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III. COMMUNIST FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF U.S. REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS

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The intelligence community has very little hard evidence to support the thesis that foreign Communists are providing financial support to American revolutionary organizations. In fact, there is a scarcity of information about the entire question of where these organizations get the money to finance their activities.

The community believes that they are able to finance their activities from contributions, dues, sales of literature, benefits, and advertisements. There is good reason, in my opinion, to believe that this is true in the case of SDS. I am less convinced that it is true of other revolutionary organizations.

There is some evidence to indicate that the Progressive Labor Party (PL), is receiving financial support from Communist China and perhaps from Cuba. And there is also good reason to believe that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) has at least on occasion received financial support from Cuba. The sources of Black Panther funds are largely unknown, although there is some evidence suggesting that the organization has resorted to extortion and bank robberies to finance its activities.

There is no evidence that the Soviet Union has contributed funds to any New Left or Black Power organization.

I have been able to ascertain only two cases where the intelligence community has "hard evidence" of foreign financial support of revolutionary organizations in this country.

(1) During 1967 and 1968, the Progressive Labor Party received a total of more than \$13,000 from a European Bank where an organ of the Chinese Communist Government maintains an account. During 1968, the PLP received more than \$2,000 from Hong Kong.

(2) James Forman, International Director of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, was informed on December 27, 1967, that the Cuban United Nations Mission was holding money for his organization and arrangements were made on that date for him to visit a Cuban intelligence agent. On January 18, 1968, Forman and an unidentified Negro were observed entering the Mission empty-handed. A few minutes later each departed the Mission carrying a package wrapped in plain brown paper.

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On June 24, I met with Phillip Abbott Luce, a former high-ranking member of the Progressive Labor Party. In 1963 and 1964, he helped organize PLP-sponsored student tours to Cuba in violation of the then-existing State Department ban on travel to that country.

Luce told me that he personally arranged for money to be picked up from the Cuban Mission to the United Nations to finance the tour in the summer of 1963. He also indicated that when the PL students returned from Cuba in 1963 and again in 1964, the Cubans gave them a substantial amount of money to bring back into the country. As he recalls, the amount was \$10,000 in each instance.

I am generally satisfied that the intelligence community does not have any hard evidence confirming substantial foreign financial support of the revolutionary protest movement. However, I believe that it is quite likely that more foreign funding has occurred than the intelligence community is aware of. Luce's conversation confirms this in my opinion (it is interesting that no member of the intelligence community reported to me the substance of Luce's revelations, although he was debriefed by the Bureau when he left the PIP in 1965.)

The absence of hard evidence is due, I believe, to two factors. First, the political sensitivity of surveillance of domestic political organizations is so great the intelligence community has been reluctant to conduct a vigorous collection effort; this is particularly true of NSA, DIA, and CIA. And, second, I suspect that many members of the intelligence community have satisfied themselves that there is no reason for outside funding and have therefore made only a limited effort to determine if, in fact, there is any outside funding.

The largest and most successful revolutionary organization is the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS): There are many good reasons to believe that this group has not received nor sought financial support from foreign Communists. It is not difficult for a broadly based ideological organization to raise \$84,000 a year, which is the estimated SDS national budget, and we have reason to believe that several prominent American leftists have contributed large amounts to the organization in the past several years (two individuals are reported to have contributed \$40,000 each.) Reliable evidence indicates that SDS is capable of raising substantial funds through contributions from its members and from the sale of its literature. In terms of immediate financial requirements, the organization appears to be self-supporting.

There are several other reasons why I doubt that SDS has been funded by foreign Communists. First, SDS leaders tend to be suspicious of organized Communism, and although most of them are great admirers of Mao and Castro, I doubt if they would seek financial support from the Chinese or Cuban governments for fear that strings would be attached which

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would compromise their independent approach to revolution. Second, and more important, I am dubious that foreign Communists would regard the funding of SDS as a good investment. American dollars are scarce resources which Cuba and Red China would spend only for the most compelling reasons and where the benefits were likely to be significant and obvious. If SDS is capable of financing through its own efforts a successful revolutionary program, there would appear to be little reason for either Cuba or Red China to offer financial support. And, finally, I believe that foreign Communists would be leary of financing SDS because of the uncertainty which doctrinaire Communists must feel toward the anarchistic tendencies of the organization and its leadership. Were disciplined Communists to take over the organization (as the PL people very nearly did at the SDS national convention in Chicago last month), an incentive might exist. However, so long as the "Crazies" (those who profess loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, but who reject disciplined party control, e.g., Mark Rudd, the SDS leader at Columbia) effectively control the national office of SDS, I think any substantial foreign Communist financial investment would be of minimal value to either Cuba or Red China, and I suspect they would share this opinion.

The likelihood or advisability of foreign Communist financial support of the other revolutionary organizations is less clear. The FBI has reason to believe that there may be more than minimal support being rendered, but it has not been able to turn up hard evidence to support its suspicion. Part of the problem, I believe, is the failure of CIA to devote its resources abroad to this problem and the lack of careful coordination within the intelligence community to insure that all potentially available information is being collected and analyzed. This problem is discussed in detail elsewhere in this report.

As previously indicated, we do have some evidence that SNCC and PL have received financial support from Cuba and/or Red China. And although we don't presently have any evidence to confirm it, I believe that it is very possible that the Black Panthers are receiving some financial support from foreign Communists.

Virtually all the logical reasons which can be mustered to support the argument that SDS is not receiving foreign Communist support are absent in the cases of PL, SNCC, and the Black Panthers. The latter groups do not appear to have sufficient support within the wealthy liberal community to raise substantial funds at home and their membership is not large enough or affluent enough to contribute substantial amounts through dues or contributions to meet budgetary requirements. More importantly, these groups tend to be more disciplined and more susceptible to foreign Communist control and influence.

