the national security. It is not known to this office whether the full text of these communiques have appeared publicly, but it is nevertheless believed necessary to classify the enclosed LHM "~~Confidential~~" in view of the form of the attachments thereto, which are exactly as received from the informant with the exception of the deletion of certain identifying numbers which appear on the original. *wp*

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

*Encl. on P. Pattern wp*  
*7-900*

REC-100

100-428091-6820

- 2-Bureau (Encls. 12) (RM)
- 1-Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (Encls. 3) (RM)
- 1-New York

MAR 26 1968

WAB:jca  
(5)

LHM on State *[Signature]*  
Copy to \_\_\_\_\_  
by \_\_\_\_\_  
 info  action  
date 3-26-68  
by RCP/ur

*[Handwritten mark]*





In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.  
March 21, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Communiques Issued by Consultative  
Meeting of Communist and Workers'  
Parties, Budapest, Hungary,  
February 26 to March 5, 1968

During March, 1968, a source who has furnished  
reliable information in the past advised as follows:

During the course of the recent Consultative Meeting  
of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Budapest, Hungary  
from February 26 to March 5, 1968, a number of communiques  
were issued. Attached hereto are the texts in the English  
language of the communiques issued by this meeting at  
its opening on February 26, 1968, and after its closing on  
March 5, 1968. The latter communique sets forth the  
agreements reached among the participating parties with the  
exception of the Communist Party of Romania which walked  
out of the meeting before its completion.

This document contains neither  
recommendations nor conclusions  
of the FBI. It is the property  
of the FBI and is loaned to your  
agency; it and its contents are  
not to be distributed outside  
your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

C O M M U N I Q U E

of the Consultative Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties

A Consultative Meeting of representatives of the Communist Party of the United States of America, Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Australia, Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Belgium, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, Communist Party of Ceylon, Communist Party of Chile, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, South African Communist Party, Dominican Communist Party, Communist Party of Ecuador, Communist Party of N. Ireland, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Greece, Communist Party of Guadeloupe, Guatemalan Party of Labour, Party of People's Unity of Haiti, Communist Party of Honduras, Communist Party of India, Irish, Workers' Party, Iraqi Communist Party, People's Party of Iran, Communist Party of Israel, Communist Party of Jordan, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of Colombia, Polish United Workers' Party, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Moroccan Communist Party, Martinique Communist Party, Mexican Communist Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Communist Party of Nepal, Socialist Party of Nicaragua, Italian Communist Party, People's Party of Panama, Communist Party of Paraguay, Peruvian Communist Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Reunion Communist Party, Communist Party of El Salvador, Communist Party of San Marino, Communist Party of Spain, Swiss Party of Labour, Syrian Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Communist Party of Sudan,

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 2 -

Communist Party of Turkey, Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of Venezuela, a Party working under illegal conditions, Representatives of the Algerian Communists, took place in Budapest from February 26 to March 5, 1968. The representatives of the United Socialist Party of Iceland and of the Communist Party of Norway participated at the Consultative Meeting as observers.-

In an atmosphere of free and comradely discussion, the participants in the Consultative Meeting exchanged views on the question of convening and preparing for an international conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties. After a comprehensive discussion they agreed to convene a conference in November or December 1968 in Moscow.

The Consultative Meeting proceeded from the assumption that the objective of the conference is to promote the unity of the Communist movement and to help strengthen the cohesion of all the forces of socialism and democracy in the struggle against imperialism, for the national and social emancipation of the peoples and for world peace. After discussing the proposals for the agenda of a future conference, the Meeting came to the conclusion that there should be one main item on the agenda: "The tasks of our struggle against imperialism in the present stage, and united action of Communist and Workers' Parties, and of all anti-imperialist forces."

According to the unanimous opinion of the participants at the Meeting, the preparations for the Conference should be carried on with due regard to the principles of collective work and comradely cooperation, and with the equal right of all Communist and Workers' Parties to take part in the preparations and in the deliberations of the Conference.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

For the period of the preparation of the conference the participants in the Consultative Meeting agreed to set up a commission consisting of representatives of all Communist and Workers' Parties that wished to take part in it. The Preparatory Commission was instructed to consider and sum up all the proposals of the fraternal parties and all other materials on questions relating to the Conference, to draft the documents, and to submit all these to the Conference. The commission will also maintain contact with the fraternal parties on these questions. This approach will make it possible to take into the maximum account all the opinions and constructive suggestions of the fraternal parties, and to prepare the International Conference in a collective manner. The seat of the commission will be Budapest. The Consultative Meeting considered it necessary to convene the session of the Preparatory Commission to meet on the 24th April 1968, and requests the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to convene this meeting.

The participants in the Meeting were deeply convinced that the forthcoming conference will accord with the interests of every Communist party and of the world communist movement as a whole, and with the interests of the unity of all forces fighting against imperialism.

The Consultative Meeting calls on all Communist and Workers' Parties, including those that for one reason or another, have not attended the Budapest Meeting, to take part in the forthcoming conference. It invites them to join in the preparatory work as full-fledged participants.

The participants in the Meeting unanimously approved a solidarity message to the people of Vietnam expressing the

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 4 -

admiration of all communists for their heroic struggle, and assuring them that the assistance which the socialist countries and all the working people of the world are rendering to fighting Vietnam will grow until the United States aggressors are driven completely from Vietnamese soil.

The delegations which attended the Budapest Meeting were convinced that the forthcoming international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties will constitute an important stage on the road to the cohesion of the communists of the whole world on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and be a big step towards further uniting all anti-imperialist forces.

E N D



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Consultative Meeting of the Communist and  
Workers' Parties has opened.

The opening session of the Consultative Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties took place on February 26 in the late afternoon in Budapest.

The representatives of the following Communist and Workers' Parties participate at the Consultative Meeting:

Communist Party of the United States of America, Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Australia, Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Belgium, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, Communist Party of Ceylon, Communist Party of Chile, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, South African Communist Party, Dominican Communist Party, Communist Party of Ecuador, Communist Party of Northern Ireland, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Greece, Communist Party of Guadeloupe, Guatemalan Party of Labour, Party of People's Unity of Haiti, Communist Party of Honduras, Communist Party of India, Irish Workers' Party, Iraqi Communist Party, People's Party of Iran, Communist Party of Israel, Communist Party of Jordan, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of Colombia, Polish United Workers' Party, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxemburg, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Moroccan Communist Party, Martinique Communist Party, Mexican Communist Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Socialist Party of Nicaragua, Italian Communist Party, People's Party of Panama, Communist Party of Paraguay, Peruvian Communist Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Réunion Communist Party, Romanian Communist Party, Communist Party of El Salvador, Communist Party of San Marino, Communist Party of Spain, Swiss Party of Labour, Syrian Communist Party, Communist

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 2 -

Party of the Soviet Union, Communist Party of Sudan, Communist Party of Turkey, Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of Venezuela, The Algerian Communists also sent their representatives to the Meeting.

The United Socialist Party of Iceland and the Communist Party of Norway are represented at the Meeting by observers.

The Meeting was attended by Comrade János Kádár, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party who greeted the participating delegates of the fraternal Parties in the name of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

The participants at the Consultative Meeting took cognizance of the report of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party on the preparations of the Consultative Meeting.

The representatives of the fraternal Parties, as a concluding event of the first day, decided on the order of chairing the sessions and elected a Secretariat composed of representatives of all the fraternal Parties to work out the proposals to be put for discussion before the Meeting and to ensure a system of functioning.

The Consultative Meeting will continue its sessions on Tuesday February 27th.

Budapest, February 26, 1968.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: 3/21/68

*R. Putnam (ind)*  
*T. G. [unclear]*

Enclosed herewith are the original and three copies for the Bureau and one copy for Chicago of a LHM entitled "Document Prepared by Delegation from Communist Party, USA, at Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Budapest, Hungary".

