

bourgeois, because of his dual nature, may be utilized by reaction in its own aims. It strives to awaken in a bourgeois instincts of a small property owner, to spread illusions and hopes for restoration of his prosperity as a property owner.

Fascism has shown that monopoly oligue can in certain conditions attract small bourgeoisie and utilize it for reprisals against democracy. It was thus in Italy and Germany. But fascism also proved to be a bitter lesson for small bourgeoisie deceived by it.

In a contemporary situation, actual conditions facilitate for the working class and communist parties the struggle for attracting small bourgeoisie into the ranks of the democratic movement.

The attitude toward democracy and its future destiny likewise has been substantially changed within the capitalist class itself. Monopoly circles and their accomplices see in democracy a survival of the past and an obnoxious burden; they strive to end up with democracy which, even in its bourgeois forms, hinders their striving toward unlimited domination in society. However, another part of bourgeoisie is not in the least interested in the establishment of the autocracy of monopolies which bodes it nothing good.

Monopoly capital develops not only at the expense of a merciless exploitation of the working class, peasants and small city bourgeoisie, but likewise, at the expense of absorption or liquidation of a huge number of small and middle capitalist enterprises.

In speaking of the situation in which their owners find themselves in the era of monopoly capital, LENIN points out: "We already see before us not a competitive struggle between the small and the large, technically backward and technically progressive enterprises. Before us is the strangulation by monopolists of those who do not submit to monopoly, its oppression, and its arbitrariness."

The attack of monopolies against the middle strata of the bourgeoisie is accompanied by the intensification of a political oppression. Capitalist reality provides many examples of the violation of rights and interests of the middle bourgeoisie, and of persecution of organizations, parties and the press which defend them.

We have to add to this that a portion of the bourgeoisie objects to an excessively sharp limitation of the democratic rights and freedoms, for it is afraid to cause the sharpening of a class struggle, fraught with great social upheavals.

The dominant class is compelled also to take into consideration the experience of fascist dictatorships in Germany and Italy which demonstrated that the unrestricted domination of extreme reactionary groups of monopolistic bourgeoisie threatens the deep split within the imperialist camp and brings out all over the world an irresistible upswing of antifascist movement. That is why the more sober bourgeois leaders appeal for "moderation," arguing, that from the point of view of class interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole, parliamentary-democratic methods of government are more "reliable" than openly fascist ones.

A stratification in a bourgeois camp broadens the possibilities for a unification of the wide strata of the people for defense of democracy.

The struggle of the working class for a unification of all the democratic forces. As in other general democratic movements, the working class is called upon to play the leading, the vanguard, role in the struggle for democracy. This ensues from the fact that out of all classes of bourgeois society, proletariat, by its very nature, is a class striving for the most profound and consistent democracy, and, at the same time, the most courageous and organized class, capable of leading the resistance to the intrigues of reaction. In showing to all other classes and strata an example of consistency and high principles in the struggle for democracy, the working class secures in this way for itself the role of a leader in this struggle, in which it is ready to go further than others do. "The hegemony of the working class," wrote LENIN, "is a political influence of it (and of its representatives) upon other elements of the population in the sense of purification of their democracy (when there is a democracy) from nondemocratic admixtures...."

Communist parties of capitalist countries are carrying on an unceasing work of unification of the broadest strata of the people for defense of democracy.

In marking the ferocity of an attack of the bourgeoisie against the democratic achievements of Italian people, General

Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, PALMIRO TOLLUCCI, in a speech at the 8th Congress of the ICP in December of 1956, pointed out: "We know how stubbornly classes and parties now in power are resisting progress, and we do not exclude a possibility of attempts at reactionary revolutions on their part. But, taking such a possibility into consideration, we draw a conclusion on the necessity for holding still firmer in our hands the banner of democratic progress, the defense of freedom, not only in our interests, but also in the interests of all the strata of the people, of the entire Italian society."

The French Communist Party is carrying on a strenuous struggle in defense of democracy in conditions of a great activation of reactionary forces. It vigorously unmaskes hypocrisy and lies of bourgeois propaganda, asserting that, allegedly, the troubles of France are caused by the "excess of democracy." The Plenum of the Central Committee of the PCF which was held in June of 1958, after formation of the cabinet of DE GAULLE, stated: "The cause of troubles besetting France is not democracy or parliamentary system but, on the contrary, a constant violation of the will of voters and of the principles of the parliamentary system by means of anticommunism.... A means for the overcoming of disorder and helplessness of the government lie not in throwing the democracy overboard, but, on the contrary, in securing its normal functioning...."

The Plenum appealed for a creation of a broad anti-fascist front of the struggle against reaction. "A guarantee of victory in this struggle," said the resolution of the Plenum, "is a unity of the working class founded upon unity of communists and socialists, upon the unification around the working class of all the democratic and national forces."

The task of a unification of the democratic forces is acute in all the capitalist countries - in the USA, England, France and Belgium, Federal German Republic and Italy, etc. In all these countries, communists come out in the front ranks of fighters for democracy.

Representatives of the communist parties of Italy, France and other capitalist countries who spoke at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, devoted great attention to the tasks of the struggle for democracy and for a unification of all the democratic forces. They

pointed out that a new broad offensive of the forces of reaction is ripening in Western Europe. Numerous facts testify that the dominant bourgeoisie increasingly often bourgeois-democratic methods of government and changes over to the methods of a semi-fascist or even an openly fascist type.

It was stated in a speech of comrade N. S. KHRUSHCHEV at the 21st Congress: "In conception of millions of people, fascism is usually connected with the names of HITLER and MUSSOOLINI. However, it cannot be excluded that fascism may be reborn in other forms and not in the former ones already discredited in the eyes of the peoples.

"Now, when a mighty camp of socialism exists, when the labor movement has a great experience of the struggle against reaction, when organization of the working class has risen, the peoples have more possibilities for barring the road to fascism. It is possible and necessary to unite the broadest strata of the people, all the democratic, truly national forces, against fascism."

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: December 14, 1959

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - FBI Laboratory (W/Encl)
- 1 - Liaison Section
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Decker

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

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

My memorandum 12/9/59 advised that while CG 5824-S was in Prague, Czechoslovakia, November, 1959, he entered into a tentative agreement with Gustav Soucek of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to send a Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) representative to Czechoslovakia following the CPUSA 17th National Convention for purpose of establishing contact between these CPs.

New York by airtel 12/11/59 advised that informant discussed this matter with Eugene Dennis, chairman of the CPUSA, and that Dennis did not commit himself regarding the above proposal. In view of Dennis' present heart condition, informant will obtain the consent of Gus Hall, general secretary of the CPUSA, to send our second top informant, NY 694-S, on this mission. It was informant's opinion that necessary steps be taken to prepare NY 694-S to make this trip. He noted that time is of the essence inasmuch as this trip would probably be between Christmas and New Years. CG 5824-S feels that this trip will establish a courier system between the CPUSA and the CPs of China and Czechoslovakia and the Bureau will be in the position to have control over this courier system. It is quite possible that NY 694-S will also go to Moscow to deliver documents from the 17th National Convention. CG 5824-S feels that NY 694-S should make this trip under an assumed identity inasmuch as certain leaders of the CPUSA are aware that NY 694-S was involved in the past with the United States State Department in passport irregularities. This informant obtained a passport on 6/11/32 fraudulently under the name John William Fox. In addition, in view of the clandestine nature of this mission, the CPs of the United States, China, Czechoslovakia, and Soviet Union, would feel more secure if NY 694-S used an assumed identity.

