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Op-321E/jhw

13 November 1949

From: Op-321E
To : Op-322F1C

Subject: Indicators of the State of Soviet
Preparation for War.

Reference: (a) Request to Op-321E for information,
from CDR. Goldsborough, Op-322F1C,
on 15 November 1949.

Enclosure: (A) Outline, "International Strategic (less (A))
Communism" taken from memorandum
of 7 November 1949, prepared by Mr.
James J. Hitchcock of CIA.
(B) Basic outline of Significant Situa-
tions or Trends in the International
Communist Subversive Program.

1. In response to reference (a), enclosure (A) was transmitted to Op-322Y1 for comment as being a matter of possible joint interest to Op-321E, Op-322Y1E and Op-322Y2G.

2. Because it was obviously impossible to produce a comprehensive paper in three (3) days, enclosure (B) is submitted merely to form a basis for discussion and to point up the necessity for defining more closely the type of "Indicators" desired by the Interdepartmental Committee headed by Mr. Hitchcock of CIA.

3. Op-321E was advised on 17 November 1949 that Commander Cole of Op-322Y1 is a member of the Hitchcock Committee and has invited Mr. Hitchcock's attention to the fact that further exploratory committee meetings are necessary before detailed research can be undertaken in the field of Espionage, Sabotage and Subversion. For example, the shift in Party line, Party purges and the expansion and contraction of "front" organizations frequently represent nothing more than the application of Soviet tactics to the solution of a strategic problem by all methods short of war. The analysis of such activities, in order to select "Indicators of Pre-

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Op-321E/Jhw

18 November 1949

Subject: Indicators of the State of Soviet
Preparation of War.

paration for War", necessitates evaluation not only of the particular events but of parallel groups of events over a period of years. For that reason, and in order to produce a comprehensive paper, it is considered desirable to begin with the world situation in 1945 and trace developments in the subversive field since that time. However, enclosure (B) is limited to events occurring during the past year.

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William Abbott

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Copy to:
Op-322Y1 w/encl (B)

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Originated by W. Abbott
Op-321E - Ext 75711/75694
18 Nov. 1949 - Whyte, YN1

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GENERAL

Since 1945, the International Communists have been expanding, perfecting and using their world-wide subversive apparatus in an effort to bring about World Revolution and to achieve their objective of World-domination. With this weapon, the Kremlin has successfully furthered its foreign policy and expanded its sphere of influence and control without being obliged to resort to an open shooting war. Pressure exerted on the free world through the National and International components of this Apparatus has frequently resulted in situations which appear to be dangerously near open warfare or at least part of a "build up" for war.

Because subversion has been used as an alternative to war, it is difficult to narrow down "Indicators of Approaching War" in this field. However, an examination of the case history of the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia may be of some help in this connection. There, the successful Communist action of taking over the country was timetabled to coincide with the threat of war in the form of the presence of the Red Army in a state of readiness at the Czechoslovakian borders and the successful subversive penetration of key governmental and industrial establishments within the country.

The problem is further complicated by the Soviet practice of deception, an example of which is the acceleration of the subversive program carried out in Western Europe and the Mediterranean during a period when a major effort was being carried out to gain control of China and other areas in the Far East.

In view of the above, the definition of "Indicators of Preparation of War" might be expanded to include "indicators of preparation to take over control of a particular area either by war or by means of a subversive program short of war".

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| ENCLOSURE (B) TO ONI TOP SECRET CONTROL No. 7432/5 |
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WORLD-WIDE

"We Won't Fight Russia"

1. On 22 February 1949, Maurice THOREZ, Secretary General of the French Communist Party stated that "if the Red Army should occupy France, it would be welcomed without opposition as a liberating force". Supporting statements were made by Communist Party officials in at least 15 other countries.

Peace Conferences

2. Following is a list of major "international peace conferences" whose ostensible purpose was the furtherance of peace throughout the world. However, in each instance they merely served as sounding boards for anti-U.S. propaganda. This is borne out by the fact that while much discussion of peace occurred at these conferences, no concrete proposals were formulated.