The Progressive Labor Party was officially recognized by Peking in 1967 as the only revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party in the United States. It has made a point for several years of claiming to be the official

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Chinese Communist Party in the United States, and Luce told me that while he was in the Party, one high ranking official claimed that the Party was receiving financial support from the Chinese. In the last year, however, there has been a serious ideological quarrel between PL and the Black Panthers over which group is really the "official" Chinese Communist Party in this country, with both claiming the support of Peking. We do not know precisely how Peking presently views the two contenders for its favor, but it is possible that both organizations serve its purpose, and the Chinese may fund and support them accordingly.

The evidence indicates that the Cubans have also looked with favor on PL, but there is some reason to believe that in the past two years the relations between the two have become less cordial. Castro appears to be keenly interested in the black revolutionary groups in this country and may believe that they represent the best hope for a successful revolutionary struggle in the United States.

Delegations of SDS leaders have made frequent trips to Cuba, but it appears that their principal interest has been to meet with representatives of Hanoi and the NLF stationed in Havana. We have no reports of SDS leaders returning from Havana with promises of financial support from Castro. The Cubans apparently wish to keep the lines of communication open to all groups which are sympathetic and the number of visits to the Island have increased substantially over the last 18 months. On June 10, 1969, a group of 20 New Left members visited Cuba and available information indicates that all expenses over and above transportation were borne by the Cuban Government. Another trip for a similar group is planned for this month.

When Stokely Carmichael visited Havana for the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) Conference in July of 1967, he was treated as a hero by the Castro government. However, as is typically true of Stokely, he broke with Castro over the question of the class struggle and he is no longer held in high esteem by official Cuban Communist circles.

However, the Cubans have continued to look with interest on the development of a revolutionary black movement in the United States, and it appears that Castro has hoped to find within SNCC and the Black Panthers the type of disciplined leadership that can successfully wage revolution along traditional Marxist-Leninist lines.

We have a report that Virginia Collins, a leader of the Republic of New Africa, visited Havana this Spring and met with Castro. Reportedly he told her that he was unhappy with the dissension among black extremist organizations in Los Angeles, but added that when the black people in the United States move forward in their revolution, they will receive assistance from Cuba.

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In September of 1968, Irving Davis, a SNCC leader in New York City, traveled to Cuba where representatives of the Cuban Government allegedly told him that Cuba was ready to assist SNCC with financial and other means of support in its struggle in the United States. However, before aid was to be given, SNCC was to give concrete evidence of revolutionary activity in the next six months.

Recent developments involving the Black Panthers have cast an interesting light on the relations between that organization and Castro. On June 25, 1969, Raymond Johnson, who claimed to be a lieutenant in the Black Panthers and who is living in Havana, complained to the press that he and other Panthers have been "isolated and imprisoned" and want to leave the country. He said the "the Panthers have not been received in a revolutionary fashion; we have been condemned to live in Cuba." He also added that he thought there was racial discrimination in Cuba.

Two days later, Bobby Seale, the national Chairman of the Panthers, told a press conference in San Francisco that Johnson was "nothing but an agent for the fascist CIA and FBI." [REDACTED]

Seale's prompt reaction to Johnson's statement and his stern denunciation of a fellow black who claimed to be a member of the BPP suggests the importance which the Panthers attach to their relations with Castro. The BPP regards Castro as a revolutionary hero and comrade in the struggle against white imperialism, and obviously Seale did not want to risk jeopardizing his relations with Cuba by allowing a black malcontent to implicate the BPP in criticism of the Cuban regime. Seale was doubtless also aware that one problem which the Panthers and other black extremist groups have in seeking foreign financial support is convincing their potential benefactors that the investment will pay dividends. Although less cautious and more "revolutionary" than the Soviets, the Cubans and Chinese are not foolish. They are not likely to invest scarce foreign exchange in organizations over which they have only minimal control or which are so distracted by internal dissension that they are unable to conduct a successful revolutionary program. There is little doubt that the Cubans particularly, and the Chinese as well, would very much like to acquire a strong influence over the black militants. It remains to be seen if they will be successful in doing so.

Although the Communists would like to see a single, unified, broadly-based black revolutionary front, they may be forced to accept the reality -- at least for the near-term -- of a series of small black groups struggling among themselves. However, the Black Panthers appear to have the potential for becoming a large and powerful revolutionary force, preeminent

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within the black community. At the present time, it would appear to represent the best target of opportunity for foreign Communist exploitation, particularly since SNCC has diminished in influence, if not in revolutionary fervor.

On July 3, 1969, Stokely Carmichael denounced the Black Panthers for its alliances with white groups. He called the Panther's methods "dishonest and vicious." It is impossible to believe that Carmichael would have any scruples about the legal or moral virtue of a revolutionary organization if he believed it was following the correct road to revolution. At the heart of his disagreement with the leadership of the Panthers is his refusal to accept the traditional Communist theory of the class struggle. He rejects this line, holding that the world-wide revolutionary struggle is racial, and the revolution must be waged along racial, not class, lines.

Carmichael's break with the Panther leadership suggests that he has lost this ideological struggle within the top councils of the organization (he lost a similar struggle within SNCC, from which he was expelled in 1967.) I tend to believe that the significance of Carmichael's attack is to be found in the inference which it supports that the present Panther leadership has opted for a black-white revolutionary alliance which adheres to traditional Communist theories about the nature of the revolutionary struggle, i.e., it is waged along class lines.