The information in the enclosed LHM and the document attached thereto were furnished on 3/16/68 to SA WALTER A. BOYLE by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~Confidential~~" in order to protect the identity of this highly placed source who has furnished information on the highest level, concerning the international communist movement. Disclosure of this information from this highly placed source could jeopardize his security and thus adversely affect the national security. It is not known to this office whether the text of this document referred to herein has previously been made public, but it is nevertheless believed necessary to classify this LHM "~~Confidential~~" in view of the form of this attachment which is exactly as furnished by the informant with the exception of the deletion of certain identifying numbers on the original. *ur*

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

*sent. of Putnam*  
*1-484, 475 with [unclear]*

- ENCLOSURE**
- 2-Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)
  - 1-Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (Encls. 2) (RM)
  - 1-New York

WAB:jca  
(5)

*100-428091-6821*

LHM + encs  
Copy to State Cdr  
by routing slip for (Garrison)  
 info  action  
date 3-26-68  
by REP/10

11 MAR 26 1968

*100-428091-6821*



98 APR 7 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.  
March 21, 1968

Document Prepared by Delegation  
from Communist Party, United States  
of America (CP,USA) at Consultative  
Meeting of Communist and Workers'  
Parties, Budapest, Hungary

During March, 1968, a source who has furnished  
reliable information in the past advised as follows:

During the period of February 26 to March 5, 1968,  
a Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties  
was held in Budapest, Hungary. In attendance at this  
meeting was a delegation from the CP,USA, consisting of  
Gus Hall, General Secretary, CP,USA; Daniel Rubin,  
Organizational Secretary, CP,USA, and James Jackson, Chairman  
of the International Department, CP,USA.

During the course of the meeting, there was  
prepared by the CP,USA Delegation and distributed to all  
delegations of communist and workers' parties in attendance  
a document entitled: "Information on April 1968 Actions  
against Brutal Aggression in Vietnam". A copy of this  
document issued by the CP,USA Delegation is attached hereto.

This document contains neither  
recommendations nor conclusions  
of the FBI. It is the property  
of the FBI and is loaned to your  
agency; it and its contents are  
not to be distributed outside  
your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

Attachment

100-101-1000

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Information on April 1968 Actions in the United States  
against the Brutal Aggression in Vietnam

Prepared by the U.S. Delegation to the Consultative  
Meeting

Throughout, ten days, from April 18 to April 28, 1968 the biggest actions yet held in the U.S.A. against the war in Vietnam will take place. At least a million people are expected to participate.

During each of the ten days, different kinds of actions will occur. The biggest actions will be Friday, April 26 when a National Student Strike will take place and on Saturday, April 27, when parades and demonstrations will occur in all the major cities. Also, a massive action on peace and Negro rights will begin in the capital city, Washington, D.C., on April 26.

The Student Strike on April 26 will see a whole number of universities closed down for the day in protest over the war policy of the Johnson Administration. The student governments of New York University, representing 60,000 students; City College of New York, representing 35,000 students and Harvard University, representing 15,000 are among the first supporters of the strike. The Harvard University faculty organization likewise is supporting the strike. While in most schools the aim will be to close the school, there will be some form of protest action at all colleges and universities. Hundreds of thousands of students are expected to participate.

The Student Mobilization for Peace Committee together with the Black /Negro/ Anti-war, Anti-draft Committee are the main sponsors of the student strike. Both these committees contain a wide range of student Christian leaders, civil rights leaders and various left forces, including on the

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- 2 -

Student Mobilization for Peace Executive Committee, the Secretary for Youth Activity of the National Committee of the Communist Party and the National Chairman of the Marxist youth organization, DuBois Clubs of America.

The action in Washington, D.C., starting April 26, is being led by Dr. Martin Luther King, and most major organizations of the Negro people will participate together with many white supporters. Tens of thousands will camp in the city around the Congress and President Johnson's residence, the White House. Forms of mass passive resistance will be used to shut down the life of the city for an extended period of time. The theme of the action is that as Washington is brought to a halt, so Washington must bring the war to an end. The demand will be made to end the war in Vietnam and redirect the funds for massive programs for jobs for the unemployed and housing for the ill-housed and homeless of the Negro ghettos.

On Saturday, April 28, the National Mobilization for Peace Committee will be the main organizer of the demonstrations in the cities. Among those supporting it will be the powerful Women Strike for Peace organization. The Secretary for Peace and Political Action of the National Committee of the Communist Party is a member of the Executive Committee of the National Mobilization for Peace.

#### International Support

The Student Mobilization for Peace Committee is seeking to make the Student Strike of April 26 a World-Wide Student Strike. Initial responses have been favourable. They are seeking simultaneous actions in as many countries as possible in a variety of forms, fitting the circumstances of each country, from student strikes in some countries, to protest gatherings against U.S. aggression in Vietnam at appropriate

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- 3 -

places. Speeches and lectures on the war given in classrooms in other countries. If it does it will have a great influence on U.S. public opinion if news media report simultaneous activity of several million students around the world in many countries.

Simultaneous actions around the world on Saturday, April 27, with the actions in U.S. cities are also being sought.

Information on the preparation of any simultaneous activity in other countries will be very helpful in the U.S.A. Such information with regard to student activities for April 26 can be sent to the DuBois Clubs of America, 34 W. 17th St., New York, N.Y., 10011, U.S.A. or to the Youth Commission, Communist Party, U.S.A., 23 W. 26th St., New York, N.Y., 10010, U.S.A. or to Student Mobilization for Peace Committee, 17 E. 17th St., New York, N.Y., 10003, U.S.A. Information on activities in other countries prepared for April 27 can be sent to Peace Commission, Communist Party, U.S.A., 23 W. 26th St., New York, N.Y., 10010, U.S.A. or to Mobilization for Peace Committee, 17 E. 17th St., New York, N.Y., 10003, U.S.A.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: 3/20/68

Enclosed herewith are the original and three copies for the Bureau and one copy for Chicago of a LHM entitled "Documents of the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties," Budapest, Hungary, February 26 to March 5, 1968."

The information in the enclosed LHM and the documents attached thereto were furnished on 3/16/68 to SA WALTER A. BOYLE by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~Confidential~~" in order to protect the identity of this highly placed source who has furnished information on the highest level, concerning the international communist movement. Disclosure of this information from this highly placed source could jeopardize his security and thus adversely affect the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

*we*

*encl. OK Per Patman we*  
1-404, 4 + 5 0 23

REC-100

- 2-Bureau (Encls.12)(RM)
- 1-Chicago (134-46 -Sub B) (Encls.3)(RM)
- 1-New York

100-428091-6822

WAB:jca  
(5)

11 MAR 26 1968

*LHM from State, CIA*  
 Copy to \_\_\_\_\_  
 by \_\_\_\_\_  
 info  action  
 date 3/26/68  
 by Rec/lt

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In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.  
March 20, 1968

Documents of the Consultative  
Meeting of Communist and Workers'  
Parties, Budapest, Hungary,  
February 26 to March 5, 1968

During March, 1968, a source who has furnished  
reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

The Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers'  
Parties convened in Budapest, Hungary on February 26, 1968.  
At the outset of the meeting the Hungarian Socialist Workers'  
Party presented to the attending delegations, a number of  
documents for the information of participants and as  
suggestions for the orderly conduct of the meeting. Attached  
hereto in the English language is one copy each of the  
following documents.