- August 1948 - World Congress for Intellectuals for Peace, Breslaw, Poland.
- March 1949 - Cultural and Scientific conference for World Peace, New York
- April 1949 - World Congress of Partisans of Peace, Paris
- April 1949 - Prague. Apparently arranged on short notice to accomodate members of various delegates in excess of quota for visas allowed by France
- August 1949 - All Union Conference of Defenders of Peace, Moscow
- Sept. 1949 - American Continental Congress for Peace, Mexico City.

World Federation of Trade Unions

3. In June 1949, the establishment of "Trade Departments" highlighted the WFTU committee meetings held in France and Italy. Those already in operation are the following: International Federation of Seamen and Dock Workers, Metal Workers, Textile, Fur and Leather, Wood Construction, Material and Building Trade, Petroleum, Transport (excluding dock and maritime), Farming and Forestry, Food, Posts and Telegraphs, Radio and Chemical Industries.

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4. An example of the functioning of one of the trade departments of the Communist controlled WFTU is the International Federation of Seamen and Dockworkers, whose President, Harry BRIDGES, is also the President of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILO). Reports have indicated that the paralyzing strike of the ILWU in Hawaii this year may have been a "test run" to determine how completely a country's economy could be disrupted. During this same period the Communist dominated Canadian Seamen's Union brought about a jurisdictional strike which was supported in the U.K. and Australia. There were short token sympathy strikes in France and North Africa. The foregoing maneuver illustrates the potential threat of the International Federation of Seamen and Dockworkers to call maritime sympathy strikes on a virtually global scale. An indication of an attempt to expand control was the recent trip of BRIDGES' Lieutenant, Justo de la Cruz, to the Philippines for the purpose of organizing Philippine maritime labor. In line with the general trend toward intensification of Communist activity in the maritime field is the announcement of the International Federation of Seamen and Dockworkers of a Pacific basin conference of maritime workers to be convened in the near future.

5. Unconfirmed reports indicate that para-military forces have been organized or are in the process of being organized in many European, Middle Eastern and North African countries which, in the event of war, will act under orders from the Soviet Union. A para-military command post directed by Marshall Koniev is allegedly set up in Odessa and will give orders to these forces until each country is occupied by the Red Army. Reportedly Koniev has liaison officers from each non-satellite European country and Turkey.

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New Tactics

6. Utilize regularly constituted political parties as "fronts"
7. Relax controls temporarily in order to draw anti-Communist opposition out into the open.
8. Break publicly with Communist Party in order to camouflage Communist Party activities.

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UNITED STATES

Following Maurice THOREZ' statement of 22 February 1949, William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis, Chairman and General Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., respectfully, declared in early March 1949 that in the event "Wall Street succeeded in starting a new World War despite the efforts of peace forces to prevent it, American Communists would oppose such an unjust aggressive imperialist war and would work with all democratic forces to bring that war to an end".

I. PEACE OFFENSIVE

1. Following the Kremlin's "Propaganda of Fear" program, U.S. Communists have created new "fronts" and intensified their activities in established "fronts" to carry out the peace campaign.

II. SABOTAGE

1. Industrial Concentration
 - a. In 1948, Communist Party members, including "white collar" members and college students, were directed to obtain employment in basic U.S. industries for the purpose of sabotage in the event of hostilities.
2. Industrial Slow-down
 - a. Reportedly, Communist Party members in industry have been directed to initiate slow-down tactics
3. Just prior to hostilities intensified acts of sabotage may be anticipated
 - a. It may be expected that disruption of transportation and communications of the Western Hemisphere through inter-locking directorates of "fronts" and infiltrated and controlled labor groups will be attempted by the C.P., U.S.A.
 - b. Bacteriological sabotage attempts may be expected in strategic areas such as Washington, D.C., and atomic plant locations.