This analysis of recent events within the Panther organization suggests that the Panthers are acquiring a rigid Marxist-Leninist orientation and are likely to seek and receive extensive foreign Communist support, financial and otherwise, in the days ahead.

In a report conspicuous for the absence of hard facts, the CIA declared that the "relative lack of firm Agency-developed information on the subject may either represent the true situation, i.e., the absence of extensive foreign Communist support, or it may be a reflection of a lack of enough well placed sources." I tend to believe that it is the latter. I suspect, as do some high ranking intelligence experts at the FBI and [REDACTED] that there has been more financial support rendered by the Communists than we know about. More important, I believe that there is likely to be a great deal more such support in the future as the leaders of revolutionary organizations recognize that revolution is possible only through disciplined leadership -- and disciplined revolutionary leadership is Communist leadership.

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IV. CONTACTS BETWEEN LEADERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROTEST MOVEMENT AND REPRESENTATIVES OF FOREIGN COMMUNIST GROUPS

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In addition to the channels of communication open to foreign Communists within the confines of the United States, leaders of the U.S. revolutionary protest movement have in recent years begun to reach out beyond the continental limits of the United States to solicit the support of foreign Communists and revolutionary movements abroad. New Leftists and black extremists travel abroad extensively and participate freely in various international conferences which are invariably attended by and sometimes sponsored by Communists. At the same time revolutionaries frequently travel to the United States and confer with leaders of the protest movement in this country.

Cuba and North Vietnam have been particularly strong magnets for New Left protest groups. Much of the strength of these organizations derives from their ability to maintain close relationships and dialogues with foreign Communist establishments. For instance, the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NMC) maintains a foreign contact list of over 300 individuals and organizations throughout the world. Its chairman, David Dellinger, has traveled to the Soviet Union, North Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, Cuba and Sweden in furtherance of opposition to the war in Vietnam. His relationship with the North Vietnamese is so intimate that last week they insisted upon his presence in Paris before they would even discuss the promised release of three American prisoners of war. The State Department dutifully complied with this request and Dellinger was released from the cognizance of the Federal District Court in Chicago where he is under indictment in connection with the demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention so that he might fly to Paris. The NMC and Dellinger maintain almost constant contact with the Governments of Cuba and North Vietnam (DRV) and representatives of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. Dellinger feels -- rightly it appears -- that such contacts give the NMC and himself notoriety and build their image in the movement.

Since 1965 there has been close coordination and cooperation between U.S. antiwar groups and the North Vietnamese and NLF. An interesting account of the international coordination which culminated in the 1967 March on the Pentagon is at Tab A.

American revolutionary leaders are frequently in attendance at international conferences at which the strategy of revolution is the central topic under discussion. Frequently these conferences have been held for the exclusive purpose of coordinating the world-wide protest against U.S. policy in Vietnam. On several instances these sessions have

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been held at the request of the National Liberation Front as in the case of the Stockholm Conference which took place in May of this year at the request of the NLF and DRV delegations to the Paris Peace Conference. Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, chief NLF negotiator in Paris, headed the NLF delegation at the Stockholm Conference. Both the NLF and DRV delegations showed considerable concern over the deteriorating anti-war movement in the U.S. and indicated that without public opinion in the U.S. calling for American troop withdrawal, their efforts to achieve victory would be handicapped. They urged those attending the conference, particularly those from the United States, to revitalize the deteriorating anti-war sentiment.

An interesting and representative sampling of the international conferences attended by American revolutionary leaders is at Tab B.

The ease with which foreign revolutionary leaders can enter the United States has contributed to the international exchange of revolutionary ideas and programs. If the United States decided to abolish the visa requirement for foreign visitors as is presently contemplated, the number of foreign revolutionaries entering the United States is likely to increase substantially. Information on previous visits by these foreign activists is at Tab C.

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V. OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

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Historically, the United States has been the target for subversive activities emanating from and directed by the international Communist movement in an effort to foment disorder and disruption in a revolutionary vein. The change from the monolithic nature of the movement to polycentrism only served to magnify the problem in that it diversified the subversive attack.

Regardless of the diversification, the basic nature of the attack remained the same. It emanated from Communist forces abroad and was channeled into this country through Communist-bloc diplomatic establishments and old-line Communist groups and organizations working to advance international Communism.

From the standpoint of the FBI's responsibility to counter these subversive thrusts, there were two significant factors which enabled it to mount effective counterintelligence operations.

The first factor was that the activities took place for the most part within our borders. It was a situation which lent itself to effective utilization of manpower for coverage and counterintelligence purposes.

The second factor was that the activities were engaged in by organizations, such as the CPUSA, which were tightly structured organizationally in the traditional pattern of Communist parties throughout the world. As such, they presented clear-cut targets for informant penetration.

Because these old-line organizations also followed the traditional pattern of operating under the concept of democratic centralism with an insistence on rigid discipline throughout party ranks, high-level informant penetration provided an insight into strategy and tactics being considered at all levels. Here, too, it was possible to effectively negate their thrusts.

The emergence of the New Left and black extremist movements in our society drastically altered the situation. They evolved mostly out of social reform movements which increasingly have been transformed into hard-core revolutionary movements dedicated to the total destruction of our democratic traditions and our society.

They produced a new breed of revolutionaries whose main preoccupation with Communism is that it has produced men like Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi Minh, and Che Guevarra, whom they hope to emulate in the overthrow of a system they deem oppressive.

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From the inception of these movements, the FBI has been aware of the fact that their increasingly revolutionary Communist imprint posed new and unique problems for the internal security of this nation.