1. Proposal of the Delegation of the Hungarian  
Socialist Workers' Party for the Agenda and  
Working Order of the Consultative Meeting of the  
Communist and Workers' Parties in Budapest.
2. Report on the Preparations for the Consultative  
Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties  
in Budapest by the Central Committee of the  
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

This document contains information which is confidential to the FBI and is loaned to this agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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downgrading and  
declassification~~

1-111-1-612  
[Stamp]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## P r o p o s a l

of the Delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for the Agenda and Working Order of the Consultative Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Budapest

The delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party submits to the Consultative Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties the following proposal for the Agenda, Working Order and for the order of releases to the press:

1./ The Consultative Meeting should have one point on the agenda: "The convening and preparation of the International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties."

2./ The sessions of the Consultative Meeting should be chaired by the heads of the fraternal Parties' delegations in the order of the Hungarian alphabet, with a change in chairman after every intermission.

3./ To co-ordinate and organize the work of the Consultative Meeting, a Secretariat should be formed with one representative of every participating fraternal Party. The Secretariat should have the following tasks:

a/ To assure the continuity of the sessions and the order of chairmanship.

b/ To provide for the release of a daily press-bulletin. The bulletin should contain the names of party representatives taking the chair and the names of those who addressed the Meeting on the respective day.

c/ To collect and sort proposals made in contributions and submit them with its recommendations to the plenary session.

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d/ To examine all problems commissioned with by the plenary session.

e/ To prepare a draft for the final communique and submit it to the plenary session.

4./ The Secretariat should make a proposal concerning the manner of publicizing the contributions of the delegations and submit it to the plenary session.

At the end of the Meeting the Secretariat should give a cocktail party to which the participants of the Consultative Meeting, the foreign journalists who are in Budapest and representatives of the Hungarian press should be invited. The Head of the Secretariat should briefly welcome the participants. Then the participants of the Consultative Meeting could talk informally with the members of the press.

5./ The Consultative Meeting should be in session daily from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m., with two half-hour breaks at 11 a.m. and 4.30 p.m., and with a two-hour break at 1 p.m.

Budapest, February 25th, 1968.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

R E P O R T

on the preparations for the Consultative Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Budapest by the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

I.

On November 25 1967, in a joint statement, 18 fraternal Parties initiated the convening of a consultative meeting and submitted a request to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to make it possible for this consultative meeting to be held in Budapest.

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party undertook to organize this consultative meeting. In its letter of invitation to the fraternal parties, the Hungarian Party made clear its views about the questions on which it would be advisable to exchange views.

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party decided to invite those 80 fraternal parties which participated - together with the H.S.W.P. - at the Moscow Conference in 1960.

Taking into consideration that the Representatives of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia did not take part at the 1960 Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties,

- a number of new Communist Parties were established since 1960, and
- a number of collateral parties have been formed since 1960,

the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party could not take a unilateral decision on which Parties from the above should be invited to the meeting and

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2.

which should not. In our opinion, the question of which parties should be invited to the International Conference, can only be decided in a collective manner at the Consultative Meeting in Budapest, and consequently, also which parties should be drawn into the preparatory work of the International Conference.

Based upon all these considerations it was natural to come to the conclusion that those parties should be invited to the Consultative Meeting in Budapest which participated at the previous International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The letter of invitation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party could be forwarded to 74 Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Representatives of the Albanian Party of Labour and of the Communist Party of China rejected the letter of invitation.

On the part of Albania they declared:

"That Party-connections between our Parties have been broken is due to the fault of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Regarding the Budapest Meeting our standpoint is clear and well-known by everyone. There is a deep gulf in the judgement for this meeting between the two parties which makes it impossible for us to accept the letter of invitation."

As regards forwarding the letter of invitation to the Communist Party of China, the following occurred: After several attempts by the Ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic in Peking to hand over the letter of invitation to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China for the Consultative Meeting, on January 11th a telephone call was made to our Embassy in Peking by a Comrade named Liu, who said the following:

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3.

"To your request that your Ambassador should meet a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to hand over the letter of invitation for the international meeting of traitors and renegades, on behalf of the Central Committee I declare the following: The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China does not wish to enter into any relation with the counter-revolutionary and black meeting of traitors and renegades. It firmly refuses to take part and to accept any kind of invitation to such a meeting. We are not willing to deal with your request concerning this question."

During this telephone call our Ambassador reminded Comrade Liu that he had another request, namely that they should assist him to meet the Peking representatives of the Communist Parties of Burma, Malaya and Thailand in order to forward the letters of invitation to them. The Ambassador asked him whether the reply meant their unwillingness to help in bringing about these meetings, Comrade Liu's answer was as follows:

"Yes, we do not wish to deal with this matter."

After that event we attempted to forward the letter of invitation in Budapest. Our competent Deputy Foreign Minister who is a member of the Central Committee of our Party asked the leading representative of the Chinese Embassy in Budapest to call on him in order to hand over the letter of invitation. On January 31st, Chang Hung-Seng, the Third Secretary at the Budapest Embassy of the Chinese People's Republic said the following in a telephone call to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs:

"The so-called Consultative Meeting in Budapest is but a dirty and counter-revolutionary conference of renegades and our standpoint regarding that meeting is clear. The fact that this dirty February meeting

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is raised with us can only be considered as a slander against the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of China. We firmly refuse to have that dirty meeting raised with us. This is why we cannot meet."

We asked for the help of several fraternal parties to enable us to forward the letter of invitation to the Communist Parties of Burma, Malaya and Thailand, but they also could not help us.

Neither could we forward the letter of invitation to the Communist Party of Indonesia. The reason is that the fraternal Party of Indonesia has been practically annihilated, there are only Communist groupings and they have no united central leadership.

In addition, the following replies were received to the letters of invitation by our Central Committee:

a) Communist Party of the Netherlands

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Netherlands published the letter of invitation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in "De Waarheid", its central newspaper on January 19th, as well as the text of the answer of the Communist Party of the Netherlands, which was as follows::

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Netherlands have discussed your letter of December 15th 1967 inviting our Party to take part with a delegation at the Consultative Meeting.

In connection with your letter we have the following comments:

1/ At the beginning of your letter you speak about a consultative meeting to 'exchange our views to convene a wide-ranging International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties'. At the same time, in the letter you have nevertheless added that the delegates at that Consultative Meeting 'would elaborate

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

5.

a common standpoint and a concrete plan for the preparation of the /international/ conference. It can be concluded from this that the name of the Consultative Meeting is ambiguous and obviously there is no question of an exchange of views, but the compulsory passing of a resolution.

2/ Your letter states the following: 'The standpoint democratically and collectively formulated at the Consultative Meeting, can be submitted for approval to the Central Committees of our own party'. It does mean again, that there is no question of a consultation, but the international standpoint of the representatives of certain parties will be formulated behind the backs of the parties. Their 'own' Central Committees would be able to discuss and to reject, if necessary, the resolutions approved, only after the event. In our opinion, this intention violates the Leninist norms of democracy and independence which are indispensable in a Communist Party.

The essential problems which not only have an organizational character, but, first of all, principle significances must be discussed 'before hand' and in the "individual" Parties, and in the Central Committee as regards both their content and wording. In our opinion your Central Committee is on a reversed and false path, when taking a stand that representatives without authority should elaborate "a common standpoint", "concrete plans", and formulate a "collective standpoint", and above all at a meeting of several Parties. To this, Parties can say only yes or no. The rejection of the adopted resolutions would provoke public disapproval of the representatives' attitude.



Therefore, at any rate it is understandable that this would lead to additional conflicts, not only within the relations between Parties, but in the participating Parties and their leaderships.

3/ The information that all the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties who participated at the 1960 International Conference in Moscow, would be invited to the Consultative Meeting is also ambiguous and is unrealistic. In the present circumstances, there is no possibility that all the Parties which participated at the 1960 Moscow Conference will accept the invitation to attend the Consultative Meeting.

4/ In your letter you express the hope that with our participation 'we will assure the success of the Consultative Meeting, and through this, the organization of the International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties.'