III. ESPIONAGE

1. There has been a constant intensification of Communist and Soviet efforts to gain information regarding U.S. research data.

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2. Such agencies as Amtorg, Four Continent Book Corporation and Franklyn Square Agency have purchased thousands of technical journals, research reports, military publications and other bona fide documents and periodicals.
3. Hundreds of requests from individuals abroad are made for all forms of information concerning the U. S.

IV. PROPAGANDA

1. Recent Communist inspired propaganda has been directed against
 - a. North Atlantic Pact, Marshall Plan and Arms for Europe
 - b. Federal Intelligence Agencies
 - c. Economic stability of the U.S.

V. SCIENTIFIC "FRONTS"

1. Creation of new "fronts" and infiltration of old established scientific organizations
2. Reportedly, an atomic "front" is to be created in the Western World whose membership can be influenced to join eventual strike movements in the atomic industry.
3. Communist inspired propaganda theme of scientific fronts is the free exchange of scientific data

VI. TACTICS

1. Utilization of regularly constituted political parties as "fronts"
2. Possibility of diversion of Communist Party members to the Progressive Party and American Labor Party in the event of the formal dissolution of the CP, USA.
3. Members break publicly with the Party in order to camouflage their activities.

VII. SECURITY MEASURES -

1. During the past year, the Party has developed extreme security measures to protect its membership
2. Reportedly, all members are being checked to determine their standards and activities. All unsuitable and suspicious members are to be dropped from the Party.
3. Intensified underground activities of the Party is indicated by the discontinuance of membership cards, reduction in size of clubs, restrictions on the use of telephones and mails and the destruction of Party records.

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LATIN AMERICA

The Kremlin policy in Latin America seems to be, in the event of hostilities, to deny to the United States strategic raw materials.

Industrial Concentration

1. In October 1948, the Cominform reportedly instructed Communists to attempt to take over key positions in major Mexican industries in order to serve the interests of the U.S.S.R. in the event of war.
2. Since his return from the WFTU Conference in July 1949 in Milan, Italy, Vicente LOMBARDO TOLEDANO, President of the CTAL (Latin American Federation of Labor) and the primary Soviet apologist in Latin America, discussed future tasks of the CTAL. Communist labor leaders have been instructed to direct their efforts toward recruiting new members in the factories, especially those of strategic importance. The ultimate objective is to weaken labor federations not affiliated with CTAL, and to strengthen CTAL affiliates in each country to the extent it will be the only powerful federation. Thus, the machinery for ultimate paralyzing strike action or physical sabotage would be established.

Propaganda

3. The long range success of the international peace conferences as a phase of the Soviet "Peace Offensive" depends on the activities of the proposed permanent national peace committees being set up in the various countries of Latin America.

Liaison between CPs

4. The International Communist movement in Latin America is apparently directed from Mexico through the International Political Bureau of CTAL. It is primarily interested in maintaining well oriented, well coordinated and well organized Communist groups who, in case of war (declared or undeclared, hot or cold) between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., will be effective in attacking not only the policies, programs and propaganda of the U.S., but also directly attacking U. S. establishments, property and even nationals.

Petroleum Sabotage

5. As a result of the Latin American Petroleum Conference held in Tampico, Mexico in September 1948, with representatives from several Latin American countries, Communists resolved to stop all shipments of oil to the U.S.

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Latin America

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and the U. K. in case of hostilities. Sabotage of the oil industry is considered the first objective of the Communists in Latin America.

6. According to information of August 1949, a Communist labor meeting was held in Milan, Italy, at which the delegation from Venezuela was the largest of those from the eastern Hemisphere. Jesus FARIA, top Communist labor leader of Venezuela was designated a member of the committee appointed to prepare and disseminate a report of the accomplishments of the meeting of the oil workers throughout the world. The main purpose of this meeting was to discuss a constitution for a Department of Petroleum Workers in the WFTU. Plans were made for a constitutional convention to be held in Mexico City at which FARIA would play an important role.