In order to establish an assumed identity for informant, New York has forwarded necessary forms which will enable the FBI Laboratory to prepare a New York State operator's license and an Illinois birth certificate both in the name of "Jack Brooks" which will be the assumed identity of informant.

New York recommends that in perfecting this arrangement the address of [redacted] the brother of SA [redacted] in New York, be listed as informant's address. He will not be given any information concerning the purpose of this arrangement nor the true identity of "Jack Brooks." If questioned, [redacted] will identify "Brooks" as a relative

Enclosure sent 12-15-59  
100-428091  
AJD:ssh/pwfy

REC-14

100-428091-586  
#5

10 JAN 8 1960

55 JAN 12 1960

SEARCHED

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

who is a traveling salesman working the New York area. A bank account will be established for informant under the assumed name with \$3,000 of the Solo funds at the Chemical Bank-New York Trust Company, New York City, where George Burlinson is assistant vice president. This account can be used by informant in obtaining credit cards to further legitimize his new identity. Burlinson will issue instructions to bank employees that inquiries concerning this account should be answered that "Brooks" has an account and a good credit rating. In view of informant's possession of a New York operator's license, New York does not believe that informant will need a witness for identification in applying for his passport. However, in event one is needed, New York requests that an Agent of the New York Office be used as a witness and this Agent would not indicate his FBI employment.

OBSERVATIONS:

It would be to our advantage to have NY 694-S receive this assignment which will quite likely result in the establishment of a courier system between the CPs of Czechoslovakia and China. In effect, the Bureau will be in the position of controlling this apparatus and obtaining all information developed.

During informant's stay in China, Wang Chia-hsing, head of the International Liaison Department of the CP of China, offered the CPUSA \$25,000 within two months and \$100,000 within six months. The money is to be delivered in Prague with the proviso that the CPs of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union not be advised of this arrangement. We will attempt to prevent the delivery of this money by instructing our informant to point out to Eugene Dennis and/or Gus Hall that the Russians would be incensed if they learn of this arrangement and that sufficient funds are being received from the Soviet Union. Informant will be instructed to obtain permission to gracefully decline this money. It is believed that the CPUSA leaders will recognize the possibility of damaging its relations with the CP, Soviet Union, and will agree to informant's suggestion.

Our relations with Mr. Robert Johnson of the Passport Office of the Department of State are such that we will be able to assure that the passport application for informant in the name "Jack Brooks" will be issued promptly without risk to the informant. Through arrangements with Mr. Johnson in December, 1958, we obtained a passport for CG 5824-S in connection with his second Solo mission. On this request Johnson was merely advised that we were interested in seeing that this individual received a passport and there must be no indication in State Department files that the FBI had an interest in this individual.

Bufiles have been reviewed and contain no data which would preclude the use of the name "Jack Brooks" by informant.

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) That based on the documents furnished by the New York Office, the Laboratory prepare a New York State operator's license in the name "Jack Brooks" as well as an Illinois birth certificate in the same identity.

OK dl

(2) That New York Office be instructed to perfect the arrangements with [redacted] as set forth in the details of this memorandum and to advise the Bureau immediately upon informant's applying for his passport so that we can follow this matter closely with Mr. Johnson of the State Department to insure the informant receives his passport expeditiously and without endangering his security.

OK dl

ACTION:

There is attached for your approval an appropriate communication to New York and Chicago in accordance with the above observations and recommendations.

If you agree this memorandum and the enclosed documents should be forwarded to the Laboratory for handling

OK

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten signature]

Approved & sent 12-23-59  
to NYC [Handwritten signature]

12/15 = M & Cahr  
Telephonically  
advised - 3 [Handwritten signature]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-428091

Date: January 7, 1960  
To: Office of Security  
Department of State  
From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

0 solo

The following information concerning the organizational structure of the Communist Party of China (CPC) was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party (CP), USA.

The organizational structure of the CPC is similar to that of most communist parties and in particular to that of the CP of the Soviet Union (CPSU). The CPC has a chairman, a vice-chairman, a general secretary and a secretariat. The CPC also has a Standing Committee of the Political Bureau which committee is the most important body in the organizational structure of the CPC. The leadership of the CPC lays down basic policy by working through this Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. The secretariat carries out the orders or tasks of the Standing Committee and could be termed the executive branch of the leadership. The secretariat itself does not make policy. The secretariat is considered a training ground for membership in the Standing Committee and most of its members will be appointed to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau in the future unless they make some serious error in the meantime.

In regard to the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the CPC, it appears that the breakdown is similar to but not identical with that of the CPSU. With the exception of Asia, the English speaking people are believed to come under one section of the

EX-COURIER SERV  
JAN 13 1960

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

RAB, LSD (0-6, D, same date)  
EBI  
SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE 5

AJD: med  
(10) med

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

JAN 12 1960

TELETYPE UNIT

REC-96 100-428091-10587  
JAN 8 1960

Handwritten signatures and initials, including "Rue" and "H.K."



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office of Security  
Department of State

International Liaison Department of the CPC whereas the International Department of the CPSU separates the CPUSA from the CP of Canada and places the latter in the British Commonwealth Section. In addition, it is believed that the International Liaison Department of the CPC also has a separate North and South American Section and a special section for overseas Chinese.

The following individuals are some of the top-ranking officials of the CPC:

Mao Tse-tung

Mao is the chairman of the CPC and the most important individual in China.

Liu Shao-chi

Liu is the heir apparent to Mao. He is president of the People's Republic of China, vice-chairman of the CPC and a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC. Liu continues to handle some Party organizational problems despite the fact that he is the head of the government.

Chou En-lai

Premier of China.

Tung Pi-wu

Tung is a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC.

Chen Yi

Foreign minister of Red China.

Liu Ning-qi

Liu is chairman of all trade-unions in Red China, a member of the International Liaison Department and a member of the Central Committee.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office of Security  
Department of State

Madame Yu Chi-ying

She is an influential member of the English speaking section of the International Liaison Department.

Tang Hing-chao

A former resident of the United States, Tang is an influential member of the English speaking section of the International Liaison Department.

Lin Tang

He is attached to the English speaking section of the International Liaison Department.

Wang Chia-hsiang

Wang is head of the International Liaison Department of the CPC. He was removed as vice-minister of foreign affairs or deputy foreign minister. However, this was considered a ceremonial position which Wang no longer needed. His standing in the Party has not diminished.

Kang Sheng

Vice-premier of China, secretary of the CPC in charge of ideological work. He is either a member or alternate member of the Political Bureau.

Li Hsien-nien

Vice-premier of China and financial expert.

Wu Hsiu-ch'uan

Wu is deputy director of the International Liaison Department and former ambassador to Yugoslavia.

Teng Hsiang-p'ing

Teng is general secretary of the CPC and member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. He controls the Party organization under Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-chi.

Office of Security  
Department of State

Li Fu-chun

He is a vice-premier, director of state planning and a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau.

Po I-po

Po is an alternate member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau.

Kow

Attached to the English speaking section of the International Liaison Department.

Tan Chen-lin

Member of the Political Bureau and of the secretariat of the CPC.