It is evident therefore, that the Consultative Meeting is closely connected with the organization of the International Conference. The result of the consultation is, therefore, fixed in advance.

The Communist Party of the Netherlands, clearly outlined its viewpoint on these questions at its 22nd Congress /December 22nd-24th 1967/.

The 'introductory report' given with regard to this question was based on the report of the Central Committee which rejected the convening of an International Conference because 'in the present circumstances this would not make possible the uniform solution of the problems, but could only lead to a sharpening of the situation and cause dissension, or form factions.' Unfortunately, the proposal of your Central Committee is again a proof of the extent to which

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this conforms to reality.

This is why, based on the Resolutions of the 22nd Congress, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Netherlands has reached the decision not to accept the invitation to the Meeting outlined in your letter."

b) Communist Party of Japan

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan forwarded the following letter to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party:

"On January 16th, <sup>1968,</sup> we received your letter of December 15th 1967, informing us about the convening of the Consultative Meeting of the 81 parties represented at the 1960 Meeting, that is to be held from February 26, 1968 in Budapest, and which we are invited to attend. Concerning this letter we have already requested the Hungarian Ambassador to inform you that the delegation of our Party will not participate at the Meeting and to let you know some of the reasons for our absence. At the same time, we have requested your Ambassador to express our belief that we understand the good intentions of the Parties issuing the appeal, that they wish to reinforce their efforts to further develop the unity of action against United States imperialist aggression, primarily against the aggressive war in Vietnam, and to defend the cause of the unity of the international Communist movement. Furthermore, as far as the bilateral contacts of our Parties are concerned, we wish to develop, in the future, our friendly relations through fraternal discussions and through the reinforcement of our common struggle.

We consistently support the convening of the Communist and Workers' Parties' International conference

"to coordinate the common actions in the struggle

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for the common objectives", as stated in the declaration of the 1960 Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties' delegates. At the same time, it is our opinion that a Meeting of this character should be practically efficient in the development of the common struggle against United States imperialist aggression, and, therefore, it is even more necessary to make the preparatory arrangements with the consent of the Parties concerned and on the basis of previous consultations between them. We are of the opinion that the conditions are not yet ripe for the convening of an International Conference that would adopt a summarizing document covering all the disputed problems that have arisen since the 1960 Conference of the world Communist movement. Regardless of this fact, it is worth while to consider the idea of convening an international conference that has as its agenda the strengthening of the unity of action against United States imperialist aggression, and primarily against the aggressive war in Vietnam.

In that case, it should be taken into consideration that careful preparation is needed, that should include previous consultations between the Parties concerned and efforts to obtain their consent.

Furthermore, our Party must seriously take into account the fact that 6 Parties, nearly one half of the Parties from Socialist countries did not join the appeal about the approaching convening of the Consultative Meeting.

If, for any reason, a conference is held with the absence of a few of the Parties from the Socialist countries - not referring to the tendencies of ultra-leftist opportunism and great power chauvinism

that show a hostile attitude towards any Party that does not join them, but we are referring to countries that are the targets of the United States imperialist tactics "to exterminate one after the other", that are fighting against its aggression and wish, in principle, the unity of the international Communist movement - there can be no hope of obtaining the right result from the point of view of strengthening the anti-imperialist unity of action.

We have to give due consideration also to the fact that according to the appeal of the 18 Parties the approaching Consultative Meeting is to be convened on the basis of the wishes expressed at the Meeting of March 1st 1965.

We believe that for the sake of the unity of the international movement the convening of the Meeting should not have been linked up with the Conference of March 1965, which resulted in contrasting and differing evaluations and standpoints among the fraternal Parties.

It was, after giving full and thorough-going consideration to the different aspects, including also the above-mentioned questions, that we decided not to send our delegation to the Consultative Meeting convened by 18 Parties, including your Party.

At the same time, considering the grave situation in Vietnam and Korea, from the point of view of the development of unity and cooperation in the world Communist movement, we are of the opinion that it is greatly desirable that - in spite of the differences of opinions and positions concerning the convening of the International Conference of the Communist and

Workers' Parties, all the Communist and Workers' Parties should make efforts in the following questions:

- 1/ They should display in all the fields of international political life a firm attitude against the aggressive and belligerent policy of United States imperialism.
- 2/ They should increase their intensive help and should support the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam led by the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the South Vietnam National Liberation Front.
- 3/ They should further develop the united actions of the international democratic movement, including also the plans aimed at reinforcing the common struggle of all the international democratic organizations against United States imperialist aggression in Vietnam and other tasks of pressing importance.
- 4/ They should strictly respect the norms governing the relationships between the fraternal parties, the principles of independence, equality, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, since in the last few years the dissension in the international Communist movement has become graver, and in order to realize - on the basis of the existing common motives - really effective joint actions.

The C.P.J. strives with all its might to strengthen and develop the anti-imperialist international unity of action and the international united front, to reinforce the world Communist movement based on Marxism-Leninism and to attain real unity."

c) Korean Party of Labour

In its reply to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Korean Party of Labour de-

clared the following.

"The Central Committee of the Korean Party of Labour received with thanks the letter of Comrade Kádár, the First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party of December 15th 1967, inviting us to send our delegation to the Consultative Meeting in Budapest. Expressing our gratitude for your invitation, we inform you that because of circumstances it is not possible for our Party to send its representatives to the Consultative Meeting in Budapest. We are confident that you will accept our reply in full understanding."

d) Communist Party of Cuba

On November 14, 1967, Comrade Cienfuegos, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, informed the Ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic in Havana that their Political Committee had confirmed its earlier decision which stated they do not consider the present international situation suitable for the calling of a meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. They do not agree with it and will not attend. When the invitation to the Consultative Meeting in Budapest was handed over on December 30, 1967, Comrade Cienfuegos told our Ambassador that they had not changed their earlier standpoint. The January session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba upheld the decision of the Political Committee "not to send a delegation to the Budapest meeting called together by several Communist parties."

e) Left Party - Communists of Sweden

We received the following reply to our invitation to the Consultative Meeting in Budapest:

"Thank you for your invitation to the meeting to be held in Budapest on February 26, to prepare a world conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties,

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Our Party has at all times attributed decisive significance to the principles of proletarian internationalism. The demand for international cooperation to solve important problems is greater today than ever before. The socialist parties of the working class must fill an important role in this sphere. Our party has often expressed its opinion on the principles and forms of cooperation. Obviously, cooperation must rest on the right objectives, and, on this basis must serve the unity of all parties and movements working for national independence, peace, democracy and socialism, and insure the complete independence of all participant parties and movements.

"From the point of view of cooperation of all progressive forces, one of the decisive tasks is the broadest and most effective support for the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and for the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in their heroic struggle against the aggressive war of the United States.

"We have decided to communicate these views briefly in writing, and therefore we do not intend to send a delegation to the Preparatory Conference. We ask you, however, to inform us about the progress of the conference and its resolutions, to enable our Party eventually to take a position on the question of probable participation at the International Conference."

f) Working People's Party of Vietnam

The reply of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam reads as follows:

"We have received the letter dated December 15, 1967, from the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and addressed to the Central Committee

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of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, inviting a delegation of the Working People's Party of Vietnam to attend the Consultative Meeting of fraternal parties, which opens on February 26, 1968, in Budapest, where representatives of fraternal parties will exchange views on calling an international Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, and thank you for it.

"In our letter of April 21, 1964, addressed to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the fraternal parties, we expressed our views on calling an International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. We believe that these views are still valid in the present situation. Consequently, we regret that we cannot send a delegation to the Consultative Meeting to begin on February 26, 1968, in Budapest.