As these forces of revolutionary protest hardened in their resolve to accomplish their purpose, more and more they reached out to join hands with and seek support not only from old-line Communists inside our country, but also from Communists and anarchists abroad.

In effect, the picture has changed from one in which international Communist forces sought out supporters within our country to carry out their objectives to one in which domestic revolutionaries are reaching out in search of support from anyone, including Communists, throughout the world who will help and support them in their own destructive aims.

Since the objectives of both so clearly coincide, it is inevitable that they will join forces in common cause. The willingness of the Soviets, Chinese, and Cubans to support the efforts of domestic revolutionaries in this country has been demonstrated. In addition, the movement of the New Left and black extremist revolutionary protestors toward increasingly centralized, more tightly disciplined organizations will facilitate the inevitable linkings.

It is essential that we bring together and intensify the intelligence capabilities of our country to meet this growing threat. It is imperative that we penetrate all the channels of communication between foreign Communist forces and domestic revolutionaries; that we take all possible additional investigative steps to safeguard the security of this nation in a time of multiplying and expanding crises. This has become mandatory because of increasing problems which may be anticipated in the future by reason of the growing alliances with foreign Communist elements.

There are significant gaps in our present intelligence collection efforts which are likely to grow in the future. I am convinced that the FBI is doing, with the resources presently available, a fine job of monitoring the revolutionary leaders and activities which take place in this country. However, CIA coverage of contacts by U.S. revolutionary leaders with Communists abroad is totally inadequate. In fact, I am convinced that CIA has failed to assign an adequate priority to this problem and is not making good use of the resources presently at its disposal.

From an intelligence point of view, we face several significant problems in adequately covering the activities of U.S. revolutionary protest organizations.

(1) Political Limitations. Since the exposure by Ramparts magazine of CIA use of American student and trade union organizations as covers for intelligence collection activities abroad, CIA has been forced to cut back

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significantly its collection efforts in this area. Moreover, concern of exposure has created an unhealthy caution at CIA which has resulted in too extensive a cutback. However, there are very real political limitations on a full-scale intelligence collection effort. Many responsible Americans, liberal and conservative alike, are vigorously opposed to government surveillance on the activities of American citizens. NSA is prohibited by law from targeting against the communications of U.S. citizens, and the public fervor over the exposure of FBI wiretaps has accentuated the problem. Public exposure of the fact that the Government is monitoring the activities of U.S. student and peace groups would likely result in an outrage on the part of a significant portion of the public.

(2) Geographical Limitations. Most of the activities which we wish to cover occur in denied areas, i.e., in Communist countries. This poses serious problems for us even if the CIA were making a full-scale effort to acquire the information we need. [REDACTED]

(3) Inter-Agency Coordination. The members of the intelligence community do not coordinate their activities in a fashion that is even minimally adequate. While I have found no evidence to suggest that one agency withholds information which it has available, I have found far too many instances where more extensive and valuable intelligence could have been acquired if the intelligence community worked more closely together in the selection of targets and the pooling of sources. I am convinced that the intelligence community is not taking full advantage [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] We are not getting all the information potentially available from our present resources simply because of inadequate coordination within the intelligence community.

(4) Utilization of Intelligence. It is not of much assistance to know what the revolutionary organizations are doing if that information is not utilized in planning appropriate countermeasures. I was surprised to learn that, although student disorders and mass protests have been with us for nearly a half decade, this is the first time any effort has been made to pull together information available within the intelligence community on the problem. However, even the most exhaustive collection of intelligence data is worthless unless it provides the policy formulator information upon the basis of which he can determine what steps should be taken to meet the problem of revolutionary violence. Currently, there are at least six staff offices in the White House, five at the Justice Department, and half a dozen at HEW dealing with aspects of this problem. None are aware of what the others are doing and none have the entire problem in perspective so that a government-wide, coordinated approach to the problem can be undertaken.

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I believe that, after inflation, revolutionary violence is the most pressing domestic problem confronting this country. Yet, there is no in-depth analysis of the total problem, no significant effort to develop a comprehensive program to deal with it, and no single individual, staff element, or agency responsible for working on it.

Revolutionary violence, from student disorders to urban riots, is largely one problem. Yet, we have approached the problem much like the proverbial blind men and the elephant, feeling a leg here, a trunk there -- feeling only a small portion of it, we have failed to clearly identify exactly what the problem is we are confronting. The result has not only been inaction, but a disarming assurance that it is likely to go away if only we recognize the "legitimate" grievances which we think it represents.

I do not believe that a Communist revolution in this country is likely or probable. I do believe that Communist revolutionary violence is not only likely, but inevitable if the Government does not take steps to thwart it. Several intelligence officers in different agencies told me in the course of my study that they believe we are confronted with the most serious threat to our internal security in their lifetime. And the greatest threat is our blindness to the nature of what is occurring around us in the country today.

I am convinced that it is possible to break the back of the revolutionary protest movement, perhaps in less time than it will take to end the war in Vietnam, if -- and only if -- all the resources of the government, including its ability to educate and motivate the private sector, are mobilized in a carefully conceived and meticulously administered program.

The major difficulty I see in dealing with this problem is convincing top-level government leadership that we must adopt a program which couples the stick with the carrot if we are to have any hope at all of solving it. At the time we are putting the screws to the militants on the campus, we must simultaneously hold out some promise of reform to moderate students; at the time we are busting up the Black Panthers, we must be taking steps which reassure the moderate Negro leadership. This requires the closest possible coordination, and I am not convinced this is even remotely possible in government.

However, we have a very serious problem on our hands, and it is my hope that an equally serious effort to solve it will be made.