Liao Lu-yen

Minister of agriculture.

Ko Ching-shih

Member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the Shanghai Bureau of the Central Committee and mayor of Shanghai.

Marshal Peng Teh-huai, minister of defense, and Chou Hsia-chou, the head of the Hunan Province, were recently removed from their positions in the government but not from their positions in the CPC. In addition, Huang Ke-cheng and Chang Wen-tien have been likewise removed from their government positions but will retain their positions in the CPC.

1 - Director  
Central Intelligence Agency

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

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

Attention: Chief, Security Division

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office of Security  
Department of State

1 - Director of Naval Intelligence

1 - Office of Special Investigations  
Air Force

Attention: Chief, Counter Intelligence Division

NOTE ON YELLOW

Classified "~~Confidential~~" inasmuch as unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the source and adversely affect the national defense.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

JAN 11 1960

TELETYPE

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

*John A. [Signature]*

URGENT 1-11-60 10-18 AM MB  
TO DIRECTOR, FBI, AND SAC, NEW YORK  
FROM SAC, CHICAGO 1P

SOLO IS - C. RE CG AIRTEL NOVEMBER TWENTY-SEVEN, LAST. CG  
FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR DASH S PLANS TO LEAVE CG FOR NYC ON JANUARY  
ELEVEN, INSTANT, FOR A SCHEDULED MEETING ON THE EVENING OF  
JANUARY TWELVE, NEXT. PER BUREAU INSTRUCTIONS, SA JOHN E.  
KEATING WILL ALSO DEPART CG FOR NYC JANUARY ELEVEN, INSTANT.  
NY REQUESTED TO OBTAIN RESERVATIONS FOR SA KEATING AT THE  
PRINCE GEORGE HOTEL.

END AND ACK PLS  
11-19 AM OK FBI WA RAM  
NY FBI NY OK HFA  
ACK CORRECTLY PLS  
3-15  
4-88 OK FBI NY JFA

TU DISC

*cc. Belmont*

*cc. Mr. Decker*

55 JAN 18 1960

REC-26

100-428091-588

12 JAN 11 1960

*[Handwritten initials]*  
INDEXED  
SERIALIZED  
FILED

RECEIVED

SAC, Chicago (134-46 Sub B)

1 - Mr. Decker  
January 12, 1960

Director, FBI (100-426091)

**SOLO**  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reurlet 11-30-59 enclosing a book in Chinese containing production statistics in regard to Red China. It is desired that you forward to the Bureau as expeditiously as possible three photographic copies each of pages 58 and 59 of this book which was returned to you by Bureau routing slip dated 12-10-59.

AJD:pwf  
(4)

REC- 22

EX-135

100-426091-589

24 JAN 13 1960

MAILED 27  
JAN 12 1960  
COMM-FBI

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

50 JAN 18 1960

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

F B I

Date: 1/13/60

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. [unclear]	_____
Mr. [unclear]	_____
Mr. [unclear]	_____
Mr. [unclear]	_____
Mr. [unclear]	_____
Mr. [unclear]	_____
Mr. [unclear]	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. [unclear]	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

SG  
via

AIRTEL

REGISTERED

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

CG 5824-S\* orally furnished the following information to SA JOHN E. KEATING on 1/12/60:

MORRIS CHILDS went to the Willard Theater on Jamaica Avenue in Queens, NY, about 40 minutes before 7 p.m. on Tuesday evening, 1/12/60. Shortly prior to 7 p.m. CHILDS walked out of the theater, turned to the right and walked north on 96th Street. After walking more than one block and not seeing anyone, CHILDS reversed the direction in which he was walking. Almost immediately [redacted] was observed walking north on the opposite side of 96th Street. At the first intersection north of Jamaica Avenue, [redacted] turned left and crossed Woodhaven Blvd. When CHILDS caught up with him, [redacted] stated there is no place to meet in this area so follow me. [redacted] and CHILDS then took the Jamaica BMT Line and got off at the Parsons Blvd. stop. They entered Constantine's Restaurant at 153-35 Hillside Avenue and ordered drinks and dinner.

- ③ - BUREAU (100-428091) (RM)
- 1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub-B) (AMRM)
- 1 - NY 100-134637 (415)

JEK:mfd

(6)

*W. Wick*

*memo. to B. Gardner  
Belmont  
A. J. D.*

REC-32

100-428091-590

JAN 14 1960

EX-117

*[Handwritten signature]*

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M. Per \_\_\_\_\_

55 JAN 18 1960

AIRTEL TO BUREAU  
NY 100-134637

Almost immediately, [redacted] said, are you sure you were not followed as you left Chicago? CHILDS replied he used another name in traveling from Chicago to New York, that he had come into NYC by way of New Jersey and that he was certain that he had not been followed. Then BARKOVSKY stated, it looks like I will keep up connections with you. I will be in touch with you.

Next [redacted] asked CHILDS, can you tell me something about the recent National Convention of the CP, USA? [redacted] who does not make any notes, said that he did not want too many details, but did want CHILDS' interpretations of the convention. CHILDS replied that he could not only give him details of the convention, but also had with him copies of resolutions and other documents published as a result of the convention and that he had these items with him. [redacted] asked, you didn't leave them in your overcoat did you? CHILDS replied that he had them with him on his person.

CHILDS told [redacted] that the main speeches delivered at the convention are printed in the January issue of "Political Affairs" and that additional material in regard to the convention will appear in the February issue of "Political Affairs." Then a booklet containing the proceedings of the convention will be published. CHILDS stated that [redacted] should not believe everything which appeared in the press about the new leadership of the CP, USA, and told [redacted] that the leadership of the CP, USA, has been consolidated and is united. [redacted] said that he does not believe everything he read in the newspapers about the leadership of the CP, USA. At the same time he stated that he thought that the CP, USA, had received a very good press during the convention,



AIRTEL TO BUREAU  
NY 100-134637

that is, the press objectively reported the events of the convention. [redacted] also remarked that he had watched the televised interview of [redacted] and that he thought that HALL did a good job in regard to this interview.

[redacted] asked about the illness of EUGENE DENNIS. CHILDS told him about the current physical condition of DENNIS and then proceeded to tell [redacted] that there were some points of disagreement at the National Convention of the CP, USA. CHILDS said that these involved:

1. The interpretation of whether or not the cold war has ended,
2. Whether or not to drop the theory of self-determination in regard to the Negro Question, and
3. Whether to adopt an entirely new constitution or to amend the old constitution and to what extent the concept of democratic centralism should be set out in the constitution.

CHILDS also explained that the entire National Committee had been elected by the convention and that he, CHILDS, was elected to the National Committee. CHILDS also explained that the districts were permitted to nominate persons as National Committee representatives from their districts and that some of those recommended by BEN DAVIS and his supporters as representatives from the New York District were defeated. As a result of this BEN DAVIS at first refused to serve as a national officer of the Party. While DAVIS finally consented, the lengthy argument prevented the election of the National Executive Committee at the first meeting of the National Committee. Thus the National Executive Committee will not be elected until the new National Committee meets some time in March, 1960

AIRTEL TO BUREAU  
NY 100-134637

CHILDS said that he thought that it was a good convention, that the Party is planning to publish a daily paper once again and that the Party will do mass work. [redacted] said, I suppose you will want money for a daily paper and CHILDS answered in the affirmative but said that a subcommittee is working on plans for a daily paper and the report of the subcommittee will not be ready until some time in March, 1960.