Kremlin Directives

7. At the American Congress for Peace held in Mexico City in September 1949, LOMBARDO TOLEDANO furnished Communist Louis GOLDBLATT, ILWU's International Secretary-Treasurer, a list of specific industries on the West Coast of the U. S. which should be infiltrated by U. S. Communists. A number of the plants listed have important U. S. military contracts.

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WESTERN EUROPE

Among the countries of Western Europe, France has assumed major importance in terms of the International Communist Subversive Apparatus, for the following reasons:

- (a) Size of C.P.
- (b) Meeting place for International "fronts"
- (c) Place where Party officials from West come to discuss policy and receive instructions
- (d) Springboard from which anti-Western propaganda is launched.

In many cases, the above activities in France are integrated with those in Italy.

Tactics

1. During the last few months a shift in C.P. tactics from one of violence to one of a "soft-pedal" nature has been evidenced in most of the countries of Western Europe. The new policy appears to be in line with the general tightening up process, due to loss in popularity of Communist propaganda appeal, waning Communist numerical strength in labor because of failures in recent political strikes, and general shrinking of CP membership. On the surface their policy might seem to be more liberalized, with emphasis placed on "peace" propaganda in order to attract the greatest number of people, but in reality the CPs are becoming more militarized, by purging dissenters, forming "hard cores" of reliable members, and intensified training. "Military action groups" are beginning to appear in factories, shops and villages.

Government Infiltration

2. Allegedly, under Cominform orders, the Communists are stepping up the infiltration of government agencies, both civil and military, in order to place CP members in key posts for sabotage purposes.

3. In France it is a well known fact that the Atomic Energy Commission is headed by an avowed Communist, Dr. Frederic JOLIOT-CURIE, who is in a position to pass atomic energy information to the U.S.S.R. It is also reported that "ONERA" (Office of Basic Air Research) in France is heavily infiltrated both among technicians and administration workers.

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Sabotage

4. An example of sabotage of French armament production is the reported setting up of a sabotage organization to operate in all French factories working for National Defense, slowing down production and producing defective parts.

5. Le Havre longshoremen announced in October 1948 that "no future shipment of munitions received from U.S. will be handled by them irrespective of the country of final destination".

"Nordic Cominform"

6. In Scandinavia, a "Nordic Cominform" has reportedly been formed, with Helsinki as headquarters. One of its aims was to place reliable Communists in strategic points.

7. In October 1948 strike activity was organized at a secret meeting of Scandinavian CP leaders, presumably upon orders of the Cominform, and the strikes which followed were also possibly linked to the underground Soviet "TROIKA" organization, a representative of which was also at the above secret meeting. One recent concrete example of sabotage against Government defense projects in Norway was the refusal of CP-dominated Oslo local of Building Workers Union to work on military airfields, shelters and fortifications.

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SATELLITE COUNTRIES

1. Tightening of Soviet control and acceleration of Communist objectives have been apparent in all satellite countries, except Yugoslavia, whose divergence from Moscow's orbit should be considered separately. In the other so-called "Iron Curtain" states headlong progress has been made in preparing these republics to be incorporated into the USSR should the Kremlin consider such union expedient.

Organizing tactics which have been increasing apparently during the past year are the following:

(a) Soviet form of Government, movement toward

In Hungary a new constitution has been adopted which closely resembles that of the Soviet Union and other "advanced" Peoples Republics.

(b) Government Security

Government power has been further protected by insuring adequate, well organized and loyal police, reinforced in many cases by people's militia.

(c) Russians and/or Moscow trained officials in posts of control.

There is a growing tendency throughout the satellite countries to place Russians or Moscow trained officials in posts of control. Certain countries have "voluntarily" requested Soviet guidance. As a result, Russian experts are assuming leadership in the military forces as well as in the fields of politics and economy.

(d) Communist Parties, strengthening of.

