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COMMUNIST ORIGIN AND MANIPULATION

OF

VIETNAM WEEK

(APRIL 8-15, 1967)

REPORT

BY THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETIETH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION



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MARCH 31, 1967

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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

United States House of Representatives

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Public Law 601, 79th Congress

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946]; 60 Stat. 812, which provides:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * *

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Rule X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

Rule XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.
(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and

(iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committeee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * * *

Rule XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 90TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 7, January 10, 1967

* * * * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * * * *

(r) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members,

* * * * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * * * *

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* * * * * * *

27. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

FOREWORD

During recent years, certain themes have been given major emphasis in Communist Party documents, in speeches of party leaders, resolutions adopted by the Communist Party, and also in statements and declarations emanating from Moscow.

Four of the themes which have received such emphasis are:

1. The U.S. must get out of Vietnam; the war there (i.e., resistance to Communist aggression) must be ended.

2. "Peace" agitation and propaganda must be increased; the "peace movement" must be broadened.

3. Communist parties must devote more time to youth work.

4. In all activities, Communists must make increasing use of the "united front" strategy.

In this report on "Vietnam Week," there is clear evidence of implementation of each one of these Communist directives.

The initiators and organizers of Vietnam Week (April 8–15, 1967) hope that it will be characterized by the most widespread demonstrations that have yet taken place in this country against the tremendous effort our Nation has been making—successfully—to help the people of South Vietnam keep themselves free of Communist tyranny. They also hope that the mass demonstrations against the U.S. role in Vietnam, which will serve as the climax of Vietnam Week and are scheduled to be held in New York City and San Francisco on April 15, will be the largest ever held in this country.

Vietnam Week, as I stated in a press release dated January 28, is a "crash program" to undermine and sabotage U.S. resistance to Communist military aggression in Vietnam. In that same press release, I stated:

> The people of this country, and people everywhere, should know not only what is coming during the week of April 8–15, but who is behind the actions planned and their real purpose.

This report is being released by the Committee on Un-American Activities in furtherance of that statement—to assist the Congress and the American people in fully appreciating the nature and significance of Vietnam Week.

The cry will be raised—as it always has been raised before in similar circumstances—that the committee, in releasing this report, is trying to stifle honest and legitimate dissent.

Nothing could be farther from the truth. I, and all the other members of the committee, not only recognize the legitimacy of honest, sincere, and responsible dissent, but see it as something to be encouraged because it is essential to the vigor, the health, and the preservation of our system of government. Neither this committee nor any other committee of the Congress has any desire to curb or stifle such dissent.

Honest and responsible dissent from American policy by patriotic Americans who are loyal to the principles on which this Government

is founded will not bring about our defeat in Vietnam. Rather, by stimulating further airing and discussion of the issues, it will tend to clarify and add to the public's understanding of them—and also to its appreciation of the basic correctness of the policy our Government is pursuing. Thus, in the long run, honest and responsible dissent will, if anything, strengthen our resolve to see that our commitment in Vietnam is brought to a successful conclusion. This being so, we should welcome such dissent.

At the same time, we must face the fact that certain activities are being carried out in this country by persons who are not dedicated to the principles of our form of government and who use the claim and mask of dissent for no other reason than to try to conceal the fact that their allegiance is to a power other than that of the United States Government.

Such activities are not true or honest dissent. Deliberate deception, methodically employed to advance the world Communist movement, is not dissent, but conspiracy. It is not debate, but a tricky, underhanded attempt to manipulate public opinion and stifle full and open debate—by pressure tactics.

We must not permit Communist propaganda trickery to obscure the difference between legitimate dissent and planned betrayal. The real objective of Vietnam Week is not the expression of honest dissent to promote the best interests of the American people and their Government, but to to do injury and damage to the United States and to give aid and comfort to its enemies.

The people and the Congress have a right to know about such activities. To reveal the nature of them and the persons and organizations responsible for them is in no sense a threat to honest dissent or a violation of any of the rights guaranteed to all American citizens by the first amendment.

The Supreme Court, in its June 5, 1961, decision upholding the the constitutionality of the Internal Security Act, said:

> The Communist Party would have us hold that the First Amendment prohibits Congress from requiring * * * [disclosure of the operations and membership of] organizations substantially dominated or controlled by the foreign powers controlling the world Communist movement and which operate primarily to advance the objectives of that movement: the overthrow of existing government by any means necessary and the establishment in its place of a Communist totalitarian dictatorship * * *. We cannot find such a prohibition in the First Amendment. So to find would make a travesty of that Amendment and the great ends for the well-being of our democracy that it serves. (*Communist Party* v. *SACB*, 367 U.S. 1)

Numerous statutes have been enacted by the Congress based on the principle that persons who enter into the market place of ideas, who urge certain foreign and domestic policies on the American people and speak on issues vitally affecting their interests, must do so with clean and open hands. They should reveal any ties or affiliations with "special interest" groups, particularly those which are foreign in character. Thus, we have the Foreign Agents Registration Act, the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act, and numerous regulatory statutes requiring the filing of certain information by newspaper publishers, radio and TV station owners, and so forth.

Failing to disclose "special interest" affiliations, while attempting to influence the American people, is considered so damaging to the general welfare that it has been made a prison offense by various statutes which the courts have consistently upheld as constitutional.

To preserve free speech and keep strong our first amendment rights, we as a nation must do what we can to insure the integrity of speech. This is the basic purpose of many of the laws of the type I have referred to. It is a duty and a purpose of the Congress and of this committee.

This report, therefore, is published not for the purpose of suppressing the free expression of ideas, however fraught with error they may be. The basic purpose is to aid in the preservation of the integrity of speech by the removing of the mask which is being employed by certain persons and organizations to cover over activities of a foreign-directed conspiracy. As Justice Frankfurter said in the Communist Party case, to which reference has above been made:

> Where the mask of anonymity which an organization's members wear serves the double purpose of protecting them from popular prejudice and of enabling them to cover over a foreign-directed conspiracy, infiltrate into other groups, and enlist the support of persons who would not, if the truth were revealed, lend their support, * * * it would be a distortion of the First Amendment to hold that it prohibits Congress from removing the mask.

Certain persons named in this report are identified as members of Communist organizations. Other persons are named as taking part in an operation engineered by these Communist groups.

The committee does not imply by mention of these persons' names that they are Communists or knowingly aiding and abetting the purposes of the world Communist movement or any of the Communist organizations named in this report. As Justice Frankfurter indicated above, the Communists make it a practice to try to enlist, and seem to have great ability in enlisting, in support of their projects persons who would not give their support if they knew the full truth about them.

It is unfortunate, but undoubtedly true, that some of the persons mentioned in this report are victims of the Communists in this respect, largely because of their youth. It is my sincere hope that they will wake up to the manner in which they are being used before they ever again become involved in operations such as those described in this report.

EDWIN E. WILLIS, *Chairman.*

MARCH 31, 1967.

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COMMUNIST ORIGIN AND MANIPULATION OF VIETNAM WEEK (APRIL 8–15, 1967)

CHAPTER I

Origins of Vietnam Week

THE COMMUNIST CALL FOR A NATIONWIDE STUDENT STRIKE

Let us call for a nation-wide student-faculty strike in September when hundreds of thousands walk-out for several hours one fine day, and say get out of Vietnam.

This challenge was published in the spring 1966 issue of *Dimensions*, which describes itself as the "Discussion Journal of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs" (of America). It appeared in an article written by Bettina Aptheker, a professed member of the Communist Party and the DuBois Clubs.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has stated that the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America were "spawned" by the Communist Party; that they were formed by mandate of Gus Hall, the party's general secretary, after top party leaders decided in October 1963 that the party should take additional measures to attract young Americans. Hall "ordered the formation of a Marxist-oriented youth organization to attract non-Communists as the first step toward their eventual recruitment into the party." [1]

On March 2, 1966, then Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach petitioned the Subversive Activities Control Board to issue an order requiring the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) to register as a Communist front organization as required by the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950. In support of his petition, the Attorney General stated:

> From its inception, DCA [DuBois Clubs of America] has been and is substantially directed, dominated and controlled by the Communist Party and has been and is primarily operated for the purpose of giving aid and support to the Communist Party. * * *

In support of this statement, the Attorney General cited a number of facts in his petition, including the following, about the DuBois Clubs, their origin, and activities:

Communist Party members and officers were assigned by the Communist Party to attend the founding convention of the DuBois Clubs;

These people directed the activities of the DCA founding convention;

A substantial number of persons who have been active in the management, direction, and supervision of the DuBois Clubs have also been active in the management, direction, and supervision—and also as representatives of—the Communist Party;

The Communist Party has given the DCA financial and other support;

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[1] Testimony of J. Edgar Hoover, House Appropriations Subcommittee, Mar. 4, 1965.