"Our Party will continue, as in the past, to work with the fraternal parties to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist-based unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement, and to reinforce the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism and the Moscow Statements of 1957 and 1960.

"Once more, we express our sincere gratitude to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the other fraternal parties which, in the past and present, warmly supported our people in their struggle against the United States imperialists and in the work of building socialism."

g) From the East-Pakistan Central Committee of the Communist Party of Pakistan we received the following letter:

"Thank you for the invitation extended to us to send a delegation to participate in the Consultative Meeting on the convocation of a broad International



1/ .

Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world, to be held in Budapest on February 26th next.

"Our Central Committee highly appreciated your letter. We urgently feel the necessity of an International Conference to be held as early as possible. More than seven years have passed since the Moscow Conference of 31 Parties in 1960 and in the meantime a great many changes have taken place in the international situation and also in the international Communist movement. We hold the opinion that only an International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties can at this stage enhance the consolidation of the unity of the Communist movement and the rallying of the forces of socialism and democracy in the struggle against imperialism.

"As regards the venue of the International Conference, we would beg to suggest Moscow, if there are no unavoidable difficulties.

"We regret to inform you that it will not be possible for us to send a delegation to the Consultative Meeting in Budapest. Our Party is a small one and yet very weak. We have to work under illegal conditions and very severe repression in a military dictatorial regime. It is because of this that we cannot attend the meeting and help you as much as we could in the preparations of the International Conference. We wish and hope that the Consultative Meeting will succeed in its task of convening the International Conference at an early date."

11.

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party wishes to inform the Consultative Meeting that, in addition to the 80 fraternal parties to which we sent out invitations, other parties wrote to us or got in touch with us in connection with the Meeting. Our Central Committee did not wish to decide by itself on the problems raised in these letters and communications, but is submitting them to the Consultative Meeting for consideration in arriving at a collective standpoint.

1/ We carried on bilateral consultative talks on the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties with the representatives of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia several times during the last six months.

In September 1967, when the question of preparing the Meeting came up in theory, the Yugoslav comrades explained that they had a number of reservations in relation primarily to the nature of the Meeting, and although they had not arrived at a final decision they did not support the calling of a Meeting. In the judgement of the Yugoslav comrades an International Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties would not help to intensify the anti-imperialist struggle and to rally the forces; on the contrary, it may isolate the socialist countries and the Communist Parties from the uncommitted progressive forces and movements.

After the appeal to summon the Consultative Meeting in Budapest had been issued, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party informed the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in detail about the objectives and nature of the Meeting and the parties invited. The Yugoslav comrades had a grievance that they did not receive an invitation to the Budapest Consultative Meeting. They repeated the reservations they expressed earlier, emphasizing

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13.

that interim consultations and articles and statements that appeared in the organs of the fraternal parties had not helped to dispel these. Reference to the documents of the 1957 and 1960 Conferences were evaluated by the Yugoslav comrades as efforts to restore old practices. They regarded the Communist and Workers' Parties' Meeting - as stressing one form of inter-party cooperation - as an endeavour to establish a new centre of the international Communist movement which could endanger the autonomy and independence of the parties.

They stated that, although their negative stand on the international Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties was unaltered "This time too, our League will support all the standpoints of the coming Budapest Consultative Meeting, which it considers useful from the point of view of further democracy in the relations between the Communist Parties..."

2/ Text of the letter from the Milunis-Sneh group of Israel reads:

"Since we have not as yet received an invitation from you for the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties due to convene in Budapest on the 26th February, may we draw your attention to the fact that exclusion of our Party from the list of the parties invited to this meeting is unacceptable; we ask that you amend this injustice without delay.

a) The split which occurred in the ranks of the communists in Israel in August 1965 is not, and cannot serve as a pretext for failing to invite us to attend the Budapest Meeting. As we have learned you have sent an invitation to the Vilmer-Toubé group. We would not like to suppose that you have as it were assumed the competence to judge which of the two Communist organizations that have emerged in the wake of the split is the one that constitutes the true Communist Party of Israel.

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10.

As we know, no such competence is accorded either to any party in a single country<sup>or</sup> to any group of parties in a number of countries outside Israel. Only the working class of Israel itself, only the masses of the people in Israel, are in a position to judge which is their Communist Party.

b/ Nor can the differences of opinion which have come to the fore between us and other Communist Parties over the present Middle East crisis serve as excuse for the failure to invite us to the Budapest Meeting. Those differences of view must be settled by means of fraternal discussions of the issues themselves to be conducted on a basis of freedom and equality, and with due consideration for the facts and arguments; and not by means of ostracism or excommunication. Only future developments in the actual situation can prove which of the policies from among these various positions in our movement was the correct one, in terms of the struggle for peace and against imperialism.

As we recall, similar differences of opinion arose over the position of the Indian Communist Party /under the leadership of Comrade Dange/ at the time of the armed conflict between India and China, but these differences of opinion have not prevented this Party from being invited to the forthcoming meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

c) If the criterion for the sending of invitations to one organization or another in a country where there has been a split in the Communist camp, is on the basis of the identity of the signers to the documents issued by the Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties that convened in Moscow in 1960, then the representative from Israel whose signature appears on those documents together with all the other signatories is, Comrade

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18.

Samuel Mikunis - who is Secretary General of our Party, then as now.

For all the above-mentioned reasons it is evident that the withholding of an invitation for us to the Budapest consultative meeting runs counter to the accepted practices of the Communist Movement, to the cause of unity in our Movement, and to the principle of universality of this meeting itself.

We have permitted ourselves to apply to you in this Note because it is your Party that has undertaken to extend hospitality to this conference in your country, and to send out the invitations to the fraternal parties. However, if the decision not to invite us was arrived at in consultation with other parties, we ask you to bring before them too the issue we have raised in this letter. In any case, we are sending copies of this letter to all the other fraternal parties.

We expect your early reply."

3/ The Presidium of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany /West Berlin/ in its resolution supported the International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the Consultative Meeting in Budapest. They expressed their readiness to attend the Consultative Meeting in Budapest.

4/ Representatives of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party met with Comrade Jackson, leader of the Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand, who told them that his party agreed with the International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties and with the calling of the Consultative Meeting in Budapest.

5/ The following letter arrived from the Group of Indonesian Marxists-Leninists:

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19.

"Marxist-Leninist Comrades, we greet you warmly on behalf of the Marxist-Leninist Group of Indonesia and convey to you our deep appreciation for the initiative you have taken in organizing this important meeting which is aimed at solving the problems of the international Communist movement and ensuring the unbreakable unity of their ranks, in the struggle to eliminate imperialism and capitalism in the world. The present situation throughout the world demands that Marxist-Leninists should rally even more closely together for total victory. The crises which have developed in Asia and in the Mediterranean are urgent issues of our times in the solution of which the socialist camp has a decisive role. Consequently the Marxist-Leninists of Indonesia always welcome and fully support the efforts to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement, to ensure its internal unity and to work out new strategy and tactics of the struggle for the triumph of the proletariat in all countries.

"We hope that the resolutions adopted at the Budapest Meeting will contribute to the unity of the international Communist movement. This can be achieved if all of us strive to correct the mistakes and to work out a new, more perfect militant policy.

"Glory to the international Communist movement - to the invincible movement of Marxist-Leninists of our times! "Marxist-Leninists of all countries unite to lead the oppressed masses in the struggle to destroy capitalism and to support internationalism in every country of the world!

"Long live Marxism-Leninism - the ideological weapon of the proletariat in the struggle for liberation and the building of Communism!