Emphasis has been placed upon improving the quality of Party membership. There is no longer striving to expand the membership rolls. Purifying and raising the standard of Communist membership is achieved through screening, purges, and probation periods. Each CP member, old or new, is subjected to extensive

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(d) Communist Parties, strengthening of (cont'd)

indoctrination and Communist propaganda, insistence on complete subservience to Russia being emphasized.

(e) Control of Youth - the answer to Communist Party opposition.

Death by natural and other causes is constantly reducing the effectiveness of resistance within the satellite republics. At the same time, strict measures are taken to separate young people from any influences, including family ties, which might weaken their allegiance to the USSR. This growing hold on youth is observed in the following policies:

- Youth organizations
- Communist control of education
- Insistence that children and young people report on the activities of their parents and thus participate in the intelligence network of their communities.

(f) Maintenance of cooperative alignments with other CPs.

Individual CPs, while controlling their respective governments, serve as puppets of the Russian CP, playing whatever role their parent organization dictates. Reportedly, annual Communist meetings are well attended by representatives not only of Communist parties belonging to other satellite countries but by delegates from all over the world. It is believed therefore that such meetings as well as membership in such international "fronts" as the WFOY and the IUS serves to keep Communist policy unified and obedient to Moscow's direction.

(g) Intelligence

The USSR is exploiting satellite intelligence resources both within the respective Balkan countries and abroad. Reports indicate that within the past year definite improvement has been made in the machinery for effecting these ends.

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(h) Training

An increase in training facilities and in the insistence upon training has been noted in the following fields:

- Communist dogma and political education
- Russian language
- Agitation
- Intelligence
- Propaganda
- Specific Techniques for selected personnel such as street fighting, partisan fighting, reconnaissance, liaison, etc.

(i) "Volunteer" Projects

Acceleration of public works programs by use of "volunteer" youth groups and older members of the community on their "free" days.

(j) Control of agricultural economy.

There has been a definite drive to have the state absorb large land holdings of individual farmers and to redistribute them in the form of state controlled cooperatives. This movement, while apparently successful in some places, appears to be still one of the weakest parts of the Soviet program.

(k) Religion

Promotion of atheism, and when this is not feasible, use of religion as a Soviet tool in order to influence people to whom atheism would be unacceptable. All churches are being made subservient to the local governments.

YUGOSLAVIA

2. Yugoslavia follows much the same internal policies as her neighbors, but she is ostracised from all Soviet-Satellite benefits, both political and economic. Russia has been quick to exploit Yugoslav factionalism as a

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means of detecting and eliminating those Communists from the satellite republics whose adherence to Moscow is not "hard core". At the same time, Communist propaganda is using the purge trials as platforms from which to belch forth anti-American propaganda. Another aspect of this situation is that United States aid to Yugoslavia is likewise being used to foment anti-U. S. propaganda in America and elsewhere.

The threat of war implied by the massing of satellite troops at Yugoslavia's frontiers and by other Cominform inspired incidents has thrown the world into a state of suspense which, even should it not lead to actual shooting, will probably increase U. S. expenditure in that part of the world, while Russia benefits by the practice given to her personnel and by the tempering of her apparatus.

MEDITERRANEAN

GREECE

1. Under Russian aegis, satellite and other Communist Party support of the Greek guerrillas has resulted in the United States pouring money and energy into the task of upholding the non-Communist regime there. At the moment, most of the guerrillas have been chased over the borders so that only a negligible number remains in Greece. But this does not signify that either the war or the peace has been won. Reportedly the Greek people fear that the current lull may be used to persuade the U. S. to withdraw adequate aid to Greece and/or to force Greece to come to unfortunate peace terms with the guerrillas. Should either of the foregoing calamities come to pass, it would mean eventual Communist control of Greek territory which would be equivalent to another Soviet victory.

CYPRUS

2. The situation in Cyprus has certain aspects which distinguish it from Communist penetration of other parts of the world. AKEL, the CP of Cyprus, in proportion to the size of this small island, appears to be one of the largest and most vigorous in the Middle East. Active both in the fields of politics and labor, it also sponsors union with Greece (Enosis) in order to gain sympathizers.

