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Carl F. Espe
Carl F. Espe
By direction

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

BRIEF STATEMENT OF THE NATURE, CAPABILITIES
EXPECTED ACTIONS, AND STRENGTH OF THE
SUBVERSIVE ELEMENTS WITHIN THE UNITED STATES

Prepared by
The Interdepartmental Intelligence Conference

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BRIEF STATEMENT OF THE NATURE, CAPABILITIES,
EXPECTED ACTIONS, AND STRENGTH OF THE
SUBVERSIVE ELEMENTS WITHIN THE UNITED STATES

Introduction

The International Communist movement through the journal of the Communist Information Bureau proclaims the world is divided into two irreconcilable camps; one led by the U.S.S.R. as the Communist fatherland, the other led by the United States as the bulwark of "imperialistic capitalism." At the end of World War II, the Soviet Union - the base of the world Communist movement - moved rapidly amid war-caused chaos to establish and consolidate its power and influence beyond its own borders. It has accomplished this expansion in part through the International Communist Subversive Apparatus, one of the powerful striking forces available to the U.S.S.R. With this weapon, effectively organized on an international scale, centrally directed from Moscow and coordinated through a complex interlocking network, the Soviets have retained the initiative against the non-Communist world in generating chaos, fomenting discontent, undermining economic stability, and creating confusion.

After first establishing control over the Satellite States of Eastern Europe, but failing in Western Europe, the Soviet Union focused its attention on Asia. It is estimated that with the

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capture of China, approximately one-third of the earth's population and one-fourth of the earth's land area came directly or indirectly under the control of the International Communist movement, that is the Soviet Union.

In the light of the foregoing, it is clear that world Communism is organized today to subvert all non-Communist social orders. The power of its apparatus - both open and secret - is directed to that end. The United States has long been considered as the principal bulwark of Democracy to be overthrown before world domination by communization can be achieved.

Recognizing the Soviet bid for world domination, the United States countered with the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and, finally, the North Atlantic Treaty with its Mutual Defense Assistance Program.

Question A:

In terms of United States internal security, what is the nature and probable future development of subversive activities against the United States?

Nature of Subversive Activities Against the United States

The major threat today to the internal security of the United States is that of sabotage, espionage, and subversion carried out in this country by the Communist Apparatus.

Sabotage

Communist sabotage may take many forms:

1. Arson
2. Explosive
3. Mechanical
4. Chemical
5. Biological
6. Psychological
7. Defective workmanship
8. Strikes, labor slowdowns
9. Assassination

The potential sabotage force available to the Communist Apparatus is represented by graduates of the Lenin School, Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Communist veterans of World Wars I and II, and other individuals loyal to the Communist movement who have received guerrilla and other specialized training. In fact,

every loyal, active member of the Communist Party, USA, is a potential saboteur. There is no evidence that major acts of sabotage in its more violent physical forms will be attempted in the United States until just prior to or coincidental with the beginning of open hostilities.

The Soviet Intelligence Services will presumably expand the operation of "illegal networks" in the United States anticipating further restrictions on "legal" operations now based in official Soviet and Satellite missions. It may also be expected that the Soviet Intelligence Services will endeavor to expand networks composed of agents with "pure" backgrounds who have not been openly associated with the Communist Party, USA.

Communist espionage targets are:

1. Military
2. Political
3. Economic
4. Scientific
5. Sociological

Subversion

A complex program of subversive activities is carried out in the United States by the Communist Apparatus in cooperation with the Moscow inspired International "Front" Organizations. Directed at alienating all segments of the population from their loyalty to the United States Government and converting them to

the support of International Communism, these activities are carried out by individuals, groups, and many mass and paper-type "front" organizations utilized by the Communist Party of the United States.