Letter of a group of progressive personalities of the  
Indonesian working-class movement:

"We were very pleased to learn that, on February 26th. of this year, a meeting of the representatives of the Communist Parties will begin in Indraprastha, with an exceptionally important order of the day. As this meeting will discuss the question of convening the International Conference of the Communist Parties with the aim of consolidating unity, in the struggle against imperialism, of all the detachments of revolutionary forces, we consider this meeting very important, with special regard to the present international situation becoming more and more strained every day as a consequence of the brazen acts perpetrated by the United States imperialists in Vietnam, Korea and other parts of the world.

We are aware of the fact that, despite the importance of unity between the Communists of the whole world, there are attempts to disrupt unity, not only by imperialists but also by pseudo-communists who pursue activities identical in character with the activities of the imperialists. The unity of the Communists having one single aim, the welfare of the whole of mankind, the criminal attempts at undermining the world Communist movement are undoubtedly doomed to failure whatever form they may assume. The cause of unity will win through!

We, a group of Indonesian Communists who, as a consequence of the difficult situation prevailing at present, have no possibility of sending our representative to this meeting, wish the meeting success and give it our full support.

We are convinced that the success of the meeting will be in service to the whole of mankind."

The following fraternal parties have representatives at the  
Consultative Meeting:

1. Communist Party of the United States of America
2. Communist Party of Argentina
3. Communist Party of Australia

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4. Communist Party of Austria
5. Communist Party of Belgium
6. Bulgarian Communist Party
7. Communist Party of Bolivia
8. Brazilian Communist Party
9. Communist Party of Ceylon
10. Communist Party of Chile
11. Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus
12. People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica
13. Communist Party of Czechoslovakia
14. Communist Party of Denmark
15. South African Communist Party
16. Dominican Communist Party
17. Communist Party of Ecuador
18. Communist Party of Northern Ireland
19. Communist Party of Finland
20. French Communist Party
21. Communist Party of Greece
22. Communist Party of Guadeloupe
23. Guatemalan Party of Labour
24. Party of People's Unity in Haiti
25. Communist Party of Honduras
26. Communist Party of India
27. Irish Workers' Party
28. Iraqi Communist Party
29. People's Party of Iran
30. United Socialist Party of Iceland
31. Communist Party of Israel
32. Communist Party of Jordan
33. Communist Party of Canada
34. Communist Party of Colombia
35. Polish United Workers' Party
36. Lebanese Communist Party
37. Communist Party of Luxembourg
38. Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party



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39. Moroccan Communist Party
40. Martinique Communist Party
41. Mexican Communist Party
42. Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party
43. Communist Party of Great Britain
44. Communist Party of Germany
45. Socialist Unity Party of Germany
46. Communist Party of Nepal
47. Socialist Party of Nicaragua
48. Communist Party of Norway
49. Italian Communist Party
50. People's Party of Panama
51. Communist Party of Paraguay
52. Peruvian Communist Party
53. Portuguese Communist Party
54. Reunion Communist Party
55. Romanian Communist Party
56. Communist Party of El Salvador
57. Communist Party of San Marino
58. Communist Party of Spain
59. Swiss Party of Labour
60. Syrian Communist Party
61. Communist Party of the Soviet Union
62. Communist Party of Sudan
63. Communist Party of Turkey
64. Tunisian Communist Party
65. Communist Party of Uruguay
66. Communist Party of Venezuela
67. Representatives of the Algerian Communists

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The representatives of the United Socialist Party of Iceland and of the Communist Party of Norway are attending the Meeting as observers.

In conclusion: Of the 81 fraternal parties invited to the Consultative Meeting in Budapest, 65 Communist and Workers' Parties sent representatives; also, representatives of the Algerian Communists are attending. Two parties did not accept the letter of invitation, and we were not able to reach four parties. One party cannot attend; six parties informed us that they do not wish to attend the Meeting. The Communist Party of New Zealand did not reply to the invitation.

Budapest, February 26, 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 3/20/68

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

Enclosed herewith are the original and three copies for the Bureau and one copy for Chicago of a LHM entitled "Delegations Present at Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Budapest, Hungary, February 26 to March 5, 1968."

The information in the enclosed LHM and the documents attached thereto, were furnished on 3/16/68 to SA WALTER A. BOYLE, by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~Confidential~~" in order to protect the identity of this highly placed source who has furnished information on the highest level, concerning the international communist movement. Disclosure of this information from this highly placed source could jeopardize his security and thus adversely affect the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

CG 5824-S\* further advised that copies of the list of delegates attached hereto were considered ~~confidential~~ documents at this meeting, although one copy was furnished for each member of the delegation. There was, however, another listing which was considered more ~~confidential~~ inasmuch as it also contained the names of the delegates from South Africa who are only listed herein as "Representatives of the South African Communist Party". Only one such listing was furnished to the head of each delegation and CG 5824-S\* did not have access to this list, which was to be returned to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party at the end of the meeting.

- 1-904, 9x5 v. [redacted]
  - 2-Bureau (Encls. 1)
  - 1-Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (Encls. 3) (RM)
  - 1-New York
- WAB:jca  
(5)

Copy to \_\_\_\_\_  
by routing slip for \_\_\_\_\_  
 info  action  
date 3-26-68  
by RCP/aw

REC-100

MAR 26 1968

98 APR 1 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Washington, D.C.  
March 20, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~Delegations Present at  
Consultative Meeting of  
Communist and Workers'  
Parties, Budapest, Hungary,  
February 26 to March 5, 1968~~

During March, 1968, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised as follows:

During the period February 26, 1968 to March 5, 1968, there was held in Budapest, Hungary, a Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties for the purpose of organizing an international meeting of all communist and workers' parties. The Consultative Meeting was arranged by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party who furnished participants in the meeting with two documents, a copy of each of which is attached hereto:

1. List of the Delegates of the Fraternal Parties Participating at the Budapest Consultative Meeting, February 26, 1968.
2. List of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

The second list purported to be the consensus of the assembled parties as representing all the legitimate communist and workers' parties in the world excluding splinter groups and pseudo-communist parties.

... is loaned to you  
... and its contents are  
... distributed outside

6.0

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100-4411-6003

~~GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

Attachments - 2

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

List of the delegates of the fraternal Parties  
participating at the Budapest Consultative  
Meeting, February 26, 1968

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Gus Hall, General Secretary

James Jackson, Secretary of the Central Committee

Daniel Rubin, Secretary of the Central Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA

Fernando Nadra, Member of the Central Committee

Alcira de la Parra, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee

Atos Fava, Member of the Political Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Claude Jones, Vice-President

Bernard Taft, Member of the Political Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA

Erwin Scharf, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee

Otto Wolf, Member of the Central Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM

Jean Terfve, Member of the Political Committee

Joseph Turf, Member of the Political Committee

BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Boris Velchev, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee

Milko Balev, Member of the Central Committee

Constantin Tellalov, Alternate Member of the Central Committee

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2.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF BOLIVIA

Arturo Alvarez, Member of the Political Committee

BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Luis Carlos Prestes, General Secretary

Manuel Moreira, Member of the Central Committee

Armando Ziller, Member of the Central Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF Ceylon

Pieter Kouneman, General Secretary

S.A. Wickremasinghe, President

C. Kumarasamy, Member of the Political Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE

Oscar Astudillo, Deputy General Secretary

Jorge Montes, Member of the Political Committee

Rodrigo Rojas, Co-worker of the Central Committee

PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF CYPRUS

E. Papaioannou, General Secretary

PEOPLE'S VANGUARD PARTY OF COSTA RICA

Arnoldo Ferreto Segura, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee

Humberto Vargas Carbonell, Member of the Political Committee  
and Secretary of the Central  
Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Vladimir Koucky, Secretary of the Central Committee

Frantisek Kriegel, Member of the Central Committee

Oldrich Kaderka, Alternate Member of the Central Committee

Mihal Pecho, Secretary of the Central Committee of the  
Communist Party of Slovakia