The Communist Party has furnished speakers and lecturers for DCA meetings and other functions;

The Communist Party has conducted classes in Marxism for DCA members and has supplied DCA with literature for the education of its members in Marxism-Leninism.

The Department of Justice is prepared to present proof of these statements—and additional evidence proving that the DuBois Clubs are Communist controlled—in hearings before the Subversive Activities Control Board. The DuBois Clubs, however, by various legal maneuvers have, to date, prevented the Subversive Activities Control Board from proceeding with the hearings which the Attorney General has requested.

Bettina Aptheker, the initiator of the idea of a nationwide student-faculty strike to protest and undermine this country's determination to prevent the Communist enslavement of South Vietnam, is the daughter of Herbert Aptheker, who is generally recognized within the Communist Party as its leading theoretician. He is a member of the Communist Party's National Committee. From July 1957 to April 1963, he served as editor of *Political Affairs*, the party's monthly theoretical journal. Aptheker has written numerous books and pamphlets printed by the party's publishing houses. He is, in addition, the director of the American Institute for Marxist Studies in New York City and was formerly director of The New York School for Marxist Studies, the Communist Party's major school in the United States.

Bettina Aptheker (though married to Jack Kurzweil, she still uses her maiden name) first gained national notoriety as a leader of the so-called Free Speech Movement at the University of California—a movement which organized massive, riotous demonstrations on the university's Berkeley campus in December 1964, leading to the arrest of almost 800 students.

In an open letter "To my fellow students," published in the November 9, 1965, issue of the University of California student newspaper, *The Daily Californian*, Bettina Aptheker wrote:

> I have been for a number of years, I am now, and I propose to remain a member of the Communist Party of the United States.

She attended the 18th National Convention of the Communist Party, held in New York City June 22–26, 1966, as a member of the party's youth section and, like her father, was elected to the party's national committee.

She had been one of the leaders of the Berkeley delegation to the founding convention of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America, which was held in San Francisco, Calif., June 19–21, 1964. She also attended and played a key role in the Second National Convention of the DCA, which was held at the Chicago Coliseum June 17–19, 1966, immediately prior to the 18th National Convention of the Communist Party.

A reporter for the Newspaper Enterprise Association interviewed Bettina Aptheker last fall and reported on his conversation with her as follows:

> This school year, for example, she has it in mind to spearhead a student revolution which will hopefully lead to what she calls the "erosion of the democratic form of government" and eventual establishment of Kremlinlike leadership in the United States.

"It's coming," she insists: "The nation is disgusted. One day the people will go to the polls and throw both the Democrats and Republicans out of office."

And elect whom?

"Communists! Who else?" [2]

WHY THE COMMUNISTS WANT A NATIONWIDE STUDENT STRIKE

In her *Dimensions* article, which was entitled "Perspectives for the Peace Movement," Bettina Aptheker wrote, in part, as follows:

> There are two major things required in the peace movement today; bringing ever-larger numbers of people into the movement, with the greatest degree of unity possible, and avoidance at all costs of the isolation of the Left. Second, we must increase the militancy of the movement. In the past we have been too hesitant to use militant tactics when they are appropriate and responsive to the mood and sentiment of the people. Militancy must, of course, not lead to isolation; rather it must be a source of strength.

She then exhorted her readers to undertake certain actions, including the call for the nationwide strike which, in her belief, would bring greater numbers of people into the "peace" movement and increase its militancy.

BETTINA STARTS ORGANIZING

The agenda for the Second National Convention of the DCA listed Bettina Aptheker as a speaker for three of the seven "Areas of Concern" (workshop subjects) on which panels were held. One of these ("Area of Concern III") was entitled "The Peace Movement and the International Scene."

According to the agenda, her talk on this "area of concern" covered:

> The campus peace movement—the problems of the campus movement—who is it aimed at? How can it expand its base? What is its relation to the rest of the peace movement? What should the role of the left be within this movement? Action proposals for next year.

She spoke from notes—notes which were obviously based on her article in *Dimensions*.

She stressed the themes of bringing more people into the peace movement, avoiding isolation of the left, increasing the "militancy" of the movement, and not hesitating to use "military tactics" at the appropriate time.

And, of course, one of her windup exhortations was a call for a nationwide student strike for peace in Vietnam that would involve many thousands of students and faculty members.

She also made a boast to the following effect:

> We will, if necessary, take over the college campus in this country . . . like the students at the University of Mexico . . . if our demands are not met!

A "National Assembly of Youth for Jobs" was held by the DuBois Clubs in Washington, D.C., on August 27–28, 1966. The program of this assembly listed Bettina Aptheker as a speaker on "National Student Strike." It also stated that the proposals considered at the assembly "should be viewed as the skeleton of a national program" for the DuBois Clubs. It further noted:

> We are also proposing four extended workshops which will discuss specific ideas around opposition to the war in Vietnam * * *. These will be on 1) PROPOSAL FOR A NATIONAL STUDENT STRIKE * * *.

---

[2] *Contra Costa Times*, Oct. 2, 1966.

The final item on the agenda read as follows:

PROPOSAL TO THE NATIONAL ACTION ON THE WAR IN VIETNAM AND THE DRAFT:

WE CALL FOR A NATIONAL STUDENT STRIKE TO DEMAND AN END TO THE WAR IN VIETNAM.

Bettina Aptheker attended the Washington assembly and spoke as scheduled. Mimeographed copies of her proposal for a nationwide student strike were distributed and the issue was discussed by the more than 200 DuBois Club members who attended the assembly.

Earlier in the summer, she had managed to have the national administration committee of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) circulate a paper containing her proposal of, and arguments for, a national student strike. In this paper she had advanced the proposed date of the strike from September to November 4, 1966.[3]

After urging the idea of a national student strike on the DCA members attending the Washington assembly, she traveled to Clear Lake, Iowa, to address the national convention of Students for a Democratic Society (August 27 to September 1, 1966).

There she called on the 300 delegates attending the convention "to accept Communist Party Members freely into their ranks," adding, "We feel that S.D.S. can help us, but it is not a one-way street. We feel that we can also help them in arguing certain positions."

The target date set for the strike in her original call—September—could not possibly be met at this time. Her new target date was now November. She continued her organizational efforts.

She prepared a new, revised two-page "Proposal for a National Student Strike for Peace" and set up a "Temporary Organizing Committee, Student Strike for Peace."

THE CALL FOR A STRIKE-PLANNING CONFERENCE

By September 18 she had approached 32 persons who, at her request, had agreed to serve as initial sponsors of a meeting which would be held to plan a nationwide student strike.

Bettina Aptheker's mimeographed "Proposal for a National Student Strike for Peace" and the original list of initial sponsors (33, counting her) were mailed to organizational and individual contacts with a covering letter signed by Jean Loftus of the Temporary Organizing Committee, Student Strike for Peace. (See Exhibits Nos. 1–A, 1–B, and 1–C, pp. 9–13.) The letter announced that a meeting to plan the strike would be held in Chicago in late December 1966. It urged recipients to fill out a form which was enclosed (See Exhibit No. 1–D, p. 14.), signifying their willingness to serve as a signer of the call to this meeting.

The return address on this form, 2224 Roosevelt Street, Berkeley, Calif., is the home address of Bettina Aptheker and her husband.

The composition of the 33 original "initial sponsors" of the meeting to organize a national student strike is worthy of comment in a number of respects.

In addition to Bettina Aptheker, at least three others were members of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs—Franklin Alexander, Anthony Wilkinson (cochairman of the unit at San Francisco State College), and Fred B. Silver.