Members of the Communist subversive apparatus have penetrated into all phases of American life including:

1. The Armed Forces
2. Government service (local, state, federal)
3. Organized labor
4. Agriculture
5. Religious groups
6. Religious and racial minorities
7. Communications industry (including radio and television)
8. Motion picture industry
9. Maritime industry
10. Civic organizations
11. Cultural, scientific and professional organizations
12. Political parties
13. Educational systems, both public and private -
(Elementary, high school, college and university)
14. Youth groups
15. Women's organizations
16. Veterans organizations

The primary objectives of the penetration described above against the United States are to influence its foreign and domestic policy, weaken its military capabilities, and to undermine its economy.

Communist educational, agitational and propaganda activities in the United States are carried out through mass and paper-type organizations on a national and international level. The develop-

ment of mass organizations follows fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles. The vanguard Communist Party is kept relatively small, compact, mobile, and highly disciplined. Mass strength is developed through a "deceptive front" organizational network. Large numbers of deceived citizens, who join these "fronts," use their energies in subverting their own government.

The Communist Party, USA, with the assistance of its numerous "front" organizations daily turns out mass propaganda in books, pamphlets, magazines, newspapers, bulletins, flyers, plays, motion pictures, radio programs, formal school courses, as well as through mass rallies and public speeches. The New Century Publishers, a Communist publishing house, alone in 1948 claims to have published 30 pamphlets in editions totaling more than 3,000,000 pieces. Two million of these were distributed free. This subtle propaganda program is designed to appeal to the immediate interests and needs of many segments of the United States population. Communist propagandists will continue to work their way, if permitted, into all parts of American society. While denying their Communist affiliations, they promulgate Communism in a variety of disguised forms.

Probable Future Development of Subversive Activities

There is every indication that these subversive activities will continue and will be intensified. Outward manifestations of subversive activity will vary to suit a particular need or set of circumstances and the international "fronts" as well as national "front" groups are expected to play an increasingly important role in Moscow's power thrusts against the United States. The effectiveness of the sabotage, espionage and subversive program of the Communist movement in this country will vary in terms of the extent and success of countermeasures carried out by the United States.

Question B:

In the event of Soviet direct military aggression in any part of the world, which might involve the United States, what are the capabilities and expected actions of subversive elements within the United States?

Soviet aggression may take one of two forms. It may be direct - by the armed forces of the U.S.S.R. itself, or it may be indirect - by the armed forces of one of the satellite nations at the instigation of the Soviet Union. The military invasion of Yugoslavia by Bulgaria and/or Rumania would be an example of indirect Soviet aggression. In such an eventuality where Soviet tactical forces would not be involved, it is expected, nevertheless, that the U.S.S.R. would render positive assistance to the aggressor state. Should the aggressor state fail to achieve a decisive victory, it is to be expected that Soviet tactical forces would be committed under the pretext of "restoring order" at the "request" of the parties to the conflict. Thus, a situation classified originally as indirect aggression could evolve into direct Soviet aggression.

Capabilities of Subversive Elements
Within the United States

Sabotage

The Communist Party, USA, and allied subversive elements

have penetrated in varying degrees every phase of American life. Therefore, the capabilities of these inimical elements to commit sabotage are considerable.

Communist penetration has been attempted throughout United States industries. Key targets are such basic industries as steel, fuel, chemical, transportation, maritime, automotive, aviation, and communications. At the present time, it is estimated that one-half of the members of the Communist Party, USA, are employed in industry with eleven per cent in basic industry.

The Communist subversive apparatus within the United States is capable of committing the following types of direct and indirect sabotage:

1. Strikes, slowdowns, and work stoppages, especially in those industries represented by Communist dominated unions;
2. Damage to sources of power, and destruction of sources of raw materials;
3. Disruption of transportation, shipping, and communications networks;
4. Damage to rolling stock, machinery, plants, ports, arsenals, and other vital installations;
5. Sabotage through BW agents (Bacteriological and Biological)
6. Sabotage through CW agents (Poisonous substances - Chemical Warfare)

With the expenditure of relatively minute amounts of money and personnel, the Communist subversive apparatus is capable of inflicting serious damage upon vital United States defense industries, particularly the aircraft, chemical and petroleum industries which, because of their concentration in small areas are remunerative sabotage targets.