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CONTACTS BETWEEN U.S. PEACE MOVEMENT AND FOREIGN
COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS IN PREPARATION FOR PENTAGON
PEACE DEMONSTRATION OF 21 OCTOBER 1967

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- (1) On 19 April 1967, David Dellinger was contacted by VIETPEACE (the VN Peace Committee - Hanoi) to arrange for a group of four to come to Hanoi "for some pressing discussions." Dellinger was given a list of people from whom the group was to be recruited (among the names suggested were Staughton Lynd, former Yale professor; Stokley Carmichael; Floyd McKissick; Dagmar Wilson; and a member of SDS selected by Dellinger.)
- (2) Dellinger arrived in Hanoi on 26 May. Although he had planned to stay a week, he did not leave until about 11 June.
- (3) From 6 to 9 July, representatives of VIETPEACE and the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (a U.S. "peace" group) met in Stockholm for discussions.
- (4) On 17 July, the Rev. James Bevel, Director of the Spring Mobilization Committee and also a leader in Martin Luther King's SCLC, contacted Do Xuan Oanh, Secretary of VIETPEACE, in Hanoi saying that he was "anxiously waiting reply concerning our Stockholm discussion" and suggesting that they meet for further consultation "in Paris, Prague or elsewhere." Do Xuan Oanh replied "the problem has been discussed already, reported to the authorities and is under consideration."
- (5) Between 25 July and 17 August, Dellinger and Do Xuan Oanh had numerous contacts regarding arrangements for a large meeting of anti-war activists to be held in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia from 5 to 13 September. On 4 August Dellinger informed VIETPEACE that "plans are progressing well" and that he preferred to send the list of delegates and proposed agenda to Prague. A list of the U.S. participants was provided the North Vietnamese on 19 September.

- (7) Following the Bratislava meeting, a group of the delegates, including Tom Hayden and Renne Davis of SDS, flew to Hanoi.

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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES ATTENDED BY REPRESENTATIVES
OF U.S. REVOLUTIONARY PROTEST MOVEMENT

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Numerous conferences throughout the world during the past few years have evidenced both the international character of the revolutionary protest movement and the desire of foreign elements to influence the conduct of that movement within the United States. The majority of these meetings have focused on opposition to the United States position in Vietnam. As active participants in these gatherings, representatives of militant groups within the United States have joined with their foreign counterparts in efforts to undermine the United States. A representative sampling of such conferences will illustrate this point as well as give some indication of the disruptive anti-American proposals made at them.

1. International Conference on Vietnam

Stockholm was the scene of the International Conference on Vietnam held from July 6 through July 9, 1967. The World Peace Council, an international Communist front organization, was one of the principal organizers of this conference. Among the 452 persons who attended the conference from the United States were Dr. Benjamin Spock; CPUSA National Committee member Herbert Aptheker; the Reverend James Bevel of the SCLC; Amy Swerdlow of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; and Simon Casady, then an official of the National Conference of New Politics.

The conference made plans for a world "Peace In Vietnam Day" to coincide with the antiwar demonstrations in Washington, D.C. on October 21-22, 1967.

2. Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) Conference.

In July and early August, 1967, Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was a guest of the Cuban Government and an "honorary delegate" to the conference of the LASO held in Cuba. He sought to tie in the Negro extremist activities in the United States with the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle which was the basic theme of the conference. With head-quarters in Havana, LASO was formed by communist, revolutionary and terrorist groups from various Latin American countries dedicated to the violent overthrow of imperialism, particularly United States imperialism.

3. Bratislava Conference.

About forty representatives of various U.S. organizations (including the National Mobilization Committee Against the War in Vietnam, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Students for a Democratic Society, the American Friends Service Committee and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference) met in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, with representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and the South Vietnam National Liberation Front. (NLF).

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The delegates from the United States were furnished free lodging and meals while at the conference, but were required to pay their own transportation expenses. The U.S. group was organized by David T. Dellinger, Tom Hayden, and Nick Egleson (the latter two being former SDS Chairmen.) The American delegates were thoroughly briefed by Dellinger well in advance of their departure and were instructed to be prepared to give reports and participate in discussions on various topics, including the antiwar, student, and civil rights movements and an analysis of the current American political situation. Dellinger told the delegates that the purpose of the conference was to create solidarity and mutual understanding between revolutionaries from Vietnam and their supporters in the United States and that the delegates were chosen on the basis of their experience in radical activity.

According to a Czechoslovak press agency report, the conference discussed "the future development of the anti-war movement." The NLF delegation was headed by Mme. Nguyen Thi Binh (currently head of the NLF negotiating team in Paris and "Foreign Minister" in the recently established provisional "Government".) The Czechoslovak press agency report concluded: "The Czechoslovak Peace Committee provided everything required to make this meeting possible."

4. Havana Cultural Congress.

In January of 1968, an International Cultural Congress was held in Havana. Five hundred writers, scientists, performers, artists, journalists, and educators from 70 countries, including about 50 Americans, attended. Among the familiar faces in attendance were David Dellinger; SDS leaders Tom Hayden, Carl Davidson and Todd Gitlin; Robert Scheer of Ramparts; and Linus Pauling. Five members of SNCC reportedly traveled to Havana to attend this conference. This travel was handled through the Cuban Mission to the United Nations (CMUN). The announced purpose of the conference was to obtain unity of action in Cuban anti-imperialism fights. The final declaration of the Congress proclaimed that armed struggle was the only road open to the underdeveloped countries of the world seeking economic development and that "North American imperialism is today the bloodstained representative of oppression, misery, economic backwardness and cultural genocide."