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[3] For additional details on this paper, see pp. 39, 40.

EXHIBIT No. 1-A

(Copy)

1957 N. Bissell
Chicago, Illinois 60614

Dear Friend,

You may have already heard about the proposed Student Strike for Peace, projected to take place nation-wide some time this spring. The enclosed statement of purpose should be self-explanatory.

We are asking you to participate in the planning of this strike. A national planning meeting will be held here in Chicago in late December, for the purpose of defining goals and procedures for the strike and the issuing of a call announcing the strike to the educational community at large. If possible we would like to use your name on the initial call going out November 1st to invite people to this planning meeting. Signing this call is an endorsement of further discussion and planning, and would not necessarily imply signing a later endorsement of the strike itself. Signatures for this initial call will be in the form of individuals with positions or affiliations for identification purposes only. No organization endorsements are being solicited.

It is critically important at this stage in the development of the strike idea that the broadest possible base of people and ideas be included in the planning. At present the strike is identified in many peoples' minds only with Bettina Aptheker, whose proposal it initially was. Since late this summer, when Bettina originally proposed the strike, many people representing an impressive cross-section of the academic community have endorsed the call for the December planning meeting. My own experience working with a national Christian student group leads me to believe that participation in this strike can be extended beyond students traditionally involved in peace and the left, and I'm particularly concerned that we do what is necessary to make this broader protest come about.

Please reply by November 1st at the latest. If you are interested but unable for some reason to sign the call, please contact us anyway and we'll see if some other form of participation can be worked out. If you know anyone else who might be interested in this, please do pass it on to them.

Sincerely,

(Jean Loftus)

Jean Loftus
Temporary Organizing Committee
Student Strike for Peace

EXHIBIT 1-B

(Copy)

PROPOSAL FOR A NATIONAL STUDENT STRIKE FOR PEACE

Over the past two years tens of thousands of students have engaged in some form of anti-war activity. With a good deal of consistency efforts to organize student opposition to the war in Vietnam have met with success. Sentiment against the war, against university cooperation with the Selective Service system, and/or university participation in war-research projects is strong and growing. All too often we have underestimated the opposition, and underestimated the numbers of students willing to do something against the war. We have also underestimated the depth of the sentiment and the militant if not radical actions students are willing to take against the war.

There are many campuses with only fledgling peace groups, and others where no organized peace forces exist. We have built large movements on a number of very important campuses. One of the major problems facing the student movement today is how to give new direction and strength to the student movement where it already exists, and how to begin the process of organizing on campuses where the movement is weak or non-existent. We need them to both broaden and deepen the student anti-war movement. There are at least two things required to achieve this: (1) to talk to students about the war, and the effects of the war on their lives - i.e. the draft, the corruption of education when universities are used to research new and refined techniques for killing; the degeneracy and destruction of ideals by a war such as the one being waged against the people of Vietnam. (2) We need a nationally co-ordinated student action to give focus and direction to the movement, as well as making it possible for students who are organizing on campuses with a small movement to feel a part of a national action, and less isolated. The primary object is to develop a militant, effective and broad united demonstration against the war commensurate with the escalation, cruelty and aggressive character of American foreign policy.

It is from such an estimate of student sentiment and confidence in students to respond, a general analysis of the present campus state of affairs, and the desire to mobilize the academic community against the war that the proposal for a National Student Strike for Peace is made.

Many of the left student organizations are now discussing fall campus activity. SDS has several ideas for organizing a national student referendum on the war, and actions against the draft. Some people have suggested making all of November a Month of Protest. None of the proposals for either local actions, or for a number of nationally co-ordinated efforts, seem to me to be mutually exclusive. In fact, each would help to build and strengthen the others. The strike is proposed for the Spring, 1967.

NATURE OF A STUDENT STRIKE

The measure of success for a strike would be the cumulative effect of students (and faculty) all over the country responding on the same day to ACT against the war. Therefore, the success of the strike is not the absence of people from the university, but the active and positive actions of students and others in the academic community. If 'only' 10% of the students participated in the strike - i.e. 550,000, it would be, I think, a tremendous success. When was the last time that anything approaching that number of people from one community nationally has been moved to act in unison? The tactics for each area and/or college should be devised by the local coalition planning the action, and tactics would be as varied as the level of political development differs nationally. We could expect to run the gamut of tactics from a teach-in, to a referendum to a picket-line etc. A group of colleges close to each other might decide to have one joint protest. There are many possibly combinations. The strike should allow for maximum flexibility and initiative by local groups.

EXHIBIT NO. 1-B—Continued

The emphasis of the political content of the strike should be on the war as it affects the university and education which of course goes to a dialogue on the nature of this particular war. This is merely a suggestion, and demands and programs should be formulated by a meeting representative of all endorsing and sponsoring organizations. However, the strong feeling it seems to me on a whole number of campuses is on questions of war research projects, CIA undercover operation and projects, military recruiting, ROTC training, the draft, and the general militarization of educational institutions.

SPONSORHIP, ENDORSEMENT, PARTICIPATION

Sponsorship should come from any and all organizations from the university community. In addition to national groupings which now comprise the main section of the present student anti-war movement, we should seek sponsorship from religious student organizations (or the formation of an AD HOC Committee of religious student groups), from faculty peace committees, local student governments, etc. Approaches in local areas could be made to all political and social groups into which students are organized -- the Young Democrats, the glee club, the hiking club, ski clubs, the Sierra clubs, forcing them to confront the war and as a group make a decision for or against the strike. We should make approaches to living groups -- perhaps on a given campus this or that dormitory or co-op would suport the strike. In the very organizing process the dialogue on the war could involve groups we have never before approached.

Endorsements for the strike (and possible supporting actions) should come from every conceivable corner of the non-academic community, e.g. churches, the civil rights movement, trade unionists for peace (and in some local areas perhaps even some unions), Women for Peace, American Friends Service Committee, independent election campaigns, e.g. Scheer for Congress now called the Community for New Politics, and prominent individuals, e.g. Scheer, Ted Weiss, Don Duncan, Keating, Spock, Deutcher, Muste, King (as a Nobel Peace Prize winner), Julian Bond, etc.

In terms of participation, then, what is desired is the widest possibly sponsorship and endorsement with a great many national organizations participating in the building of the strike. To achieve a strike what is required is the united cooperative strength of the student organization, and the movement's support. Of great importance as well, is the ability of each organization to be able to maintain itself, its own program and identity while joining in the strike effort. One might add here that the strike is not necessarily limited to Junior College, college and university students. It is conceivable that large numbers of high school students could participate, specifically on issues with which they have special concern. But as the main discussion so far has been on the college level, the possibility of high school participation is mentioned, but not developed. Ideas on this would have to come from the high school students themselves.

Very briefly I sketched some thoughts on the student strike. A copy of the brochure calling for a meeting to plan the strike is enclosed. If, within the next few weeks a number of people from various sections of the academic community will sign the call for a meeting in Chicago during the Christmas recess, the call will be printed, with the signatures,and mailed and distributed as widely as possible. As of now the call has not been printed. I wish to emphasize that these ideas represent a personal conception of a student strike, and by no means are definitive. I sought to fulfill the request of a number of people in the N.C.C. and SDS, and I set down my ideas on the strike to further discussions on it, throughout these organizations and among many other groups and individuals. It is in that spirit that this position paper was written.

Submitted by
Bettina Aptheker, University of California, Berkeley

76-322 O—67——3

EXHIBIT No. 1-C

(Copy)

Initial Sponsors for the Student Strike

Note: The people below have signed the call for the Chicago meeting to plan the student strike for peace. This list is as of September 18. Unless the person verbally agreed in my presence or actually signed the call the name does not appear below. An additional list will be sent out in about two weeks (October 3) prior to final publication of the call. (B.A.)