Espionage

Prior to open warfare with the United States, Soviet directed espionage activities can be carried out in the United States through the Soviet and Satellite official missions, through such organizations as Tass and Amtorg, as well as through American business houses and agent networks. Of paramount importance to the Soviet Union during this period would be information regarding scientific advancements of a military nature and current information on United States military capabilities, foreign commitments and defense plans of the United States, as well as the "thinking" of the general public.

Subversion

Unless effectively neutralized, Communist Subversive Elements are capable of attacking our institutions by means of "United Front" Tactics in the field of organized labor and politics,

exploiting differences and grievances of racial, religious and social groups, capitalizing on fear and the desire for peace, and creating confusion, doubt and distrust.

Thus, it is apparent that the Communist Subversive Apparatus is capable of furthering the objectives and interests of the U.S.S.R. to the damage of the United States. With adequate United States countermeasures, the apparatus will be incapable of fomenting nationwide insurrection. However, the possibility of civil disorders, sporadic campaigns of terrorism, tie-up in transportation, slowdowns in production, intimidation of political leaders and the reduction of the effectiveness of local governments must not be overlooked.

Expected Actions of Subversive
Elements Within the United States

As set forth above, the capabilities of the Communist apparatus in the United States are considerable. Programs of sabotage, espionage, and subversion will be carried out in accordance with the tactical and strategic plans of the Soviet Union. Members of the apparatus, its adherents and sympathizers will become more aggressive and bolder as they are directed to support Soviet operations. In addition to controlled operations on the part of this subversive network, there should also be considered the possibility of undirected action by irresponsible elements. It

must be assumed these elements will attempt isolated acts of terrorism.

Before the United States becomes involved in war, it can be expected ~~that~~ subversive elements will rally to the defense of the Soviet Union, particularly if the United States starts a program of material aid to the victim of aggression. Communist elements are expected to adopt a policy similar to that of the period of the Hitler-Stalin Pact (1939-41). During that period Communist elements in the United States carried on many types of activity designed to impede national defense preparations of the United States and to prevent or obstruct the flow of supplies to countries who were involved in the war against Germany.

Question C:

In the event of war between the U.S.S.R. and the United States, what are the capabilities and expected actions of the subversive elements within the United States?

It must be assumed the outbreak of war between the United States and the U.S.S.R. will touch off an all out campaign against the United States by the subversive fifth column in this country. While it is recognized that identified components of the subversive apparatus will be progressively neutralized in accordance as wartime security measures are enforced, it is anticipated they will be replaced by a determined reserve apparatus.

Capabilities of the Subversive Elements Within the United States

The capabilities are substantially the same as outlined in the answer to Question B, above.

Expected Actions of Subversive Elements Within the United States

It is expected that the loyal members of the Communist Party will do everything possible to support the Soviet Union and to injure the United States.

William Z. Foster, National Chairman, and Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., as early as March 2, 1949, declared that in the event the United States and the Soviet Union were involved in a war the Communist Party would take immediate steps to bring such a war to a speedy conclusion.

Communist leaders in many other countries throughout the world have made even stronger statements.

Sabotage

The Communist subversive apparatus (including hidden agents and reserve network personnel), may be expected to carry out acts of physical sabotage as well as to instigate strikes, work stoppages and slowdowns. Key sabotage targets will include vital industries and installations. The degree of success of the Communist program of sabotage will depend upon the effectiveness of wartime security measures. At the minimum, sporadic sabotage attempts may be anticipated. Although these attempts may have only nuisance value locally, they could reach significant proportions when considered on a nationwide basis. Some sabotage must be anticipated immediately prior to, or upon the outbreak of hostilities. In the event of a surprise attack, the greatest success of the sabotage operations would probably occur during the initial phases of such hostilities. The sabotage threat should normally decline with the success of the United States' mobilization and security counter-measures.