CHILDS then discussed the leadership problem in the New York District. He said that several in the National Office have agreed to a "package deal" which would include [redacted] as Chairman, WILLIAM L. PATTERSON and [redacted] as Vice-Chairmen, [redacted] as Organization Secretary and [redacted] as the Educational Director. CHILDS said that the National Office believes that there is a good possibility that the newly elected District Committee of the New York District will accept this "package deal." This would mean that BEN DAVIS would be confined to national work and that his influence in the New York District would greatly diminish. CHILDS also stated that several persons in the National Office are dissatisfied with JACK and [redacted] SHULMAN and that even WILLIAM Z. FOSTER has recently indicated displeasure with SHULMAN. Thus SHULMAN may be relieved of his duties in the National Office and as FOSTER's personal secretary.

[redacted] commented that he thought that it had been pretty generally agreed that the CP, USA, would drop the theory of self-determination in the black belt. He asked who at the convention disagreed with this. CHILDS replied that [redacted] PAUL ROBESON, JR. and quietly BEN DAVIS were opposed to the dropping of this theory.

AIRTEL TO BUREAU  
NY 100-134637

[redacted] then asked if it would be correct to say that most of the resolutions adopted by the National Convention of the CP, USA, were accepted almost unanimously by the convention. CHILDS replied that it would be correct to say this and also to say that the CP, USA, emerged from the convention consolidated to a greater extent than it was prior to the convention.

[redacted] also commented that the cold war is far from over. He said that many negotiations will have to be carried on. He stated that while the Soviet Union is prepared to negotiate, no one knows if the capitalist world will carry through the "spirit of Camp David."

On this CHILDS started to list some complaints. He again reminded [redacted] that the CP, USA, wanted LOUIS WEINSTOCK to attend the Congress of the CP of Hungary in the fall of 1959 but due to the lack of contact between the CP, USA, and the CPSU it was impossible to get word to WEINSTOCK in Europe in time for him to attend this congress as a representative of the CP, USA. CHILDS told [redacted] that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER has charged that the leadership of the CP, USA, did not want to send any representative to the Congress of the CP of Hungary.

CHILDS also stated that ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG has some problem and has been trying to see CHILDS about this problem, but as yet CHILDS has not seen him and does not know what he wants. [redacted] replied, we received a message from TRACHTENBERG in which he said, work through channels. [redacted] asked, what does he mean, work through channels? CHILDS replied that TRACHTENBERG was indicating that he wants to maintain contact with the CPSU through CHILDS.

AIRTEL TO BUREAU  
NY 100-134637

[redacted] then stated that when TRACHTENBERG returned to the United States from the Soviet Union some money came through from Russia for TRACHTENBERG. [redacted] said that he has not personally handled this matter and does not know how much money is involved. He stated that they were willing to deliver this money to TRACHTENBERG at his office but that TRACHTENBERG is worried about receiving it in this manner. [redacted] commented, since TRACHTENBERG is worried, I guess we should be also. [redacted] then asked if MORRIS and JACK CHILDS would be willing to handle this matter. When CHILDS replied that if [redacted] wanted JACK and MORRIS CHILDS to handle this then they would, [redacted] said that he would contact JACK CHILDS at the latter's office some afternoon between January 20th and January 24th. [redacted] said that it would be up to MORRIS CHILDS, that is to the CP, USA, to turn over to TRACHTENBERG only so much money as TRACHTENBERG needs from the sum that will be delivered to JACK CHILDS.

CHILDS then complained that there are no provisions for an emergency meeting between himself or JACK CHILDS and [redacted]. [redacted] replied, I was told to provide for that. [redacted] then asked CHILDS to memorize the following telephone number: Endicott 2-7658. He said that in the event of a real emergency, a call can be placed to this number after 9 p.m. on the day preceding the day when a meeting is desired. If MORRIS CHILDS wants to see [redacted] the meeting will take place the following evening at the Willard Theater at 7 p.m. in the same manner as this meeting on 1/12/60. If JACK CHILDS wants to see [redacted] the meeting will take place at 7 p.m. on the following evening at the Towne House Restaurant. If MORRIS CHILDS wants to see [redacted] the telephone message

AIRTEL TO BUREAU  
NY 100-134637

will be that the caller will fix the refrigerator the following day. If JACK CHILDS wants to see [redacted] the telephone message will be that the caller is an electrician and will look at the fuses on the following day.

With regard to regular contacts, [redacted] stated, we will only make arrangements for one meeting in advance. Our next meeting will be on the second Wednesday in February. *10th* The meeting will be at the Forest Hills Theater in Queens. The procedure will be the same as that for the meeting tonight. You will go to the theater about 40 minutes before 7 p.m. About 7 p.m. you will leave the theater and walk to the left and take a left at the first intersection. If for some reason the meeting does not occur on the second Wednesday in February, the alternate date will be the third Wednesday in February.

CHILDS asked if [redacted] had an automobile and if so if he would use it in order to avoid so much walking. [redacted] replied, we don't trust any automobiles including our own. They can be "bugged."

MORRIS CHILDS then told [redacted] that JACK CHILDS is planning to go to Europe to see representative of the CP of Czechoslovakia and a representative of the CP of China, and that the CPSU has been previously informed of this. MORRIS CHILDS also stated that JACK CHILDS will carry with him additional material in regard to the National Convention of the CP, USA, and that it could be arranged for him to deliver this material in Moscow. MORRIS CHILDS said that JACK CHILDS would be making this trip "illegally." [redacted] replied, this is good, but how do you manage it? MORRIS CHILDS replied that he and JACK CHILDS have been making preparations for such eventualities for 20 years and are just now using documents for which preparations had been made many years ago. [redacted] asked if it takes long to obtain a passport. CHILDS replied that normally it does not. The only other question [redacted]

AIRTEL TO BUREAU  
NY 100-134637

asked in this regard was the name which JACK CHILDS will use when he travels to Europe. [redacted] said that he would provide Moscow with this name.

MORRIS CHILDS also stated that VICTOR PERLO wants to go to Russia and wants to deliver some lectures while there. He said that JACK CHILDS will probably carry with him the dates when PERLO would like to be in Russia. [redacted] replied that he knew that PERLO wanted to go to Russia. MORRIS CHILDS also stated that JACK CHILDS may carry with him some books printed in the United States which may be of interest to the CPSU and that JACK CHILDS would probably leave the United States some time between January 20 and February 1, 1960.

MORRIS CHILDS also said that contacts of the CP, USA, with the CP's in Latin America are not good therefore JACK CHILDS will ask the CPSU in Moscow for any information it may have in regard to a previously proposed Western Hemispheric Conference. MORRIS CHILDS then complained that the money from the CPSU for the CP, USA, has been coming into the United States too slowly. [redacted] replied, if our situation - that is arrangements for meetings between [redacted] and MORRIS CHILDS are normalized - then you will not have to depend so much on Canada for the transmittal of funds. [redacted] reminded CHILDS that the fact that money has recently been received through the Canadian channels indicates that the CPSU is carrying through on its promise of funds for the CP, USA.