DONALD KALISH - Chairman, Department of Philosophy, University of California at Los Angeles

IRA L. MELTZER - Attorney-General, Associated Students, San Jose State State College, San Jose, California

DAVID K. NEWMAN - Professor, Department of Psychology, San Jose State College, San Jose, California

PETER LACKOWSKI - Assistant Professor, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Los Angeles

DONALD W. HOSIE - City Editor, DAILY BRUIN, University of California, Los Angeles

NEIL REICHLINE - Editor-in-Chief, DAILY BRUIN, University of California, Los Angeles

THOMAS RICHARDS - Executive Committee, Graduate Students Association, University of California, Los Angeles

ANTHONY WILKINSON - Representative at large, Student Legislature, San Francisco State College

BRIAN O'BRIAN - President, American Federation of Teachers Local #1570, University of California, Berkeley

BETTINA APTHEKER - University of California, Berkeley

JACQUELINE GOLDBERG - University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois

DAVID HARRIS - President, Associated Students, Stanford University

CARL OGELSBY - Former president, Students for a Democratic Society

FRANK EMSPAK - Chairman, National Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

FRANKLIN ALEXANDER - Chairman, W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America

LINDA BAUGHN - Chairman, Vietnam Strategy Committee, Methodist Student Movement

CLYDE E. GRUBBS - National Board, Student Religious Liberals

GEORGE M. CHAIKIN - Chairman, J.A.C. Student Body President, Cooper Union, New York City

MICHAEL ROSSMAN - Former member F.S.M. Steering Committee, Graduate Student at the University of California, Berkeley

EXHIBIT NO. 1-C—Continued

GWENDOLYN PATTON - President, Student Body, Tuskegee Institute (1965 - 1966), Southern Regional Project Directors, USNSA

LORRI KILLOUGH - Staff member, North Nashville Project

SHERRI MYERS - Chairman, Nashville office, Southern Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam

DAVID BENSON - Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, Fisk University

FRED BERNARD SILVER - W. E. B. DuBois Club, Peabody College, Tennessee

ALLAN DALE - Campus Minister, Episcopal, San Francisco State College

THEODORE KELLER - Professor, Department of International Relations, San Francisco State College

PATRICK GLEASON - Professor, Department of English, San Francisco State College

ALEX STEIN - Chairman, Students for a Democratic Society, San Francisco State College

JAMES NIXON - President, Associated Students, San Francisco State College, President California Association of College (Student Body) Presidents

LESLIE CAGAN - Chairman, New York University Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and corresponding secretary of the New Student Union

HOWARD ZINN - Professor, Department of Government, Boston University

HENRY KAHN - Harvard Medical School, Boston Student Medical Conference

QUENTIN BASSETT - Students for a Democratic Society, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Organizations listed for purposes of identification only.

EXHIBIT NO. 1-D

"If you wish to sign the call for the Chicago meeting to plan a National Student Strike for Peace please sign below:

Name:_____

Address:_____

Organizational Affiliation*:_____
or

University Affiliation*:_____

*Will be used for purposes of identification only.

Please return no later than October 20, 1966 to:

Bettina Aptheker
2224 Roosevelt Street
Berkeley, California 94703

Two, in addition to Bettina Aptheker, were the offspring of known Communists—Anthony Wilkinson and Frank Emspak. (The former is the son of Frank Wilkinson, the party's principal operative in its efforts to bring about the abolition of this committee. Frank Emspak is the son of the late Julius Emspak, secretary-treasurer of the United Electrical Workers Union [expelled from the CIO as Communist dominated in 1949], an admitted Communist who was known in the party as "Comrade Juniper.")

Three were members or officials of the Students for a Democratic Society—Carl Oglesby,[4] Alex Stein, and Quentin Bassett.

In addition to Bettina Aptheker, two had been leaders of the Free Speech Movement—Jacqueline Goldberg and Michael Rossman.

The largest number were from educational institutions in the San Francisco Bay area, where Bettina Aptheker naturally had many contacts; six from San Francisco State College; three from the Berkeley campus of the University of California; and two from San Jose State College. The University of California at Los Angeles was next with five representatives.

Also of interest is the note by Bettina Aptheker above the list of initial sponsors: "Unless the person verbally agreed in my presence or actually signed the call the name does not appear below."

[4] Incorrectly spelled "Ogelsby" on the list of initial sponsors, Exhibit 1-C.

At the time she approached the 32 other initial sponsors, Bettina Aptheker was probably the most widely known Communist in the United States—having received far more press coverage as such in recent months (as a result of her Free Speech Movement activity and subsequent proclamation of party membership) than party leader Gus Hall himself.

Despite this fact, one campus minister, eight professors or assistant professors, seven officers of student bodies, five representatives of student organizations, and two editors of student newspapers gave their complete cooperation to her effort to launch a nationwide student strike which, in essence, supported the Peking-Moscow position in Vietnam.

The results of the previously mentioned mailing were highly favorable. Some weeks later, after responses from it had been received, the would-be strike organizers were able to distribute, via the mails and otherwise, 20,000 copies of a printed "Call for a National Student Strike for Peace" with a covering letter addressed "Dear Students, Professors and Friends." (See Exhibit No. 2, p. 17, and Exhibit No. 3, opp. p. 18.)

The call announced that a conference to plan a student strike would be held at the University of Chicago on December 28 and 29, 1966, and would be hosted by the Chicago Peace Council. It contained the names of 193 initial sponsors (163 new ones) from all parts of the country and noted that there were additional sponsors whose names would be supplied upon request. Persons who asked for these were sent a mimeographed list of 89 additional names. (See Exhibit No. 4, pp. 18, 19.) Three of the names on this list had appeared on the list of 33 original sponsors, but not on the printed call to the Chicago conference.

These documents effectively concealed the key role Bettina Aptheker had played in calling for the strike and organizing the Chicago conference to plan one. They made it appear that she was no more than one of the 193 sponsors of the call. Addresses and telephone numbers for inquiries, registration, etc., listed on these documents were also designed to cover up her role. Recipients were advised to contact the Chicago Peace Council, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill., telephone number 525–0195 (the home phone of Marjorie Kinsella, secretary of the Chicago Peace Council) or 733–1155 (the number of a phone shared by the Chicago Peace Council and the Fellowship of Reconciliation). The New York City address listed was that of Hunter College.

THE HOST ORGANIZATION

The Chicago Peace Council, organized in the summer of 1965, is run by a mixed group of Communists (both the Moscow and Trotskyist variety), pacifists, and individuals from the so-called New Left. The building in which it has its headquarters (located at 1608 West Madison Street) is owned by John Rossen, formerly an official of the Communist Party and of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. In its operations the council follows a "united front" course, cooperating and participating in projects with Communist, pacifist, and front organizations.

THE INVITED

A "Student Strike Conference Bulletin," dated December 19, 1966, and signed by Marjorie Kinsella "For the Preparations Committee," revealed, among other things, that the length of the conference had been extended one day (to include December 30). It also revealed that a preparations committee had been organized and had sent letters to the following organizations, requesting that they send representatives who would compose the temporary steering committee for the conference: (See Exhibit No. 5, pp. 20, 21.)

National Student Association (NSA)
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)
Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the youth section of the Socialist Workers (Trotskyist Communist) Party
American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)
Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC)
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
Chicago Peace Council
W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America
Young Christian Students
National Coordinating Committee To End the War in Vietnam (NCCEWV)
Spring Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam
Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy
Methodist Student Movement
Midwest Faculty Committee
Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee

The December 1966 issue of *Activist*, which describes itself as "The Newsletter and Discussion Journal of the New York Area W. E. B. DuBois Clubs," featured an article "The National Student Strike for Peace," which was written by Edith Ravitch, identified on the call for the National Student Strike as the Hunter College (New York City) coordinator of the National Student Association. This article stated that it was expected that "many high schools will be able to have an action of some kind" protesting the Vietnam war.

An editor's note urged that contributions be sent to the New York State Strike Coordinating Committee (c/o Edith Ravitch) which was working to raise funds for the Chicago conference.

The Chicago conference was also publicized by *The Worker* and *People's World*, official Communist Party newspapers, *The Militant*, official organ of the Socialist Workers Party, and the New York Communist weekly newspaper, the *National Guardian*.