Espionage

In connection with espionage activities, the present identified bases for Soviet espionage operations would be quickly neutralized. This situation would leave the Soviet intelligence services with two other possibilities, networks based in official missions of neutral countries and so-called "illegal" networks established for this emergency purpose. It can be expected that

some of these "illegal" operations will be directed from outside of the United States. For this purpose Latin America offers good possibilities in view of its location and the freedom of movement permitted between Mexico and the United States. Although the operation of these "illegal" networks from outside the United States presents complex problems, it offers greater security to the directing head of the organization for his communication link with the U.S.S.R. Thus the Soviet Intelligence Services may be expected to make very serious efforts to plant agents in the official missions of neutral countries in the United States, in order to benefit from "on the spot" observation and communications. Neutral shipping will also afford communication possibilities to the Soviet intelligence services, as well as a means of transportation.

Under wartime conditions the Soviet intelligence services may be expected to employ vast numbers of agents against the United States home front. This is a basic principle of their operation. The Germans estimated that the Soviet intelligence services used 30,000 trained agents and informants each year on the Eastern Front, from 1942 through 1944. While this experience may not apply in a parallel manner to the United States home front, it does disclose the Soviet method of operation. It is reliably estimated that the Soviet Ministry of State Security (M.G.B.) has a minimum of 150,000 trained officers and agents. This does not mean that any such number will be dispatched on M. G. B. operations in the United States. However, it may be expected that, in the event of war, the

United States will be confronted with operations on a far greater scale than have been known to date. The effectiveness of Soviet intelligence operations in the United States under wartime conditions will vary in terms of the timing and adequacy of U. S. security measures. The control of the movement and communications of these agents through Border Control, Censorship, Radio Direction Finding, and similar measures is vital.

Subversion

In the event of war, it is anticipated that the Communist subversive apparatus will launch a program of psychological warfare aimed at:

- A. Creating fear and mass hysteria
- B. Inducing a sense of U.S. war guilt
- C. Discrediting, confusing, and pressuring U.S. leadership
- D. Sabotaging recruiting campaigns
- E. Encouraging pacifism and conscientious objectors
- F. Encouraging absenteeism, inducing work stoppages and slowdowns in industry looking toward a general strike
- G. Creating distrust of allies
- H. Fomenting civil disorders, including assassinations, race riots, etc.
- I. Bringing about a revolutionary situation on the home front

The success or failure of the Communist apparatus in carrying out sabotage, espionage and subversive activities will be determined by the immediate application of effective counter-measures by responsible U. S. authorities. These subversive, inimical groups will be quick to exploit any weaknesses or delay in the implementation of the program of Internal Security.

Question D

What is the strength of subversive elements within the United States, and in what areas, professions, industries and organizations are they concerned?

The CP-USA, the best organized and most dangerous subversive organization in the United States, registered its membership during the latter part of 1949 and the first part of 1950. In a number of CP Districts, the Party fell behind in its registration and it appears that the CP membership will be less in 1950 than in 1949. The following figures represent either actual or best estimate figures available for the CP membership in the 30 CP Districts:

<u>C.P. District</u>	<u>States</u>	<u>Membership</u>
1.	Maine, Mass., Vt., N.M., R.I.	1,155
2.	New York	25,000
3.	Eastern Pa., Delaware	2,196
4.	Maryland, District of Columbia	754
5.	Western Pa., (Pitts.)	480
6.	Ohio, Ky., W.Va. Panhandle	2,600
7.	Michigan	1,244
8.	Illinois	3,361
9.	Minnesota, N. D., S.D.	832
10.	Indiana	561
11.	Oregon	275
12.	Washington	1,305
13.	Calif., Ariz., Nev.	7,000
14.	New Jersey	1,600
15.	Connecticut	997
18.	Wisconsin	650
19.	Colo. N.M., Wyo.	266
21.	Missouri	458
22.	West Virginia	60
23.	Texas	230
24.	Louisiana	150
25.	Florida	200

26.	Virginia	150
27.	Ala., Miss., Tenn.	173
28.	Okla., Ark.	239
29.	N.C., S.C.	164
30.	Montana, Idaho	130
31.	Georgia	69
32.	Neb., Iowa, Kansas	117
35.	Utah	76

Puerto Rico	100
Hawaiian Islands	160
Alaska	4

52,756

* Districts numbered 16, 17, 20, 33 and 34 have been previously reorganized and combined with other districts.