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It would seem apparent that Russia is encouraging Communism in Cyprus as part of an overall plan for the Middle East. Considering the strategic importance of this island, particularly should it come under Soviet control, this inference seems logical and timely. Unconfirmed information has likewise been received which indicates that Nicosia is the center of Arab Communism. There where a strong Communist Party reportedly prevails, the Party keeps in constant contact with Communists in Bucharest. It is also claimed that "Cyprus is not only the merchandise smuggling center of the Arab countries, but also the center of ideological smuggling".

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MIDDLE EAST

During the past year the Soviets have expanded and are attempting to consolidate the position of their subversive organization in the Middle East in order to damage U. S. foreign policy, disrupt the carefully integrated Economic Cooperation Program in Western Europe and in order to be in a position to deny the vital Middle East sources of oil to the Western Allies in the event of hostilities. The International Communists appear to have capitalized upon the situation brought about by the growing State of Israel and Haifa is reported to have become the center from which Communist activities are directed throughout the Middle East.

The following are illustrative of some of the general types of activities carried out during the past year.

1. Attempts to infiltrate Soviet agents into Middle East to damage Anglo-American oil interests through subversion and sabotage.
2. Wave of violence to create political chaos initiated or encouraged by International Communists.
3. Screening process for admission to Israel geared to bring Soviet trained agents into the country.
4. Organization of an Israel Peace Congress, affiliated with the Communist controlled French "Peace Partisans". This is but one of an increasing number of Communist "front" organizations which have become prominent during the past year. These national groups are affiliating with the International Communist "fronts".
5. Utilization of Russian Orthodox Church in many parts of Middle East to transmit funds to local Communist Parties and to cover gathering of intelligence as well as for propaganda.
6. Establishment of ties between CP organizations in Israel and the United States. Accomplished by advances of funds to Israel through such agencies as the International Workers Order and the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order. In addition, the Communist controlled International Fur and Leather Workers Union (CIO) sent a delegation to work in Israel on construction.

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FAR EAST

Military success in China has provided a springboard for intensified Communist activity in the other Asian countries. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, a softening-up process, employing subversive propaganda, infiltration of secret agents, agitational tactics, etc., is in effect. Primary targets are Indochina, Indonesia, Hong Kong and Taiwan, but none of the South East Asian countries appear to be excluded from the broad Communist strategy.

Liaison between CPs

1. There have been indications of effective liaison between the Chinese Communist Party and the Communist Parties of various Asian countries.

Labor

2. In the field of labor, there has been a definite concentration of attention by the International "front" the WFTU on the organization of the trade union movement in the Far East.

- a. Evidence of this interest may be seen in the WFTU conference in Peiping which convened on 15 November 1949. Reportedly, the agenda for the conference includes the establishment of a Far East WFTU liaison bureau and "the establishment of a WFTU plan for action"
- b. Also indicative of Communist interest in the Orient is the contemplated Pacific basin conference of maritime workers to be held under the auspices of the Maritime Federation of the World.

Propaganda

3. There has been a very definite anti-U.S. propaganda program in China and North Korea which has also appeared in the other Asian countries in varying degrees. In China, in addition to the vitriolic tirades in the press and on the radio, manifestations of the program may be seen in the treatment accorded U.S. official representatives and businessmen. In South East Asia there are growing evidences of the conversion of the press (particularly the Chinese newspapers) to the Communist line. There are also indications of Communist efforts to buy or otherwise control local newspapers in Far Eastern countries.

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Recognition

4. There appears to be a definite policy on the part of Red China to cause a split between the U. S. and the U. K. on the question of recognition of China.

Repatriation of Japanese Prisoners-of-War

5. In line with the known Soviet policy of political indoctrination of prisoners-of-war, Japanese P.O.W.'s have been subjected to intensive training in Communist ideology and tactics prior to repatriation to Japan.

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