It is significant that, even at the time the call to the Chicago conference was distributed, some of the backers of the idea of a nationwide student strike had begun to doubt its feasibility. The covering letter mailed with the call pointed out that:

> A major issue which still remains to be solved is whether or not the project should take the form of a Strike. There are many campuses which have not developed their anti-war sentiment sufficiently and therefore do not feel a strike would be feasible. * * *

EXHIBIT NO. 2

CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS A NATIONAL STUDENT STRIKE

DEC. 28 & 29

UNIV. of CHICAGO
1126 E. 59TH St.

Dear Students, Professors and Friends,

Enclosed is a Call for a Conference to plan a National Campus Action in the Spring. You are being invited to participate in the planning of this action. A major issue which still remains to be solved is whether or not the project should take the form of a Strike. There are many campuses which have not developed their anti-war sentiment sufficiently and therefore do not feel a strike would be feasible. On the other hand, these same campuses could use a National Strike or mobilization as a means to organize the students to voice opposition to the many issues around the war. Some of these issues will be dealt with at the Conference: the draft, ROTC, defense contracts, inflation, escalation, etc. The issues are here. The urgency for planning on a National level is also here. We are asking that professors and students unite in opposing the growing involvement of the universities with the government war machine.

Vital to the success of the Conference are your ideas on the issues and the types of action which you think could mobilize the most campuses. For this reason, we look forward to your attendence, and even if possible, a letter from you as to your ideas on the subject.

Try to see that as many of the organizations on your campus as possible hear of this Conference. It is an effort to involve not only the "activists" but those persons who have not, as yet, let their opposition to the war be known.

Registration: Tues. Dec. 27th- 1608 W. Madison Street, Room 201 (733-1155)

Wed. Dec. 28th- 8:00-9:00AM University of Chicago
Social Science Hall 122
1126 E. 59th Street

I have housing available for ____ persons for Dec. 27th thru 29th.

I need housing to be arranged for me on Dec. 27 ☐
Dec. 28 ☐
Dec. 29 ☐

Enclosed find $_____ to help support the National Student Strike Conference

Name_____

Address_____Phone_____

Organization_____

School_____

Return to THE CHICAGO PEACE COUNCIL, 1608 W. Madison, Chicago, Illinois Room 201
For information: 525-0195 or 733-1155

Labor donated

EXHIBIT NO. 4

Additional Sponsors for the Conference to Plan a National Student Strike for Peace

(organizational and university afilliation is used for purpose of identification only).

Jeff Albert, Co-Chairman SDS Bard College New York
Rudy Andrews, Southwest Co-ordinator DuBois Club, Univ. of New Mexico
Linda Arkow, Pres. Philosoohy Club. Hunter College, New York
Quentin Bassett, SDS Boston
C. Beatty, SDEF for Racial Equality
Andrew Berman Former Chairman, SDS, Queens College. New York
Reverend James Bevel, Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Lawrence Billick, Former Co[illegible]ilman, Hunter College, New York
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Frank Conaway Department of English. Portland State College
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Daniel Estersohn, Pennsylvania State University
Paul Fischer, Editor-in-chief, Hunter Arrow 1965-66. Hunter College,N.Y.
Kenneth A. Fisher, SDS Dept. of Germanic Languages. Univ. of Texas,Austin
Carl Frank, Steering Comm., Vietnam Day Committee Berkeley. Calif.
David Frankel SDS, YSA. Queens College. New York
Michael Friedman. Former Co-chairman. Comm. to End the War in Vietnam
Paul Friedman. New York University
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Rose Gordon, Treasurer. Class of 1969, Hunter College, New York
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David Harris. Pres., Associated Students. Stanford University, California
Ace R. Hayes. Portland State College
Barbara Hodes, News Editor, Hunter Arrow 1965-66, New York
Jon Johanning, Dept. of Philosophy, Portland State College
Lew Jones, National Chairman, Young Socialist Alliance
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Phyllis Kalb, News Editor, Brooklyn College, Student Voice New York
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John E. Morbt, Dept. of History, University of Texas, Austin
Tom Morgan, Portland State College

(over)

TOWARD ENDING THE WAR IN VIETNAM... TOWARD ENDING THE DRAFT...

TOWARD ENDING UNIVERSITY PARTICIPATION IN THE WAR EFFORT...

Every escalation of the war in Vietnam by the Administration in Washington brings us closer to a third world war. The incessant bombings of North and South Vietnam have brought death to thousands of innocent people. Each day American soldiers are being asked to kill and be killed in this brutal, unjust and illegal war. The voices of dissent must be raised anew in the academic community. We propose a nation-wide student strike for peace.

The strike will serve notice on campus military recruiters and CIA researchers that the nation's campuses are "off-limits" for their activities -- that American institutions for learning will not be the centers for the recruitment of cannon fodder or the development of new and refined techniques for killing. Our universities must not be used for death; they must be centers for life.

Out of the protests and teach-ins on the campuses has come a deep and growing sentiment among students and faculty alike, that the war in Vietnam must be ended. A national student strike will unite these sentiments into a powerful statement for peace.

Students in high schools, junior colleges, and colleges should call on their teachers and professors to join them in some form of anti-war action. Although much of the peace activity has centered around the college communities, the war has special effects on high school students, especially those who attend ghetto schools. For these young people there is little alternative to military service after graduation. For the first time students across the land have an opportunity to participate in one unified action against the war, the draft, and the intrusion of the military into their daily lives.

All interested organizations are invited to send representatives to Chicago for a conference on the proposed National Student Strike. All individuals from the academic community are welcome to attend the conference. The conference will be hosted by the Chicago Peace Council. It will be held at the University of Chicago on December 28 and 29. On those days we can together plan the strategy, tactics, and politics of a national student strike. We can formulate and agree upon demands and set the date for the strike. We can jointly plan the implementation of this effort.

INITIAL SPONSORS
for the
Conference to plan a National Student Strike for Peace

(organizational and university affiliation used for identification)

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Experimental College Co-ordinator, Princeton

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University of California, Berkeley

There are additional sponsors.
The list is available on request.

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Chicago Peace Council
1608 West Madison
Room #201
Chicago, Illinois

New York

STRIKE c/o Edith Ravitch
NSA Co-Ordinator, Hunter College
695 Park Avenue
New York, New York

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EXHIBIT No. 3

A CALL
FOR A NATIONAL STUDENT
STRIKE
FOR PEACE



EXHIBIT NO. 4—Continued

Additional Sponsors for the Conference to Plan a National Student Strike for Peace p. 2

(organizational and university affiliation for identification only)

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Ronnie M. Moore, New York
Peter Nicholls, Portland State College
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Bryna Schwartz, SDS, City College, New York
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Dan Styron, Chicago, Young Socialist Alliance
Anna Taylor, DuBois Club, Madison, Wisconsin
Paul Elias Taylor, Carpenteria, California
John P. VanHyning, Portland State College
Peter Wase, Chairman Campus Americans for Democratic Action, Rider College
Moriis K. Webb, Department of History, Portland State College
Barry M. Winograd, Department of Sociology, University of Calif. Santa Barbara

EXHIBIT NO. 5

STUDENT STRIKE CONFERENCE BULLETIN

DECEMBER 19,1966

STUDENT STRIKE CONFERENCE GATHERING MOMENTUM

The Chicago Conference to discuss a National Student Strike for Peace is gathering momentum with letters still being received from all parts of the United States as well as from many other countries. Delegates from all major areas of the United States will be in attendance as well as representatives from Canadian and Puerto Rican student groups.

The Conference has been extended to include December 30 in order to encourage the fullest possible discussion of the proposed student strike and alternative campus actions that might be more feasible at this time.

SPONSORS LIST FOR CONFERENCE GROWS

During the last month, 20.000 copies of the Conference Call containing the names of almost 200 sponsors, have been mailed to groups and individuals throughout the United States. The list of sponsors on the Call is only a partial one. and since the printing many. including the following people, have become additional sponsors: Rev. James Bevel, SCLC; Stokely Carmichael, SNCC; David Harris. President Associated Students. Stanford University: John Van Hyning, Portland State College· Dr. John M. Dolan, Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Philosophy, University of Chicago; Dr.Sidney Peck, Professor, Department of Sociology, Western Reserve University: and Jeff Alberts. Co-chairman SDS, Bard College. (College and organizational affiliation for identification only).