CHILDS had the following documents in regard to the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA, in a package for delivery to [redacted]

The Trade Union resolution  
The resolution on the Negro Question

AIRTEL TO BUREAU  
NY 100-134637

- The resolution on youth.
- The resolution on women
- The statement of aims and purposes
- The resolution on Party organization
- The resolution on Puerto Rico.

Also in this package was a typewritten list of members of the new National Committee of the CP, USA, and a copy of a nine page report on Puerto Rico scheduled to be delivered by JUAN SANTOS RIVERA to the Secretariat of the CP, USA, on 1/13/60. (A copy of this item will be furnished to the Bureau by separate communication on 1/13/60.)

[redacted] suggested that CHILDS hand this package to him in the washroom of the restaurant, however, CHILDS suggested that they leave the restaurant together and CHILDS would pass the package to him outside of the restaurant. [redacted] agreed to this suggestion. They walked to the Sutphin Blvd. Station of the subway and on the way to the station CHILDS passed the package to [redacted]. Both entered the same subway station and the same subway train. CHILDS got off at the Union Turnpike Station and [redacted] stayed on the subway.

This meeting lasted from approximately 7 p.m. to 9:15 p.m.

Opinions of CG 5824-S\*

It appears obvious that [redacted] has received additional instructions from Moscow since the last meeting in November, 1959. It also appears obvious that the CPSU plans to carry through on all of its promises to the CP, USA, and that this operation is the only official contact between the CPSU and the CP, USA.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

D

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

TO Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: 1-12-60

FROM Mr. W. T. Forsyth

SUBJECT SOLO

*Jan 200  
Bryant*

At 7:28 p.m., on 1-12-60, ASAC (security) Norman A. McCabe of New York Office, telephonically advised that CG 5824-S had made the prearranged contact with Vladimir Barkovsky this evening. At this time, details as to what transpired at the meet were unknown. McCabe will advise the Bureau as to the results of the meet when available.

SA [redacted] and SA Andrew J. Decker were advised.

b6  
b7c

ACTION:

For your information.

*[Signature]*

*2*

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Decker
- 1 - Mr. Donohue
- 1 - Mr. Linton
- 1 - Mr. Forsyth

LA-102

WTF:mtb  
(7)

REC-181

JAN 17 1 15 PM '60

# 591  
428091-591

10 JAN 18 1960

55 JAN 22 1960



~~SECRET~~

1 - Liaison  
Mr. Decker

100-428091

*0-2010*

Date: January 18, 1960

To: Office of Security  
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

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

VIA LIAISON

*Delivered to James J. Neasey  
1/18/60  
JMT*

Reference is made to my letter dated December 14, 1959, forwarding to you a book in the Chinese language entitled "The Great Ten Years (Statistics of Economic and Cultural Achievement)," published by the People's Republic of China on September 1, 1959. For your information, this book has been downgraded from "Top Secret" to "Secret."

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Classified "~~Secret~~" inasmuch as the unauthorized use of this material could result in the disclosure of the source with resultant serious damage to the national defense.

The above book was obtained by CG 5824-S in Red China in October, 1959, at which time it was furnished only to heads of Communist Party delegations present in Peking, China. The State Department advised 1-13-60 that they are able to obtain a copy of this publication in Hong Kong. This publication can now be downgraded from "~~Top Secret~~" to "Secret" without endangering the informant's security.

100-428091-592

REC-96

JAN 19 1960

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

ENCLOSURE

62 JAN 20 1960

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

~~SECRET~~

EX-117

*W. J. ...*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 1/15/60

b7D

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

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re Bulet dated December 29, 1959, requesting that the Chicago Division submit a detailed accounting of the expenses of CG 5824-S\* on the last trip abroad by January 8, 1960.

Re Chicago letter dated December 31, 1959, stating that this information would be submitted no later than January 15, 1960.

CG 5824-S\* had difficulty locating some figures on expenses which were maintained by CG 5853-S, who is now so ill that she is semi-conscious or under sedation most of the time. Also, CG 5824-S\* was busy in New York City in regard to captioned case during the week of January 10, 1960. Thus, it will not be possible to submit a detailed accounting on this date. Barring unforeseen developments in regard to [redacted] this will be done during the week of January 17, 1960.

CG 5824-S\* originally took \$1,000 from the funds previously transmitted to the Communist Party - USA by the Soviet Union for his expenses. This had been authorized by EUGENE DENNIS. The Communist Party of China provided transportation for CG 5824-S\* from Moscow to Peking, and from Peking to the United States. The Communist Party of China also provided transportation for [redacted] from Moscow to Peking, and from Peking to Prague, Czechoslovakia. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union provided only housing and meals on this trip.

The detailed accounting will be submitted to the Bureau as soon as it can be worked out with CG 5824-S\*.

EX. - 138

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)  
1 - Chicago

JEK/kws  
(3)

REC-96 100-428091-593

19  
16 JAN 18 1960

55 JAN 22 1960

Handwritten signatures and stamps including "INT. SEC." and "100-428091-593".

Vertical stamp on the right margin, possibly "RECEIVED" or similar, with some illegible markings.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

SK  
100

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT *BAUM*

DATE: January 14, 1960

FROM : MR. F. J. BAUMGARDNER *BAUM*

- 1 - Mr. Parsons
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Decker

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*Baumgardner*  
*Baumgardner*  
*Decker*

New York by airtel 1-13-60 advised that at 7:00 p.m., 1-12-60, CG 5824-S and [redacted] counsel, Soviet delegation to the United Nations, held a previously scheduled meet in Queens, New York. They proceeded to Constantine's Restaurant, Hillside Avenue, New York City, where they held a lengthy discussion until 9:15 p.m.

[redacted] was quite interested in the 17th National Convention, Communist Party (CP), USA, and informant at [redacted]'s request discussed the proceedings at this convention in detail including the various resolutions adopted and the leadership elected. In addition, he furnished [redacted] information relating to the leadership problem in the New York State CP District. [redacted] was furnished by informant with copies of resolutions and other documents published as a result of the convention.

[redacted] commented that the cold war is far from over and many negotiations will have to be carried out. He stated that while the Soviet Union is prepared to negotiate, no one knows if the capitalist world will carry through the "spirit of Camp David."

Arrangements were perfected during this meet whereby CG 5824-S and NY 694-S will, in the future, not only receive money from the CP of the Soviet Union (CPSU) for the CPUSA but will receive money from the CPSU for delivery to Alexander Trachtenberg of International Publishers. [redacted] will contact NY 694-S at his New York City office between 1-20 and 1-24-60 to deliver money for Trachtenberg. [redacted] and CG 5824-S will make their next scheduled meet at the Forest Hills Theater, Queens, New York, 2-10-60, or in the alternative, 2-17-60. In addition, an arrangement was entered into enabling CG 5824-S or NY 694-S to contact [redacted] for an immediate meet in the event of an emergency.

CG 5824-S advised [redacted] that NY 694-S will leave the U.S. for Czechoslovakia between 1-20 and 2-1-60. [redacted] was pleased to learn that NY 694-S will travel illegally under an assumed name and [redacted] will furnish the assumed name to Moscow.