5. International Conference of Lawyers for Vietnam.

This conference, held in Grenoble, France in July of 1968 was sponsored by the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL), the international Communist front in the legal and parliamentary field. Closely cooperating with IADL has been a U.S. organization called "Lawyers Committee on American Policy toward Vietnam" (LCAPV). Among its leaders are William L. Standard and Carey McWilliams, who have been cited numerous times by the House Committee on Internal Security for involvement in Communist fronts. Also on the Lawyers Committee are well-known professors Richard Falk, Hans Morgenthau, and Quincy Wright. The five-man delegation representing the LCAPV worked closely with the DRV and NLF delegations, dominating the proceedings and drafting the meeting's final resolution. The LCAPV continues its

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activities, recently having published a "Five-Point Program to End the War in Vietnam" which it presented to the latest (16-18 May 1969) Stockholm Conference on Vietnam.

6. Japanese Conference on Vietnam.

An international meeting sponsored by Beheiren, a militant Japanese peace group, was held in Kyoto, Japan, August 11-14, 1968. Approximately 250 antiwar activists, including 23 from the United States, were in attendance. Discussion centered on such subjects as how to wage a campaign against war and for social change throughout the world, how to deal with the Okinawa issue and the United States-Japan Security Pact, how to assist United States deserters and draft evaders and how to coordinate antiwar movements around the world.

Among the U.S. delegates present were representatives of SNCC, SDS, Women Strike for Peace, Socialist Workers Party, American Friends Service Committee, and the Quaker Action Group. The CPUSA was also represented.

7. Ninth Youth Festival

The American delegation to the Ninth Youth Festival held in Sofia, Bulgaria, 28 July to 6 August 1968, consisted of 85 persons, 11 of them members of SDS. The conference was sponsored by the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students (both of which are controlled by the Soviet Union.) North Vietnamese and NLF representatives were present at the Festival along with American deserters. W.E.B. DuBois Club members, although a minority of the delegation, effectively controlled it (reflecting Soviet control of the entire Festival preparations.) Great propaganda attention was focused on the U.S. role in Vietnam. William Cathbert, Chairman of the American Deserters Committee in Stockholm, announced that the Bulgarian government had financed the attendance of the American deserters who held several press conferences and appeared jointly with the members of the NLF. After the conference, and in response to a Soviet request, the delegation leader (also president of the CPUSA-controlled DuBois Clubs) selected eight Black delegates to tour the USSR.

Contacts between Americans and other delegates at the Festival were confined generally to exchanges of greetings, exchanges of addresses, presentation of pins or souvenirs, and the like -- all on a more or less formal basis. There was little interdelegation contact between American and Soviet representatives and what little there was appeared to be accidental. There appeared to be little or no socializing among delegations, even though several ate at the same restaurants.

There were serious disagreements within the American delegation resulting largely from the leadership of Jarvis Tyner, President of the DuBois Clubs, and his assistant, Caroline Black. The SDS delegates challenged their leadership on several occasions, charging that they were partial to DuBois Club delegates.

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The SDS delegates were labeled racists and accused of opposing Black and Tyner because they were black. Most of the American delegates found the Festival generally successful because it had accomplished the aims for which it was created -- "peace, solidarity, and friendship" -- but claimed that this had been possible only through individual efforts of the delegates and not because of demonstrated ability on the part of the leaders.

There were rumors of deep-seated dissension at the international level as well. Some said that there was trouble because revolutionaries could not talk and argue as they wished and that the moderates were in control. Castro and Mao radicals found the Soviet brand of Communism too conservative and insufficiently revolutionary. They also classified the USSR as too capitalistic.

Two members of the American delegation who visited the Chinese Embassy in Sofia were followed when they left by Bulgarian secret police who confiscated material picked up at the Embassy, including the complete works of Mao Tse-tung. No reason was given for the confiscation.

8. Budapest Conference.

Twenty-eight Americans opposed to the war in Vietnam traveled to Hungary to meet with representatives of North Vietnam and the NLF to discuss strategy on the U.S. campuses. The meeting was held in Budapest in September of 1968 and was arranged by David Dellinger, head of the National Mobilization Committee. Vernon Grizzard, former national vice president of SDS and one of the participants, stated that this meeting centered on the Paris peace talks, on prospects of further student unrest, and on furthering unrest among U.S. military personnel. Grizzard stated that the Vietnamese gave no direction for activities in the United States, but they were pleased and interested in "our" plans.

Nine of the U.S. representatives to this conference had taken part in the demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago only a few weeks before.

9. Western Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam.

From November 28 to December 1, 1968, the Communist Party of Canada hosted a conference in Montreal attended by approximately 1,700 delegates and observers, including a 5-man delegation from North Vietnam headed by Hoang Minh Giam, Minister of Culture, and a 2-man delegation from the NLF.

This conference was first proposed by the CPUSA at a secret meeting of Western Hemisphere Communist parties during the Consulative Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties in Budapest early in 1968. It was decided at this time to hold the conference during October when it would have the greatest impact on the 1968 elections. It was also suggested at this meeting that each country send 10 - 20 delegates, except the United States

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and Canada, which would be expected to send 500-1000 delegates. Gus Hall, chairman of the CPUSA, stated that delegations should include representatives of anti-imperialist groups such as pacifists, church groups, and youth and trade union groups. Throughout the summer of 1968 the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) and the CPUSA worked closely together to set up the conference. A dispute arose when the CPC wanted to limit its scope to questions of Vietnam and the danger of U.S. imperialism to Latin America. The CPUSA, however, wanted to broaden its scope to include all aspects of imperialism, including its implications in U.S. domestic developments. These two positions continued to be a point of disagreement throughout the conference. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union contributed a substantial amount of funds to support this conference, but five prospective Soviet observers to the conference were refused Canadian visas because "the Russians had proposed an official delegation which would have promoted the official policy of the Soviet Union."