COMMUNIST PARTY OF DENMARK

Ib Hørlund, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

DOMINICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Alfredo Sanchez, Secretary of the Central Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ECUADOR

Elias Muñoz, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee  
Milton Jijon, Member of the Political Committee and  
Deputy Secretary of the Central Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF NORTHERN IRELAND

Andrew Barr, President  
Hugh Moore, General Secretary

COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND

Anna Liisa Hyvönen, Member of the Political Committee  
Olávi Poikolainen, Member of the Secretariat of the  
Central Committee

FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

Georges Marchais, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee  
Raymond Guyot, Member of the Political Committee  
Jean Kanapa, Member of the Central Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE

Kostas Koliyannis, General Secretary  
Grigoris Farakos, Member of the Political Committee  
Vasilis Venckopoulos, Member of the Central Committee

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GUADELOUPE

Guy Jean Daninthe, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee  
Gerty Archinède, Member of the Political Committee

GUATEMALAN PARTY OF LABOUR

Julio López, Member of the Central Committee  
Rafael Rosales, Member of the Central Committee  
José Manuel Fotuny

PARTY OF PEOPLE'S UNITY OF HAITI

Antoine Levantin  
Acquilon

COMMUNIST PARTY OF HONDURAS

Carlos Aldona, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee  
Manuel Artigas, Member of the Central Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

S.A. Dange, President  
N.K. Krishnan, Member of the Central Secretariat and the  
National Committee  
S.G. Sardesaj, Member of the Central Secretariat and the  
National Committee

IRISH WORKERS' PARTY

Sean Nolan, President  
Geoffrey Palmer, Member of the Political Committee

IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY

Djalil Djandal, Member of the Political Committee  
Rashad Amdjad, Member of the Political Committee



PEOPLE'S PARTY OF IRAN

Iradj Eskandary, Member of the Political Committee  
Ehsan Tabari, Member of the Central Committee  
Ardaches Avanesian, Member of the Central Committee

UNITED SOCIALIST PARTY OF ICELAND

Einar Olgeirsson, President

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

David Khazin, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee  
Saliba Khanis, Member of the Political Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF JORDAN

Fouad Nassar, General Secretary  
Ishaq Khatib, Member of the Central Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA

William Kashtan, General Secretary  
Nelson Clarke, Secretary of the Central Committee  
Samuel J. Walsh, Member of the Executive Committee and  
Chairman of the Central Committee of the  
Communist Party of Quebec

COMMUNIST PARTY OF COLOMBIA

Alvaro Vasquez, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee  
Manuel Cepeda, Member of the Political Committee  
Hector Herrera, Member of the Central Committee

POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

Zenon Klisko, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee

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Artur Starowicz, Secretary of the Central Committee  
Józef Czesak, Member of the Central Committee  
Andrzej Werblan, Member of the Central Committee

LEBANESE COMMUNIST PARTY

Nicolas Chaoui, General Secretary  
Karim Mroue, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee  
Georges Batal, Member of the Central Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF LUXEMBOURG

Jean Kill, Member of the Political Committee  
René Urbany, Member of the Central Committee

HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY

Zoltán Konócsin, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee  
Frigyes Puja, Member of the Central Committee  
András Gyenes, Deputy Head of the Foreign Relations  
Department of the Central Committee

MOROCCAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Abdallah Layachi, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee  
Onar El Fassi, Member of the Political Committee

MARTINIQUE COMMUNIST PARTY

Georges E. Mauvois, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee

MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Manuel Terrazas, Member of the Presidium and Secretary  
of the Central Committee  
Alejo Mendez Garcia, Member of the Presidium

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7.

MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Donchigyn Molonzhants, Member of the Political Committee  
and Secretary of the Central Committee

Badanin Lhamsuren, Alternate Member of the Political Committee  
and Secretary of the Central  
Committee

Puncagyn Sagdarsuren, Member of the Central Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

Jack Woddis, Member of the Executive Committee and  
Member of the Political Committee

Betty Matthews, Member of the Executive Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY

Max Schäfer, Member of the Political Committee

Jup Angenfort, Member of the Political Committee

SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

Erich Honecker, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee

Hermann Matern, Member of the Political Committee

Hermann Axen, Alternate Member of the Political Committee  
and Secretary of the Central Committee

Paul Markowski, Alternate Member of the Central Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF NEPAL

Manandsra, Member of the Central Committee

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NICARAGUA

Pablo Rivas, First Secretary of the Executive Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF NORWAY

Rolf Nettum, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee

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8.

Arne Pettersen, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee

ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Enrico Berlinguer, Member of the Political Committee and  
of the Executive Committee

Carlo Galluzzi, Member of the Political Committee and  
of the Executive Committee and Head  
of the Foreign Relations Department

Michele Rossi, Member of the Foreign Relations Department

PEOPLE'S PARTY OF PANAMA

Ruben Dario Souza, General Secretary

Luther Thomas, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee

Moises Carrasquilla, Member of the Central Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF PARAGUAY

Hugo Campos, Member of the Political Committee

Gustavo Colman, Alternate Member of the Central Committee

PERUVIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Anrique Riquelme, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee

Gustavo Espinoza, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee

PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY

Manuel da Silva, Secretary of the Central Committee

Alessandre Castanheira, Member of the Central Committee

Jose Vitoriano, Member of the Central Committee

REUNION COMMUNIST PARTY

Paul Verges, General Secretary

Jean Baptiste Fonana, Member of the Political Committee

RUMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Paul Niculescu-Mizil, Member of the Executive Committee  
of the Central Committee and the  
Permanent Presidium and Secretary  
of the Central Committee

Mihai Dalesa, Secretary of the Central Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF EL SALVADOR

Antonio Pineda, Secretary of the Executive Committee

Carlos Rivera, Member of the Central Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF SAN MARINO

Agostino Giacolini, Member of the Leadership of the  
Central Committee

Gastone Pasolini, Member of the Central Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN

Santiago Alvarez, Member of the Executive Committee

Juan Diz, Member of the Political Committee

Ramon Mendizabala, Member of the Political Committee

SWISS PARTY OF LABOUR

Edgar Woog, General Secretary

Henri Trub, Member of the Political Committee

SYRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Khaled Bagdas, General Secretary

Youssef Feissal, Member of the Political Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

M.A. Suslov, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee

B.N. Ponomarev, Secretary of the Central Committee

K.V. Kuskov, Member of the Central Auditing Commission

J.I. Kuskov, Deputy Head of the Foreign Relations Department  
of the Central Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF SUDAN

Abdel Khalig Mahgub, General Secretary

Muawiya Ibrahim, Member of the Central Committee

Tigani Al Tajeb Babiker, Member of the Central Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY

Jakub Deniz, First Secretary

Marat, Member of the Political Committee

TUNESIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Mohamed Harnel, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF URUGUAY

Alberto Suarez, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee

José Luis Massera, Member of the Political Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee

Cesar Reyes Daglio, Member of the Political Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF VENEZUELA

Eduardo Gallegos Mancera, Member of the Political Committee  
and Secretary of the Central Com-  
mittee

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11.