Although no money was delivered during this meet, [redacted] indicated that in the future, money will be delivered through meets between [redacted] and CG 5824-S or NY 694-S rather than through Canada. In addition, when informant advised [redacted] that the CP is planning to

55

JAN 22 1960

100-428091  
AJD:med  
(5)

EX-135

REC-14

100-428091-5915  
JAN 14 1960

10 JAN 21 1960

*Handwritten signatures and initials*

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

again publish the "Daily Worker," [redacted] stated, "I suppose you will want money for a daily paper," indicating that the Soviets will consider financing this communist news organ. b6  
b7c

Informant is of the opinion that [redacted] has received additional instructions from Moscow since 11-29-59 meet and that this operation is now the only official contact between the CPSU and the CPUSA.

ACTION:

For your information. We will continue to afford this matter close attention and you will be advised of all pertinent developments.

*bl*  
*[Handwritten initials]*

*[Handwritten initials]*

*[Handwritten initials]*  
1/14

*[Handwritten initials]*  
1/15

*[Handwritten initials]*

*[Handwritten initials]*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

*[Handwritten initials]*

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

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT *about*

DATE: January 15, 1960

FROM : MR. F. J. BAUMGARDNER *FJB*

- 1 - Mr. Parsons
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Decker

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*50*  
*168*

Solo is the code word utilized for the three missions to the Soviet Union, Red China and other Iron Curtain nations by CG 5824-S as the official representative of the Communist Party (CP), USA. My memoranda 12-14 and 17-59 advised that our second top informant, NY 694-S, would be utilized for a fourth Solo mission and would travel to Prague, Czechoslovakia, to establish contacts between the CPUSA and the Czechoslovakians and would contact the Red Chinese representatives to the "World Marxist Review" in Prague for the purpose of receiving funds promised to the CPUSA by the Red Chinese. The Red Chinese have indicated that they will furnish up to \$100,000 to the CPUSA by April, 1960, with immediate delivery of \$25,000. It is also quite possible that NY 694-S will travel to Moscow, Russia, to deliver documents to the Soviets from the 17th National Convention, CPUSA.

New York by airtel 1-14-60 advised that this informant will depart New York City 2-3-60 aboard the "Queen Mary" for France. He will arrive in Prague approximately 2-11-60.

With the approval of the Director, we furnished New York by letter dated 12-23-59 specific target assignments for the informant to accomplish on this mission. These assignments have been thoroughly discussed with informant. In addition, with the Director's approval, we have established an assumed identity for the informant which should serve to enhance his security. The exact duration of the informant's stay abroad is not known at this time and will, of course, depend on the circumstances in Czechoslovakia and whether he will continue on to Moscow.

OBSERVATIONS:

We are in the fortunate position today of having both of our top informants engaged in the Solo operations. This will likely result in more frequent trips abroad and in our obtaining very important information on the international level on a more current basis.

ACTION:

55 JAN 25 1960 *cg* For your information. We will continue to afford this matter very close attention and to apprise you of all pertinent developments.

TICKLER HELD  
FOR MR. TOLSON

100-428091  
AJD:med  
(5)

REC-58/100

AX-135

10 JAN 21 1960

INT SEC

*[Handwritten mark]*

*[Handwritten initials]*

F B I

Date: 1/14/60

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)  
SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

On 1/14/60, NY 694-S advised that on said date he made reservations to sail on 2/3/60 as a cabin passenger on the "Queen Mary" for France. He plans to arrive in Paris on 2/8/60, and to leave there on 2/9/60, for Brussels. He will be in Brussels on 2/9/60, and 2/10/60, and while there will obtain from the Czech Consulate his floating visa for travel to Prague.

2

1- RM-1243

- 3-Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
- 1-Chicago (134-46)-Sub B (SOLO) (Info) (RM)
- 1-New York (134-91) (INV.) (415)
- 1-New York (100-134637)

ACB:ume  
(7)

Memo Baumgardner  
to Belmont  
1/15/60  
ap/mep

REC-58

100-428091-597

10 21  
42 JAN 15 1960

EX-135

55 JAN 22 1960

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

cc Beck

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46) (Sub B)

DATE: 1/19/60

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*Br...*  
*B...*

Re Chicago letter dated November 20, 1959, containing a report from CG 5824-S\* which sets forth information primarily concerning FRANK and COE and VICTOR PERLO.

The following paragraphs are taken from page #2 of referenced Chicago letter:

"In regard to VICTOR PERLO, TANG Ming-chao and COE stated that some of the material PERLO has prepared is of no value to them. Yet, if he has worked up something of value in regard to economic matters in the United States, they would like to have it. Also, he should be the one to give guidance to the kind of material they receive in the economic field. They would prefer more statistical material. For example, PERLO should study Congressional hearings and give them the bare facts or direct them to some official Government or other documents dealing with economics and which would give them the bare facts....."

*PM*  
*F...*  
*...*

"During this discussion with COE, CHILDS arranged, with the permission of the Communist Party of China, for COE to send written communications to CHILDS at a post office box in Chicago."

*E*

On January 18, 1960, SA JOHN E. KEATING received a letter in a Chicago post office box, the number of which had previously been furnished to CG 5824-S\* by the Chicago Division and in turn CG 5824-S\* had furnished it to the representatives of the Communist Party of China. The letter is dated December 23, 1959, is addressed "Dear Sunny", and is signed "Nancy". CG 5824-S\* advised that the name NANCY probably has no significance, although it is noted that TANG Ming-chao has a daughter

ENCLOSURE

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encls. 2) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - Chicago

JEK/kws  
(4)

EX 101

10 JAN 25 1960

REC.

55 JAN 28 1960

99

CG 134-46 (Sub B)

named NANCY. The letter is postmarked January 8, 1960, at Hampstead N.W. 3. It is believed that Hampstead is a suburb or section in the Northwestern part of London, England.

CG 5824-S\* orally advised SA JOHN E. KEATING on January 18, 1960, that it is his opinion that this letter is from the Communist Party of China and was sent either by FRANK COE or TANG Ming-chao to someone in England, who re-mailed it. Further, that the requests set forth in the letter are directed to VICTOR PERLO.

CG 5824-S\* advised that he would attempt to convey the contents of this letter to PERLO through NY 694-S\*.

One photostat copy of the letter and the envelope are enclosed herewith to the Bureau and to the New York Division. The Chicago copies are located in Chicago file 134-46-Sub-B-1A (75).

*Handwritten:*  
New York  
1/18/60





Mr. Paul Martin,  
p.o. Box 1653,  
Chicago 90,  
ILLINOIS.



December 23, 1959

Dear Sunny,

I would like to receive by air mail as soon as you can send them the following recent reports:

1. Reports prepared for the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Senator Fulbright, Chairman) by various private organizations under contract. Those I have noticed are reports by the Conlon Associates of San Francisco, the University of Pennsylvania (Institute of International Affairs), the (New York) Council on Foreign Relations, the Princeton Center of International Affairs, the Stanford Research Institute(?) and John Hopkins University. I understand there are also some by Harvard, Yale, M.I.T., Michigan State University, etc. There may be others, which should also be sent.

These reports (which have been noted on the press) are presumably being published by the Senate Committee and are available from it or the U.S. Government Printing Office, or perhaps from the organizations which did the work.

2. The fourth (December, 1959) report of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund on U.S. policy. This is on sale at book stores, etc.

3. 1959-60 Policy Declaration on World Affairs published by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, pamphlets under the general title "Decisions for a Better America" prepared by the Republican Committee on Programme and Progress, pamphlets under the title "Programmes for Action" prepared by the Democratic Party Advisory Council, "Republic of China", a pamphlet prepared by the State Department.