The approximately 25 members of the Black Panther party (BPP) in attendance, with the aid of white radicals, took over control of the conference following a series of fights and scuffles. Together with other extremists they attacked the "solidarity with the Vietnamese" theme. They wanted to assist North Vietnam and the Viet Cong, but wanted to denounce American imperialism in a wider context as well. A participant at the conference described the BPP members as "black storm troopers" and said no decision was made at the conference without consideration of the Panthers' reactions.

BPP leader Bobby Seale had originally been unable to attend because of lack of funds. However, his followers took over one session and the delegates "voluntarily" raised the money to pay Seale's way to Montreal. He addressed the closing session and called for the overthrow of colonial powers. Seale also had a series of conferences with the North Vietnamese and NLF delegations.

10. Stockholm Conference on Vietnam.

The Stockholm Conference was held May 16 through 18, 1969. Approximately 350 to 400 individuals from 52 countries representing a myriad of peace and antiwar groups were present. About 25 individuals from the United States attended.

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

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The primary purpose of the conference was to promote acceptance of the NLF/DRV Ten Point Peace Plan among the world intellectual community. The NLF and the DRV reportedly hoped thereby to use the influence of these intellectuals in their respective countries to develop world opinion in support of their proposed solution to the war.

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

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

The American delegation consisted of about 25 individuals representing at least eleven organizations. Two Americans addressed the conference. Professor John B. Nielands, of the University of California at Berkeley, spoke critically on U.S. "Chemical Warfare in Vietnam," and Professor Franz Schurman gave a speech on "The Nixon Administration and the Vietnam War." American intellectuals in attendance included Anatol Rapaport, Noam Chomsky, and Gabriel Kolko. American organizations represented included the American Friends Service Committee, the National Lawyers' Guild, Women Strike for Peace, Resist, SNCC, National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, and the War Resistor's League.

A report of the Working Group on Action of this conference set forth seven proposals to be used to undermine support of the United States position in Vietnam. These were:

- a. Collection of signatures of prominent people to be publicized in newspapers.
- b. National and international demonstrations on July 4 in the form best suited to the organizations and the movement in each country. Specific suggestions called for vigils outside United States Embassies on July 4 and the reading aloud of names of Americans killed in Vietnam.
- c. Boycott of United States firms providing goods for the war in Vietnam or engaged in the transporting of such goods.
- d. Increased international support for draft resistance in the United States and by Americans abroad; encouragement of defection from the United States armed forces; and, opposition within the Army.

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e. Increased support of the 10-Point Program of the NLF and exposure of "the weaknesses" of President Nixon's Eight-Point Program.

f. A campaign for recognition of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by more world governments.

g. The issues of the war in Vietnam, particularly the unconditional withdrawal of United States troops and the 10-Point Program of the NLF, should be stressed as widely as possible at all national and international conferences.

With regard to proposal number one enumerated above, the June 25, 1969, edition of "The Washington Post" carried a three-quarter page advertisement calling for the President to end the war in Vietnam now. Specifically, the signers of this advertisement, many of whom have had communist affiliation, called for a halt to offensive military operations and the withdrawal of all United States troops within one year to begin immediately.

11. World Assembly For Peace.

The World Peace Council Conference was held in East Berlin, June 21-23, 1969, and was concerned with the following points:

- a. Unceasing denouncement of United States imperialism.
- b. Recognition of the government of the German Democratic Republic by the United States and other countries within its sphere of influence.
- c. Encouragement to the Vietnamese to continue fighting inasmuch as they are fighting the battle of all emerging nations and this will give the latter the courage to fight their own wars of liberation.
- d. Support of provisional revolutionary governments wherever they occur.

This gathering constituted the de facto Eight Congress of the World Peace Council and was a convocation of all international Communist front leaders behind a facade of some 900 invited "supporters of peace." The delegation from the U.S. consisted largely of representatives of the CPUSA, and CPUSA fronts, but also included such organizations as the Women Strike for Peace (WSP), the SDS, and the Black Panthers. The WSP representatives were also invited to attend the International Women's Conference which is scheduled subsequently for Helsinki, Finland. This is another international front controlled by the Soviet Union. Expenses for the trip to Helsinki are to be paid by the East German Women's Congress.

In at least some instances, passage to the conference was being provided by the World Council for Peace. An Angie Dickerson was sent 20 Aeroflt tickets from New York City plus two KLM-LOT tickets for Dick Gregory. Three tickets were sent to a Carlton Goodlett, and one to Herbert Aptheker.

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~~TOP SECRET~~VISITS TO THE UNITED STATES BY FOREIGN
REVOLUTIONARIES

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The virtual lack of travel restrictions by the United States, coupled with the comparative ease in obtaining a United States visa, practically eliminates any problems foreign leftists have in traveling to the United States. There have been numerous such individuals who have traveled here in the past for varying reasons. Notable among these are Ernest and Gisela Mandel from Belgium and Karl Deitrich Wolff from Germany.

Ernest Mandel is a leading member of the Trotskyite Secretariat of the Fourth International. He is also an activist in the New Left movement throughout Western Europe. His wife, Gisela, was active in founding the anarchistic Socialist German Students Federation (German SDS) in Berlin and is friendly with leaders of various radical youth groups in Western Europe. She received a rugged training course in guerrilla warfare during the summer of 1968 while she and her husband were visiting Cuba.