Highlights of the Conference will include a 1½ hour film only recently released dealing with the war and the protest movement, produced and directed by film-makers in the anti-war movement. Included in the film, "Sons and Daughters". are speeches by prominent campus and anti-war leaders interspliced with footage from Vietnam. Among the guest speakers at the conference, already confirmed are Mario Savio and James Bevel.

PREPARATIONS WELL UNDER-WAY

A Preparations Committee has been formed to organize the physical arrangements for the Conference. Committees have been set up to handle housing. food, registration, finances. the press and to man the office at 1608 W. Madison. In addition, the Preparations Committee has sent letters to seventeen organizations requesting them to send representatives to form a temporary steering committee for the Conference. These organizations are: NSA, SDS. YSA, AFSC, SSOC, CORE. SCLC, SNCC. Chicago Peace Council, DuBois Clubs of America, Young Christian Students. NNCEWV, Spring Mobilization Committee, Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy,,the Methpdist Student Movement, Midwest Faculty Committee, and the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee. Several representatives from the Preparations Committee will also be on the Temporary Steering Committee.

TEMPORARY STEERING COMMITTEE TO MEET

This temporary steering committee is being formed and will meety prior to the conference to work on the agenda and other organizational matters. It will make proposals to the Conference on the agenda, but it will not formulate policy for the Conference. A Permanent Steering Committee will be elected by the Conference itself.

(OVER)

EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued

POSITION PAPERS REQUESTED

The Conference will concern itself with a variety of programmatic issues. Emphasis will be placed on workshops where discussiom is expected to focus on proposals for a united student actiom in the Spring, the draft, military involvement on the campus, the use of campus facilities for war research, the affects of the war on education, and the role of the academic community in opposing the war.

The Preparations Committee is requesting that all organizations and individuals with ideas of relevance to the conference draw up position papers to be distributed to all those attending. Such position papers should be sent to the Preparations Committee which will reproduce them for distribution.

WHEN YOU ARRIVE

When you arrive in Chicago, whether it be by car, bus, plane or hitchhiking, come to room 201 at 1608 Madison Street (Madison and Ashland) in Chicago. If you can't find your way or have questions, please call 733- 1155. If not answering try 525-0195.

The University of Chicago is providing us with two halls for the duration of the Conference in addition to numerous smaller rooms for workshops and discussion sessions. Registration will cost $2.00 and will begin Tuesday, December 27th, at the Madison Street office. Registration will continue Wednesday morning at 8am at the Social Science 122 at the University of Chicago,1126 East 59th Street.

CONTIRBUTIONS URGENTLY NEEDED

Already over $500.00 of personal money has been spent to send out the mailings. and total expenses are expected to excede $2,000. In addition, several Puerto Rican students have written to the Strike Committee expressing their desire to attend and asking for help in raising $196.00 per person for plane fare. Although Puerto Ricans cannot vote in national elections they can be drafted and we think that it is imperative that they be represented at this Conference. A special fund has been set-up to help defray their travel expenses. Please send whatever you can to help pay these costs of the Conference to:

Chicago Peace Council
1608 W. Madison Street #201
Chicago, Illinois 60612

Your contributions are urgently needed.

We are looking forward to seeing you in Chicago by December 28th. PLEASE REMEMBER TO LET US KNOW YOU'RE COMING SO WE CAN ARRANGE HOUSING FOR YOU.

For the Preparations Committee,

Marjorie Kinsella

Marjorie Kinsella, Secretary

Chicago Peace Council

CHAPTER II

The Chicago Conference

According to the organizers' claims, 257 persons attended the meeting held at the University of Chicago, December 28–30, 1966, to discuss the idea of a nationwide student strike and other forms of demonstrations protesting the effort of the United States Government to resist Communist aggression in South Vietnam. This attendance claim is generally accepted as accurate.

The delegates came from 16 States, Puerto Rico, and Canada and from 49 different colleges and universities.

The organizers of the conference have openly admitted that representatives of the following Communist organizations took part in the conference:

Communist Party, U.S.A.
W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America.
Progressive Labor Party (the Peking-oriented faction of the U.S. Communist movement).
Socialist Workers Party (the Trotskyist Communists).
Young Socialist Alliance (youth branch of the Socialist Workers Party).
Youth Against War and Fascism (youth arm of the Workers World Party, a Trotskyist splinter group).
National Guardian (published by Weekly Guardian Associates).

One of the persons manning the conference registration table was Joel Britton, Chicago organizer of the Socialist Workers Party.

Three Communist organizations had literature tables set up in the lobby of Kent Hall, University of Chicago, where plenary sessions of the conference were held.

They were the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America, the ultraradical Progressive Labor Party (PLP), and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). These organizations distributed their own literature, as well as certain selected items of various Communist fronts and other groups working to undermine the U.S. position in Vietnam. Most of this literature was openly Communist and much of it highly inflammatory. An example is a four-page brochure published by the Black Liberation Commission of the Progressive Labor Party entitled "The Revolt in Watts and the Coming Battle." (See Exhibit No. 6, p. 23, for reproduction of cover.) The final paragraph of this brochure reads as follows:

> The black people of South L.A. possess a weapon more powerful than twenty-two thousand guns! And black people can choose their own time and places of battle!

Despite the fact that the Progressive Labor Party had a literature table set up at the conference and delegates to present its views, it was not happy with the outcome of the conference.

EXHIBIT NO. 6

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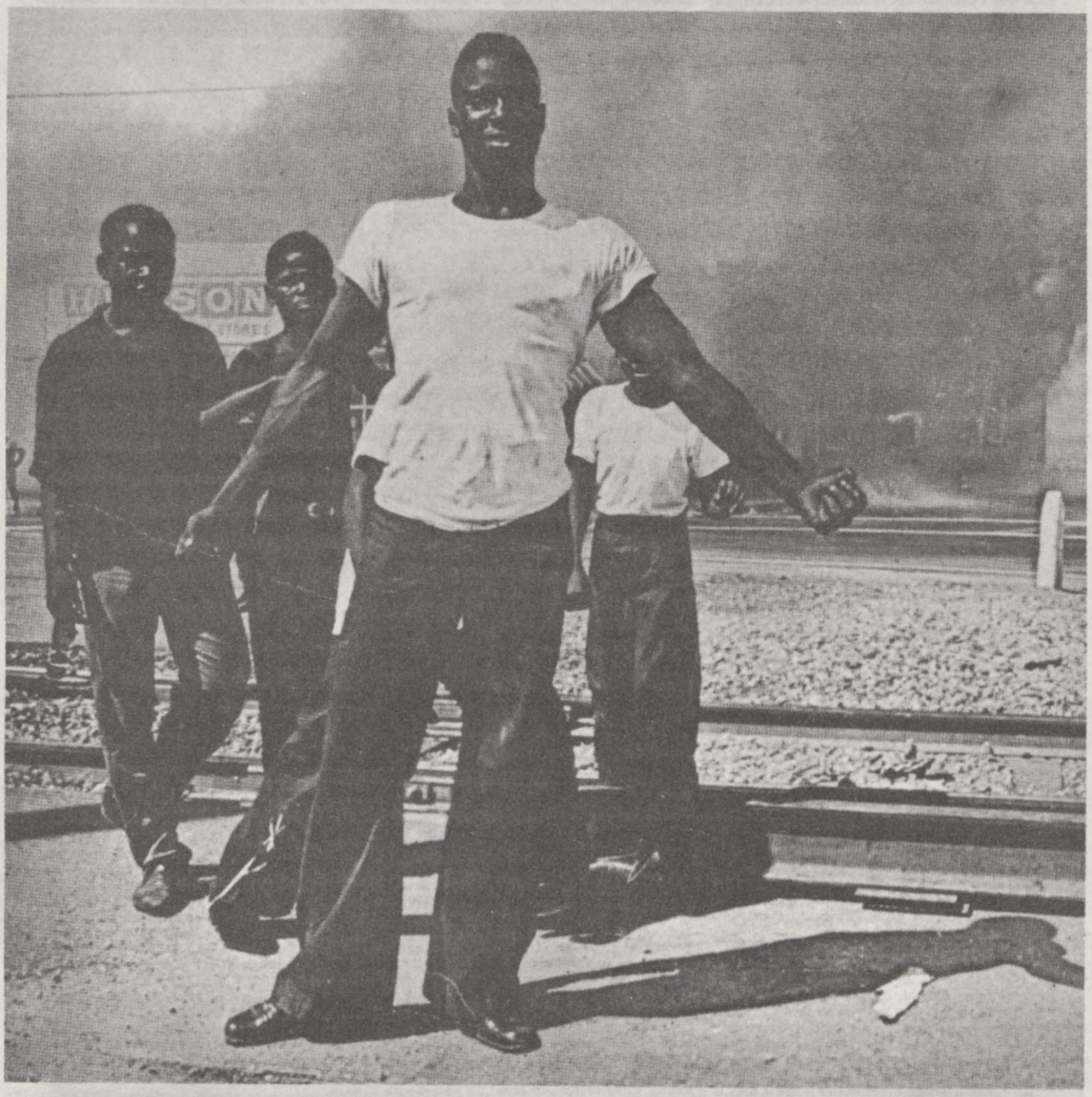
THE REVOLT IN WATTS AND THE COMING BATTLE