Jaine Jinenez, Member of the Central Committee

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ALGERIAN COMMUNISTS

led by Comrade. Bouhali

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List of the Communist and Workers' Parties

- 1./ Albanian Party of Labour
- 2./ Representatives of the Algerian Communists
- 3./ Communist Party of the United States of America
- 4./ Communist Party of Argentina
- 5./ Communist Party of Australia
- 6./ Communist Party of Austria
- 7./ Communist Party of Belgium
- 8./ Bulgarian Communist Party
- 9./ Communist Party of Bolivia
- 10./ Brazilian Communist Party
- 11./ Communist Party of Burma
- 12./ Communist Party of Ceylon
- 13./ Communist Party of Chile
- 14./ Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus
- 15./ People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica
- 16./ Communist Party of Czechoslovakia
- 17./ Communist Party of Denmark
- 18./ South African Communist Party
- 19./ Dominican Communist Party
- 20./ Communist Party of Ecuador
- 21./ Communist Party of Northern Ireland



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- 21./ Communist Party of Ireland
- 22./ French Communist Party
- 23./ Communist Party of the Philippines
- 24./ Communist Party of Greece
- 25./ Communist Party of Guadeloupe
- 26./ Guatemalan Party of Labour
- 27./ Party of People's Unity of Haiti
- 28./ Communist Party of the Netherlands
- 29./ Communist Party of Honduras
- 30./ Communist Party of India
- 31./ Communist Party of Indonesia
- 32./ Irish Workers' Party
- 33./ Iraqi Communist Party
- 34./ People's Party of Iran
- 35./ United Socialist Party of Iceland
- 36./ Communist Party of Israel
- 37./ Communist Party of Japan
- 38./ Communist Party of Jordan
- 39./ League of Communists of Yugoslavia
- 40./ Communist Party of Canada
- 41./ Khmer People's Party /Cambodia/
- 42./ Communist Party of China
- 43./ Communist Party of Colombia

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- 45./ Korean Party of Labour
- 46./ Communist Party of Cuba
- 47./ Khe Lac Haksat
- 48./ Polish United Workers' Party
- 49./ Communist Party of Lesotho
- 50./ Lebanese Communist Party
- 51./ Communist Party of Luxembourg
- 52./ Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party
- 53./ Communist Party of Malaya
- 54./ Moroccan Communist Party
- 55./ Martinique Communist Party
- 56./ Mexican Communist Party
- 57./ Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party
- 58./ Communist Party of Great Britain
- 59./ Communist Party of Germany
- 60./ Socialist Unity Party of Germany
- 61./ Socialist Unity Party of Germany - West-Berlin
- 62./ Communist Party of Nepal
- 63./ Socialist Party of Nicaragua
- 64./ Communist Party of Norway
- 65./ Italian Communist Party
- 66./ Communist Party of Pakistan
- 67./ People's Party of Panama
- 68./ Communist Party of Paraguay

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- 69./ Peruvian Communist Party
- 70./ Portuguese Communist Party
- 71./ Puerto Rican Communist Party
- 72./ Réunion Communist Party
- 73./ Rumanian Communist Party
- 74./ Communist Party of El Salvador
- 75./ Communist Party of San Marino
- 76./ Communist Party of Spain
- 77./ Swiss Party of Labour
- 78./ Left Party - Communists of Sweden
- 79./ Syrian Communist Party
- 80./ Communist Party of the Soviet Union
- 81./ Communist Party of Sudan
- 82./ Communist Party of Thailand
- 83./ Communist Party of Turkey
- 84./ Tunisian Communist Party
- 85./ Communist Party of New-Zealand
- 86./ Communist Party of Uruguay
- 87./ Communist Party of Venezuela
- 88./ Working People's Party of Vietnam

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 3/18/68 *JH (cont)*

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

*R. [Signature]*  
*[Signature]*

Enclosed herewith are the original and three copies for the Bureau, and one copy for Chicago, of an LHM entitled "Cuban-Soviet Relations."

The information in the enclosed LHM was furnished on 3/16/68 to SA WALTER A. BOYLE by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past. The Soviet sources referred to in the enclosed LHM are MIKHAIL A. SUSLOV, member of the Political Bureau and a Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CC, CPSU); J. I. KUSKOV, Deputy Head of the International Department, CC, CPSU; and NIKOLAI V. MOSTOVETS, Head of the North and South American Section of the International Department, CC, CPSU.

The enclosed LHM has been classified "~~Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this highly-placed source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared in Washington, D. C.

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  - 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (Enc. 1) (RM)
  - 1 - New York (41)

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(5)

REC-100

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100-428091-6824

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by routing slip for (reason) \_\_\_\_\_  
 info  action  
date 3-26-68  
by [Signature]

MAR 26 1968



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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.  
March 18, 1967

~~Cuban-Soviet Relations~~

During March 1968, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

According to sources in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), the USSR considers its relations with Cuba as one of its most serious problems. The CPSU and the Communist Party (CP) of Cuba are "almost not on speaking terms, just like the Chinese." In the same manner as the Chinese representatives in Moscow, USSR, the Cuban representatives there no longer attend any Moscow functions. The Soviet Union is not counting on Cuba anymore because they believe that Fidel Castro's subjectivity has led him into a position where his main aim is to condemn Soviet policies and the Soviet Union itself. It is the belief of the CPSU that Cuban policies have suffered defeats in a number of places like Venezuela, Guatemala and Bolivia, and as a result, no one listens to Fidel Castro seriously anymore.

At the same time, however, the CPSU has issued strict instructions to its cadre that these views remain confidential and in speaking to the Soviet people the cadre must talk as if Cuba is like any other socialist state and as if relations with Cuba are very formal and correct. The Russians believe that Castro is of the opinion that the Russians have undermined Castro's position in the rest of Latin America and, therefore, he is striking back against Soviet policies.

These sources in the CPSU outlined a number of situations which demonstrate the aggravated state of Soviet relations with Cuba. First of all, they refer to the recent

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Cuban-Soviet Relations

trial in Cuba of "old-line communists." A close reading of the minutes of that trial clearly indicates that the trial was for the purpose of attacking the USSR. The crime of which Anibal Escalante was accused was that he had given information to another nation and the fact that the reference was to the USSR was quite obvious. The Cubans have openly published the text of statements in the Central Committee of the CP of Cuba and at the trial such as those by the prosecutor and by Raul Castro. But, according to the Russians, the really vicious speech in the Central Committee and again at the trial was by Fidel Castro. This speech, however, was not made public. The Russians are convinced that Fidel Castro calculated that the Russians would attack that trial and the Cuban Party; therefore, Castro was saving his speech to be printed at that time as a response to the Russian attack.

Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, recently returned from a visit to Cuba, during which he had spent a number of hours in discussions with Fidel Castro. Carrillo reported to the Russians that all he heard from Castro was that the Russians were "a bunch of S.O.B.'s." Carrillo stated he could get nothing else from Castro, but bitter diatribes against the Russians.

Some time ago, the USSR was preparing to enter into its usual negotiations with Cuba on the subject of trade agreements for 1968. The first proposal from Fidel Castro was, "If you want us to pay for anything, there is no use talking. If you want to trade with Cuba, you will have to give us everything free." The Russians stated that they were astonished by this. During the course of Soviet efforts to initiate trade negotiations, various documents were sent to the Cubans to form the basis of negotiations and Cuba was requested to send a delegation to enter into such discussions. But all the Soviet appeals for negotiations were ignored by the Cubans. As a result, trade negotiations between the USSR and Cuba are at a standstill. As things stand right now, except for fulfilling previous commitments, the USSR has no trade agreements with Cuba, and Cuba is not buying a thing from the USSR.

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Cuban-Soviet Relations

Soviet sources have indicated that there is a growing suspicion in the Soviet leadership concerning Cuban intentions regarding future policy. This suspicion is prompted in part by the fact that they have noticed that the Cuban Ambassador to Spain has a very excellent relationship with the United States Ambassador to Spain, and these two diplomats talk together quite often. The Russians suspect that Fidel Castro is making a play for some understanding with the United States and may be moving toward an accommodation with the United States. As to indications from the United States which tend to support this belief, Soviet sources have pointed to a recent public statement by a United States spokesman concerning United States conditions for a resumption of trade with Cuba, wherein for the first time no mention was made about payment or restitution for U. S.-owned property nationalized by the Cuban Government. These facts have aroused the suspicions of the Russians.

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