Only a small portion of the CP membership is engaged in the professions. The most complete available statistics in this regard come from Los Angeles County, California. Out of 4,332 in Los Angeles County, approximately 11% were engaged in the professions. These included artists, actors, doctors, dentists, educators, engineers, lawyers, nurses and various miscellaneous professions.

The number of Communist Party members employed in industries varies from day to day. Communist Party leaders have referred to their members employed in industries as "our most precious possession." It is estimated at the present time that approximately 50% of the Communist Party membership are "industrial members" and that approximately 11% are employed in "basic industries."

The strength of the CP-USA, however, cannot be judged solely by the actual number of members within the Party itself. Ever present, lending strength and support to each and every endeavor of the CP, are the numerous CP front groups which exist throughout the country. The Attorney General has cited 108 Com-

munist organizations as coming within the purview of Executive Order Number 9835. Of these 108 organizations, approximately 40 are actively in existence today. In addition, there are approximately 35 semi-permanent organizations which are subject to substantial Communist influence, while numerous other organizations have been subject to infiltration. The practice of the Communists to form a new front organization to exploit any incident or situation to the benefit of their cause makes difficult any actual count of Communist "front" organizations in existence at any given time. By utilizing the services of a few loyal, well trained CP members, it is possible for the Party to dominate and control the activities of a "front" group for the advancement of the aims and objectives of the CP. These "front" groups vary in membership from 169,000 in the International Workers Order to no actual membership at all in the "paper type" organizations. These "paper type" organizations, such as the recently formed National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the Twelve Communist Leaders, consists solely of a few executive officers and serve as propaganda outlets. They are used to spearhead campaigns concerning matters of interest to the CP. The Communist movements also exploits to its own advantage the programs of many legitimate organizations.

Furthermore, additional strength and support is gained by the CP through labor unions which the Party has been successful in infiltrating and influencing. The present trend in most of

the trade unions, however, is to eliminate Communist control and influence.

The subversive picture in the United States is not complete without consideration of other revolutionary type organizations which follow the Marxist - Leninist - Trotskyist line. The foremost organization in this category is the Socialist Workers Party which has its national headquarters in New York City.

The membership of the Socialist Workers Party throughout the United States on September 22, 1949 was reported to be 1,032 members. The membership, according to branches, was as follows:

<u>Branch</u>	<u>Date of Last Report (1949)</u>	<u>Members</u>
Akron	May	17
Allentown	July	8
Baltimore	June	14
Boston	July	19
Buffalo	June	58
Chicago	June	68
Cleveland	August	17
Detroit	August	64
Flint	August	17
Los Angeles	July	143
Lynn	July	12
Milwaukee	August	21
Minneapolis	August	58
Morgantown	June	9
Newark	August	28
New Britain	August	6
New Haven	July	8
New York	August	234
Philadelphia	July	41
Pittsburgh	August	10
St. Louis	August	7
St. Paul	July	22
San Francisco Bay	July	84
Seattle	June	18
Toledo	July	15
Worcester	August	8
Youngstown	August	26
		<u>1,032</u>

Another important organization falling within this category is the Independent Socialist League, formerly known as the Workers Party which has a national membership of approximately 300 members concentrated largely in New York City, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Chicago.

The internal security of the United States is threatened by the operations of the subversive Communist apparatus. It can be expected that this threat will become more dangerous as war or a serious emergency approaches. It is of extreme urgency that adequate measures be planned to cope with that threat.