Published by the Black Liberation Commission of the Progressive Labor Party
336 Lenox Avenue, New York, New York 10027

One of its delegates, however, wrote an accurate description of the Chicago meeting which was published in the February 1967 issue of *Challenge*, an official publication of the PLP. He wrote:

> The conference was dominated by the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA), the DuBois Clubs, and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). It refused to consider "politics for advancing the movement," suggested by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and the Progressive Labor Party (PLP).

THE OPENING DAY

The major business of the opening plenary session, which began late because of slow arrivals, was a discussion of the agenda. The agenda was accepted as prepared by the organizers of the meeting. (See Exhibit No. 7, p. 25.)

It was announced during the opening session that the conference was sponsored, among others, by the DuBois Clubs, Young Socialist Alliance, Chicago Peace Council, Students for a Democratic Society, and the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee.[1]

The principal speakers on the opening day were:

Bettina Aptheker, who stated, among other things, that the academic community had a special responsibility to promote peace because universities have made wars possible "by teaching philosophies that justify wars" (i.e., capitalism) and by researching scientific developments on campuses.

Eugene Groves, president of the U.S. National Student Association who said, "I'm here to decide what role NSA can play."

Sidney M. Peck, professor of sociology at Western Reserve University, a leader of the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy (the organization which launched the "teach-in" movement), a sponsor of the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee, and vice chairman of the Spring Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam. Peck told the delegates, "We hope to energize and consolidate opposition movements throughout the world."

Although *Charles Cobb*, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was scheduled to speak at the afternoon plenary session, he did not address the conference until the following day.

Others who spoke on the opening day of the conference were:

Majorie Kinsella, secretary-treasurer of the Chicago Peace Council, who welcomed the delegates on behalf of that organization. She credited students with beginning the present-day peace movement, urged them to get "back into the forefront" of it, and told them that they should use any means, including a national strike to close down colleges in order to make national political leaders listen to their demands for ending the war.

Bernard Farber of the Chicago Peace Council and SDS. He advised the delegates that a vote would be taken the following day to determine whether or not a nationwide strike should be organized on college and university campuses.

Fred Kushner of SDS. He is the son of Sam Kushner, an identified member of the Communist Party who has served on the Communist Party's National Committee and as Los Angeles editor of the *People's World*, West Coast Communist Party newspaper.

Dan Styron, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and contributor to *The Militant*, weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers (Trotskyist Communist) Party.

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[1] The Fort Hood Three Defense Committee was formed to agitate in behalf of three Army enlisted men—Privates David Samas and Dennis Mora and Pfc. James Johnson—who were court-martialed, given dishonorable discharges, and sentenced to prison for refusing to go to Vietnam. Mora was a member of the W. E. B. DuBois Club at the City College of New York. The Communist Party, DuBois Clubs, and other Communist organizations have conducted a tremendous amount of agitation and distributed extensive propaganda material on behalf of the "Fort Hood Three." Like a number of other organizations mentioned in this report, the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee is supported by a mixed group of professed and identified Communists, fellow travelers, and pacifists.

EXHIBIT NO. 7

CONFERENCE AGENDA

Wednesday, Dec. 28

8:00-11:00 REGISTRATION — Lobby, Social Science Bldg., U. of C. 1126 E. 59th St.

11:00-12:30 FIRST PLENARY SESSION
Room 107, Kent Hall, Quadrangle, U. of C.
Greetings from the Chicago Peace Council--Marjorie Kinsella
Election of chairman for the first plenary session
Conference rules and agenda discussed and adopted
Election of Conference Steering Committee

12:30-2:00 LUNCH

2:00-4:00 DISCUSSION OF THE MERITS OF A SPRING STUDENT ACTION
Kent Hall, room 107
Eugene Groves, Charles Cobb (SNCC), SDS Representative, Bettina Aptheker, Professor Sidney Peck

4:00-6:45 FIRST SERIES OF WORKSHOPS
Social Science Bldg., U. of C.

1. The anti-war movement and the draft — room 302
2. Effects of the war on education — room 305
   a) War research, b) political and ideological corruption on the campus, c) the effects of war inflation on students, eg. tuition hikes
3. Military recruiting and training on the campus — room 107
4. The rights of anti-war and other student organizations to function on campus and intimidation on campus — room 108
5. Campus organizing against the war — room 105
6. The relationship of campus anti-war groups to broader sections of the population — room 106

6:45-8:30 DINNER

8:30-9:00 SPEAKER — Room 107, Kent Hall
Rev. James Bevel

9:00-1030 FILM Sons and Daughters $.75

10:30-- COFFEE HOUR

Thursday, Dec. 29

10:00-12:30 SECOND SERIES OF WORKSHOPS — Soc. Sci. Bldg. rooms 105, 106, 107, 108, 302,305
Allwill discuss: The nature of a national student action in the spring; Relation of student action to the spring mobilization; Political focus of student actions; the efficacy of national mobilizations.

12:30-2:00 LUNCH

2:00-2:30 SPEAKERS — room 107, Kent Hall
Juan Mestas, San Juan, Puerto Rico; Paul Booth, SDS

2:30-5:30 SECOND PLENARY SESSION — room 107, Kent Hall
Reports from the first series of workshops. Proposals for a student spring action.

5:30-7:00 DINNER

7:00-10:00? PLENARY CONTINUED — room 107, Kent Hall
Implementation of proposals

Friday, Dec. 30 If necessary, THE PLENARY WILL BE CONTINUED

Peter Orris, Harvard SDS representative, who acted as master of ceremonies.

Two persons who injected themselves into the discussions which took place on December 28 were:

Jack Spiegel, organizational director, Chicago district, United Shoe Workers of America, who ran for public office on the Communist Party ticket in 1934. Though anything but a youth, Spiegel apparently had no problem in being accepted by those at the conference.

Phyllis Kalb, a professed member of the Communist Party, who was defeated by a narrow margin when she ran for the student executive council at Brooklyn College last year as a Communist candidate.

As called for by the agenda, the latter part of the afternoon of December 28 was spent in workshops. (See Exhibit No. 8, p. 27, for list of these.)

Additional workshops were held in the evening because *Rev. James L. Bevel* did not appear as scheduled.

Bevel, a sponsor of Vietnam Week and the Chicago conference, is on leave from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to serve as national director of the Spring Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam.[2] He was the signer of a public appeal for funds to furnish the DuBois Clubs' "Freedom Center" clubhouse in Chicago and has joined as coplaintiff with the DuBois Clubs in their suit to restrain the Subversive Activities Control Board from holding hearings on the DCA as petitioned by the Attorney General. His wife, Diane Nash Bevel, recently made an unauthorized trip to Hanoi, capital of North Vietnam.

The *Chicago Defender* reported on May 11, 1966, that Mr. Bevel told several hundred teenage gang members in Woodlawn, a Chicago suburb, that "we're going to close down Chicago" unless Mayor Daley met their civil rights demands. It also reported that he called for 3,000 teenagers to be on call on June 1, 1966, to demonstrate at a moment's notice and said, "We'll fill the jails, if necessary."