In the near future, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will publish other reports on foreign policy prepared for it by outside agencies. These and whatever other publications on the subject of U.S. foreign policy I too would like to get by air mail.

With Best Regards,

Sincerely yours

*Nancy*

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-361868)

1/19/60

SAC, NEW YORK (65-15026)

[REDACTED]

IS-R

Re NY letter 12/3/59 and NY airtel 1/13/60 entitled, "SOLO; IS-C".

Referenced letter reflected that the NYO had established a pattern of activities through fisurs concerning subject and would continue to maintain discreet periodic fisurs of subject with the exception that no fisurs would be conducted one week prior or subsequent to scheduled meets with highly placed confidential informants.

Referenced airtel reflected subject engaged in a meet with a highly confidential informant in the NYC area on 1/13/60 and that additional meets probably will be made on a continuing basis.

In view of scheduled meets during the remainder of January, and February 1960 and as subject has not been under surveillance for several weeks, it would appear that subject is not suspicious of FBI activity or the lack thereof. It is recommended that no fisur of subject be conducted until at least the latter part of February, 1960, at which time the matter will be given further consideration.

The above is furnished for information and no fisur of subject will be conducted, UACB.

- 3- Bureau (100-361868) (RM)
- 1- (100-428091) (SOLO)
- 2- Chicago (134-46) (RM)
- 1- New York (65-15026)
- 1- New York (100-135637) (SOLO)

NOT RECORDED  
78 JAN 21 1960

51 JAN 26 1960

ORIGINAL FILED IN

F B I

Date: 1/21/60

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

AIRTEL

REGISTERED

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637) (415)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

On 1/21/60, NY 694-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past (conceal), orally furnished the following information to SA [redacted]

At 3:20 p.m., 1/21/60, [redacted] entered the office of NY 694-S\*, cordially greeted and shook hands with informant. [redacted] made small talk regarding informant's business and informant's health. NY 694-S\* started to lock the door to the office, and [redacted] indicated there was no need for this, as he had nothing on him. When informant stated business could be better, [redacted] stated, "I'll give you some orders."

[redacted] then inquired as to where the washroom was and when told it was on the floor below, he looked down the hallway and having assured himself the hall was clear, departed.

In exactly two minutes, [redacted] returned, carrying a bundle the size of a shoebox, wrapped in brown paper and sealed with gummed tape. He gave this package to the informant and the

- 3 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub-B) (INFO) (RM)
- 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-134637-Sub B (415)
- 1 - NY 100-134637 (415) - BT

DR:msb (41)  
(8)

REC-48 100-428091-599

JAN 22 1960

*Memorandum  
B'g...  
Bel...  
1/22/60  
ADD*

*REC-48*  
*INDEXED*  
*SEARCHED*

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

Special Agent in Charge  
55 JAN 28 1960 99

NY 100-134637

informant placed it on the floor.

NY 694-S\* commented that undoubtedly [redacted] must have had a confederate within the building and possibly on the floor above or below who made available the package.

[redacted] wrote on a piece of paper, "When are you leaving?", a reference to informant's plans to travel abroad. Informant wrote on the piece of paper, "2/3," and [redacted] answered, "How?" Informant wrote, "Queen Mary," and [redacted] wrote, "Very good--make sure you have a good time." In response to an indication by the informant, [redacted] wrote that there was nothing else, "except he knows she is very sick and give him (CG 5824-S\*) my best." [redacted] then shook hands with informant and stated, "We'll see you the next time."

NY 694-S\* estimates the total time of the above meet as ten minutes. Informant commented that [redacted] solicited no receipt.

NY 694-S\* had to rush to place money in safe deposit box before the bank closed and was only able to estimate the total funds received as follows:

9 bundles of 100 - \$50.00 bills	\$45,000.00
8 bundles of 100 - \$20.00 bills	16,000.00
11 bundles of 100 - \$10.00 bills	11,000.00
An odd bundle of 80 - \$10.00 bills and 17 - \$5.00 bills	885.00
Estimated amount received:	\$72,885.00

NY 100-134637

Informant advised that the odd bundle mentioned above was the "dirtiest" and oldest money he had ever seen. The bills were covered with what appears to be soil, some of them contained a gold seal, and some of them contained the stamp, "Hawaii."

In view of the fact that there is a security risk involved in the informant's transporting this money and furnishing it to an agent, and since the checking of the serial numbers against listed serial numbers maintained by this office has not been productive, UACB, the informant will be instructed to merely furnish us with the total amount of money he received, breaking it down according to denominations, but will not be required to physically furnish the money to us for perusal and recording of serial numbers.

Office Memorandum UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

b6  
b7c

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: December 9, 1959

FROM : MR. F. J. BAUMGARDNER

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

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS:

Solo is the code name for the operation involving CP 5824-S as the official liaison representative between the Communist Party (CP), USA, and top-level leaders of the CPs of the Soviet Union, Red China and other Iron Curtain nations.

Chicago by letter 12-3-59 recommends incentive awards to SAs John E. Keating and Carl N. Freyman in the amount of \$1,000 each and incentive award to Stenographer [redacted] in the amount of \$150 based on their outstanding performances in connection with the completion of Solo missions Number 2 and 3. In addition, Chicago suggests that informant be given a bonus payment of \$1,000 and a personal letter from the Director in appreciation of his services and sacrifices.

In connection with Solo Number 2, informant attended the 21st Congress, CP of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in January and February, 1959, as the official representative of the CPUSA. He conferred with high-ranking officials of the Soviet Union as well as officials of other CPs and obtained valuable information of an intelligence nature including the Russian attitude toward the Berlin situation as well as the Soviet-Union's attitude toward other CPs.

The most recent Solo mission was an outstanding success. Informant met with the top leaders of the CP of China including Liu Shao-chi, president of Red China, and Mao Tse-tung, head of the CP of China; with leading functionaries of the CPSU including members of the Presidium and Central Committee as well as leading functionaries of Latin American CPs and of the CPs of Czechoslovakia, Spain and Japan. Informant successfully re-established direct contact in the U.S. with the Soviets which will be used for transmittal of funds and communications and developed information that Soviets will furnish \$200,000 to the CPUSA for 1960. He made arrangements for future contacts with the CPs of Czechoslovakia in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and the possible transmittal of \$100,000 to the CPUSA from the CP of China. He developed information concerning the type of reception the President can expect in Russia and

Enclosures  
100-428091

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Administrative Division
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Decker

AJL:mod (5)

*from Taylor to [unclear] 12/14/59*  
*Santa Clara 1/21/60*

See Addendum of Administrative Division page 66.

*3-12/11*

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through his discussions with Liu Shao-chi and other top Chinese officials, he developed valuable intelligence information regarding Chinese foreign policy, its attitude toward Soviet Russia, the differences existing between China and the Soviet Union and China's attitude toward membership in the United Nations. As a result of informant's contacts with leading functionaries of the CPs of Latin American nations as well as leading CP functionaries of Spain and Japan, informant developed excellent intelligence information concerning the activities of these CPs such as the extensive infiltration by Cuban communists into the Cuban Cabinet and Armed Forces, the pact existing between CP of Argentina and the Peronists and successfully established methods for maintaining future contacts with these CPs, thus assuring the Bureau of a flow of important intelligence information in the future.