Ernest Mandel's trip to the United States was arranged by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) while the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the youth arm of the SWP, organized the tour of Gisela Mandel. These two individuals, during September and October of 1968, made separate tours which took them to some 50 college and university campuses from coast to coast and border to border. Each appearance made by these two individuals was marked by their espousing the revolutionary doctrine of the New Left before United States college students.

Karl Deitrich Wolff, a former national chairman of the German SDS, entered the United States on February 25, 1969, reportedly to engage in a speaking and fund raising tour throughout the country and did not miss any opportunity to spread seeds of discontent and anarchy. He cited examples of harrassment and disruption and announced the need to build an international revolutionary alliance adding that a victory for the movement in one country is a victory for the movement in another.

Wolff was subpoenaed to appear before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and during his testimony expressed support for the regimes in Cuba and North Vietnam, and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

A Black Panthers rally in Los Angeles on November 6, 1968, was addressed by a Mexican student who was reportedly associated with the Student Strike Committee of Mexico City, which organization had been involved in violent clashes with Mexican police and military units. During a subsequent meeting, it was agreed that Mexican student leaders would come to Los Angeles to instruct the Black Panthers in disruptive tactics and that Black Panther members would go to Mexico for training.

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~~TOP SECRET~~ORGANIZATION APPENDIXBlack Panther Party (BPP)

The Black Panther Party was formed in 1966 at Oakland, California. Its stated purpose is to organize black people so they can "take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of black communities." The BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program and encourages Negroes to arm themselves against the police. Its publications contain quotations from the writings of the leader of Communist China and feature his statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." It is headquartered at Berkeley, California.

Committee of Returned Volunteers (CRV)

The Committee of Returned Volunteers was established in 1966 at New York City and is composed of individuals who have worked abroad in such programs as the American Friends Service Committee and Peace Corps. It has a membership of approximately 3,000 individuals and 12 chapters throughout the United States. It has been active in demonstrations protesting United States policy, particularly the draft and the war in Vietnam. Its leaders have discussed establishing contact with revolutionary groups, aiding guerrillas, destruction of existing governments and the transmission of information to Soviet-bloc countries. The CRV has declared that it seeks radical changes in United States policy towards Asia, Africa, Latin America and emerging communities in the United States.

National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NMC)

The NMC was founded in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1966. It is a coalition of over 100 antiwar, antidraft, black extremist and pacifist groups. Among the organizations which participated in NMC activities are the CPUSA, SWP, SNCC and the American Friends Service Committee. The NMC has organized major protest demonstrations including the march on the Pentagon in October, 1967; the disruptive demonstrations during the Democratic National Convention at Chicago in August, 1968; and the demonstrations during the Presidential Inauguration ceremonies in January, 1969. Its officers include David Dellinger, who has travelled to the Soviet Union, North Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, Cuba and Sweden in furtherance of opposition to the war in Vietnam.

Republic of New Africa (RNA)

The Republic of New Africa is headquartered at Detroit, Michigan. It is a black extremist separatist organization whose stated purpose is the formation of a black nation within the United States. It advocates the formation of a black army to defend this black nation and to attack its enemies.

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Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

SDS, which is headquartered in Chicago, Illinois, was formed in 1962 and is an outgrowth of the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the youth affiliate of the League for Industrial Democracy, an old-line labor-oriented Fabian Socialist organization.

The founding convention of SDS held at Port Huron, Michigan, in 1962, produced the "Port Huron Statement" which in effect provided the ideological framework for SDS, established the line of "participatory democracy," and set the direction for much of the subsequent activity of the organization.

In the ensuing years SDS has increasingly entered into the mainstream of revolutionary politics particularly with regard to its opposition to the American form of government. At its National Council meeting held in Austin, Texas, in March, 1969, SDS National Secretary Michael Klonsky stated, "Our primary task is to build a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement." The central appeal of SDS has been to the student. It currently has approximately 250 chapters located mainly on college campuses.

Student Mobilization Committee (SMC)

The SMC is headquartered at New York City. It is dominated by members of the SWP and/or members of the YSA. The SMC has been active in demonstrations against United States policy. Its aims are to bring about the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam, to end university "complicity" with the war, and to establish self-determination for Vietnam and "black America." It currently publishes the "Student Mobilizer."

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

SNCC was formed in 1960 at Atlanta, Georgia, as a nonmembership civil rights organization. It took part in voter registration work in the South and was one of the moving forces behind the Freedom Riders of the early 1960s. In 1966 Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman of SNCC. He moved this group from the civil rights field to a full-blown revolutionary group. Carmichael urged Negroes to prepare for a "bloody revolution."

Carmichael was succeeded as National Chairman in 1967 by H. Rap Brown, who continued Carmichael's policy of denouncing United States' intervention in Vietnam, calling for rebellion by any means, and massive civil disobedience.

SNCC is a nonmembership organization which is headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia. It is composed of 50 staff members and a 15-member Central Committee.

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Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

WILPF, an international pacifist group, has its United States headquarters in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and has a current membership of 11,000 in 154 branches in the United States.

The WILPF advocates the right to self-determination, support of the United Nations, enforcement of civil rights laws and new approaches to the entire social welfare system. The organization is currently urging abolition of the Anti-Ballistic Missile System, withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam, and the elimination of racial discrimination.

Women Strike for Peace (WSP)

WSP is a national nonmembership women's pacifist group which maintains a national office at Washington, D.C. It has engaged in numerous protests against the draft, the war in Vietnam, nuclear tests, and the Anti-Ballistic Missile System. Representatives of WSP have been in contact with the National Liberation Front and have travelled to various countries including Cuba.

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