OBSERVATIONS:

1. The outstanding information developed as a result of Solo mission Number 3 is due to a large extent to the excellent and careful planning of this operation both in the field and at the Seat of Government. Prior to informant's departure on this mission, the Seat of Government prepared with the Director's approval specific targets for the informant to accomplish which resulted in our obtaining this outstanding and specific information.
2. This information is of inestimable value to the Bureau and the Government not only from an intelligence standpoint but of considerable aid to the President and the Secretary of State in our country's dealings with other nations, particularly the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Japan and Latin American nations. This information would not be available through any other source and certainly represents the most outstanding achievement in the Bureau's internal security field. The information included such matters as the current thinking of Russia and Red China, our most powerful potential enemies, Czechoslovakian activities in the U.S., the campaign initiated by the CP of Japan against renewal of the security treaty between the U.S. and Japan and CP activities in Spain, Cuba and Argentina.
3. It is quite important to note that informant was able to establish future contacts with the CPs in numerous Latin American and European countries as well as Red China which should assure our receiving valuable information in the future concerning these CPs.



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4. The information developed during this Solo operation has been disseminated with the Director's approval to the Vice President, the White House, the Secretary of State, the Director of Central Intelligence Agency and the Attorney General under a "Top Secret" classification.

5. The outstanding success of this operation and our ability to disseminate information of this type to high-level Government officials without any delay certainly enhances the Bureau's reputation as the outstanding intelligence agency in the world.

RECOMMENDATIONS BY SAC, CHICAGO:

Recommendations deleted in Personnel -  
See Original.

The Solo operation pertains to liaison activities of CG 5824-S between the Communist Party (CP), USA, and the CPs of the Soviet Union, Red China and other Iron Curtain nations. Informant was in the Soviet Union during January and February, 1959, in connection with the 21st Congress of the CPSU. While in Russia he conferred with many top-ranking Soviet functionaries including members of the Presidium and the Central Committee of the CPSU and obtained such pertinent information as the Russian attitude toward Berlin.

In connection with the most recent phase of this operation, the informant returned to the U.S. on 11-11-59 following a seven-week stay in Russia and Red China. Upon his return, informant was exhaustively interviewed by the Chicago Office and the results furnished to the Bureau. This information has been carefully analyzed by the Bureau and disseminated under a "Top Secret" classification to high-ranking Government officials. While the information obtained during Solo missions 1 and 2 was extremely valuable, the information developed during the most recent operation was outstanding and of inestimable value to the Bureau and the U.S. Government not only from an intelligence standpoint but of a considerable aid to the President and the Secretary of State in our nation's dealings with other countries, particularly the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Japan and Latin American countries. The tremendous success of Solo trip number 3 is due to a large measure to the Bureau's decision to prepare specific targets or missions for the informant to accomplish during his trip to the Soviet Union and Red China. A detailed study of this matter was made by appropriate sections within the Domestic Intelligence Division under the coordination of the Internal Security Section. The final objectives were approved by the Director and forwarded to Chicago by letter dated 7-29-59 so that the informant could be properly briefed in advance. The objectives which included matters

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relating to the CPUSA as well as matters relating to international affairs were followed closely by the informant and resulted in our obtaining the specific valuable information furnished by informant.

Immediately prior to the scheduled departure of informant for Solo number 3, his wife who has suffered from incurable cancer for some time worsened and informant was naturally reluctant to travel for an extended period of time without her. This problem was resolved by the Bureau through the preparation of a suitable birth certificate for informant's wife and through arrangements which enabled her to receive a passport almost immediately. b7D

During Solo mission number 3, informant developed specific and detailed information concerning activities and plans of CPs in a number of countries. He met and had intimate discussions with such top-level communist leaders as Liu Shao-chia, president of Red China; Tang Ming-chao of the International Liaison Department, Central Committee, CP of China; Wang Chia-hsiang, head of the International Department, CP of China; Mao Tse-tung, head of the CP of China; Li Fu-chun, vice-chairman of China; Otto Kuusinen of the Presidium of the CPSU; Boris Ponomarev, head of the International Department, CPSU; Mikhail Suslov, member of the Presidium, CPSU; and Nikolai Mostovets, head of the North and South American Sections, International Department, CPSU. In addition, informant had personal contact with Harry Pollitt, chairman, CP of Great Britain; Luiz Carlos Prestes, CP of Brazil; Apostolos Grozos, chairman of CP of Greece; Khaled Bakbash, leader of the CP of Syria; Tzvi Breitste of the CP of Israel; George Pirinsky of the CP of Bulgaria; Doloros Ibarruri, secretary general of the CP of Spain; and Anibal Escalante, secretary of the CP of Cuba; Victorio Codovilla of the CP of Argentina; and Gustav Soucek, head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CP of Czechoslovakia.

The following are some of the specific results of Solo number 3:

1. Informant established himself as the CP's international contact with the CPSU, Chinese CP and other CPs of the world and established means of contact with many CPs for communication purposes.
2. Informant re-established direct contact in the U.S. between Soviets and the CPUSA for transmittal of communications and funds which contact had been discontinued earlier by the Soviets. A contact was made as a result of this arrangement on 11-25-59.

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3. The informant has completed preliminary steps for an apparatus for direct contacts with the CP of China at Prague, Czechoslovakia, and for direct contact between the CP of China and the CPUSA for funds. This apparatus is under consideration by the CPUSA and will possibly involve our second top informant, NY 694-S, if the CPUSA contact apparatus is to be in Prague.

4. Informant determined that the Soviet Union will furnish \$200,000 to the CPUSA for 1960 and that the CP of China has offered to furnish \$100,000 to the CPUSA within the next six months.

5. As a result of lengthy discussions with top-ranking Chinese officials, informant developed information which should be of assistance to the President during his trip to Southern Europe and Southeast Asia.

6. He determined through his visit to China and the Soviet Union the Chinese attitude toward the Soviets and circumstances indicating that there are definite differences between these countries as they relate to foreign policies and internal affairs. He was able to determine that the Chinese foreign policy is, "Do not give the imperialist a respite."

7. He determined through contact with the secretary of the CP of Cuba that the Cuban revolution is fundamentally deeper than it appears and that the left is in the Armed Forces and it is making inroads into the Cabinet.

8. As a result of discussions with Soviet leadership he determined that the Soviets consider the most important problem that of developing a new relationship between the USA and the U.S.S.R. and that they are willing to make concessions in a diplomatic sense but not in an ideological sense.

9. Informant determined that President Eisenhower will get a tremendous reception in Moscow and that the Soviet people are genuinely fond of the President.

10. He determined through conversations with the chairman of the CP of Japan that this CP is initiating a campaign in coalition with the Socialist Party against the Japanese - American security treaty and against U.S. military bases on Japanese soil.

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11. He ascertained through his conversations with a leading CP member from Argentina that this Party is joining forces with the Peronists and in the event the Peronists overthrow the Argentinian Government, the CP of Argentina will demand a coalition Government.

The above examples certainly indicate the extraordinary value of the information developed by our informant during this third Solo mission. It is impossible to put a money value on the information received as it would not be available through any other source. This information which has been disseminated on a high level will certainly enhance the Bureau's reputation as the world's leading intelligence agency.