Another departure from the agenda took place on December 28 when the film "Sons and Daughters," scheduled for the evening session, was not shown.

This 90-minute "documentary-drama" emphasizes youth and student opposition to the war in Vietnam. Featured in it are adults such as identified Communist Party member Malvina Reynolds; retired Army Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester, a contributor to Communist publications such as the *National Guardian* and *New World Review;* and Jerry Rubin, a leader of the Vietnam Day Committee, which has attempted to obstruct the movement of Armed Forces personnel and materiel to Vietnam.

CONFERENCE DEVELOPMENTS ON DECEMBER 29

Featured speakers for the plenary session on the second day of the conference were:

Juan Mestas of the Puerto Rican Federacion de Universitarios Pro Independencia (Pro-Independence University Federation, or FUPI), which is a member of the International Union of Students (IUS), a worldwide, Moscow-controlled student organization. Last November, when called up for induction, FUPI leaders refused to swear loyalty to the U.S. Army.

[2] See pp. 33-37.

EXHIBIT NO. 8

WORKSHOP DISCUSSIONS

During the first series of workshops the following questions are suggested as part of the discussion:

(1) THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT AND THE DRAFT:
How can we effectively build mass opposition to the draft on the campus? Is non-cooperation with the selective service effective? Is opposition to 2-S a good focal point for Student anti-war actions? Can a campaign to abolish the draft attract large numbers of students? How should the anti-war movement relate to students already drafted?

(2) EFFECTS OF THE WAR ON EDUCATION:
How can students best be mobilized against war research on the campus? What is the relationship of students to faculty involved in war research? How does the university encourage the acceptance of the war? Can this be effectivly challenged by the anti-war movement? How can problems of tuition raises, incidental fees, high living costs, be effectively linked to the war and students brought to understand that the war intensifies their financial problems?

(3) MILITARY RECRUITING AND TRAINING ON CAMPUS

What kinds of effective action can be held against military recruiters on the campus? C.I.A., DOW CHEMICAL, And other war industries that recruit from the campuses; can they be challenged? How can opposition to militarism via ROTC be manifested? Will this give the anti-war movement an anti-GI character?

(4) RIGHTS OF ANTI-WAR AND OTHER STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS TO FUNCTION ON CAMPUS
How can administration red tape, intimidation, and outright Haressment be opposed or circumvented by anti-war activity? Can faculty members who are sympathetic to the anti-war movement be brought into greater activity? What intimidations do they face? How can students defend individuals victumized by the administration and assure students that they will be defended? Can attack by the campus administration be used to mobilize people against the war?

(5) CAMPUS ORGANIZING AGAINST THE WAR
How can anti-war groups best be built on the campus - united front, or independent committees? How can students on one campus organize other campus? Should they? Is this feasible? What kind of projects are useful in campus organizing? What role can regional and national organizations play? Where do national actions fit in?

(6) THE RELATIONSHIP OF CAMPUS ANTI-WAR GROUPS TO BROADER SECTIONS OF THE POPULATION:
How should campus anti-war groups relate to GI's? Can they affect GI's? How can students relate to civil rights anti-war activity? Trade Unions? Progressives? Can students effectively organize these other sections of the population? Can they lead? How can the anti-war movement relate to electoral politics? Will this cause divisions?

Mestas, in his speech, said that he had heard other speakers at the conference refer to U.S. "imperialistic interventions all over the the world: Viet Nam, of course, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Guatemala, and others."

He added that he was surprised Puerto Rico hadn't been mentioned in this context. He claimed that Puerto Rico had been a victim of United States intervention for 68 years and that its only "foreign aid" had been "drunken marines, ridiculous tourists, corrupted

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politicians, money-hungry enterprisers, and F.B.I. agents." He went on:

> We don't want to be defended by the United States; we want to be defended from the United States!
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> We understand that our struggle is no different from that of the Vietnamese people or the Afro American people. Our enemy is the same: imperialism—and the economic structure for which it exists. Our aims are the same: to rebuild the structure of society, so that a new man—a liberated man—can rise from a new world—a liberated world.

He assured those attending the conference that they had the full support of Puerto Rican students for any united effort opposing the U.S. action in Vietnam, opposing the draft, and opposing—

> imperialism and the reason for it: the rotten social structure of the capitalist countries.
>
> And in the same spirit of international solidarity, I request your support to our struggle to obtain Independence.

Charles Cobb, former field secretary of SNCC. He has spoken at a "Get-Out-Of-Vietnam" demonstration cosponsored by the May 2nd Movement (a front of the Progressive Labor Party) and SDS with the support of the DuBois Clubs. He also spoke at a demonstration held at Berkeley, Calif., under the sponsorship of the Vietnam Day Committee.

Paul Booth, former vice president and national secretary of SDS, who served as coordinator of the SDS-sponsored April 17, 1965, march on Washington.

The evening session on December 29 was disorderly and confused, with much talk about matters unrelated to the business at hand. The delegates, however, were given statistical information on the number of participants in the meeting—how many represented colleges, how many high schools, which organizations they spoke for, etc. Eight forms of protest action were also proposed and discussed. It was also suggested that a continuations committee prepare documents spelling out the decisions of the conference and distribute them nationally.

THE CLOSING DAY

Paul Booth served as chairman of the closing session of the conference on December 30. Results of the workshops were reported, and detailed proposals were made for actions to be taken for spring agitation against the war in Vietnam during the week of April 8–15.

It was announced at this session that slightly more than $300 had been collected through registration fees. (If the claimed 257 delegates had each paid the $2 registration fee, $500 would have been collected.)

The delegates were also informed that the conference had a debt of $800 and pledges were asked.

Jack Spiegel pledged $100 from the Chicago Peace Council. About $400 was pledged by others.

PRINCIPAL CONFERENCE ACTIONS

Three major decisions were made at the Chicago conference:

1. A "Call to Vietnam Week" was adopted.

This call included many of the words and phrases which have characterized Communist propaganda on the war in Vietnam. It

claimed that, in Vietnam, the United States was waging a "war of aggression." It said the war in Vietnam waged by the United States "is a racist war, a murderous war against a colored people * * * an illegal war [and] but one symptom of a diseased society."

The call attacked the draft, claiming that it "perpetuates a system of racism in the United States * * * penalizes the poor" and is used by the Government to crush the aspirations of "racial minorities."

It accused colleges and universities of "complicity" with the U.S. Government in training Americans "to become instruments of war instead of enlightened human beings."

It proposed that Vietnam Week demonstrations be focused on the following issues:

"(1) Bringing the GI's home now;

"(2) Opposing the draft, and supporting the right of individuals to refuse to cooperate with the military system; and

"(3) Ending campus complicity with the war effort."

The call ended with the statement that the United States was denying the people of Vietnam "the right of self-determination."

The "Call to Vietnam Week" was subsequently reprinted and distributed nationwide by the Student Mobilization Committee, which was later established to organize Vietnam Week activities. This call was also reproduced in the committee's official publication, *The Student Mobilizer*.

2. The conference also adopted motions directing that certain actions be taken to implement Vietnam Week. A number of additional motions were passed which were designed to assist the national organization established at the conference to organize demonstrations during Vietnam Week. The text of all these motions, as reproduced in the first issue of *The Student Mobilizer* appears on the following page. (See Exhibit No. 9.)

3. In the workshops held during the Chicago conference, various proposals were advanced for campus action that could be undertaken during Vietnam Week. The major proposals suggested were:

Stage student strikes—"While it was generally agreed that a nationwide student strike was not realistic at this time, it was thought by many that there were a few campuses where the idea might be feasible."

Hold campus war crimes tribunals.

Engage in antidraft activities—oppose sending draftees to Vietnam, oppose 2–S, support students who refuse to cooperate with the draft, circulate "We Won't Go" pledges, etc.

Practice civil disobedience of various types—sit-ins at draft boards, military installations, Federal agencies, etc.

Obstruct campus recruiting by the armed services and CIA.

Refuse to do research in any way related to the defense program.

Send medical aid to victims of napalm.

Boycott all companies involved in the production of defense materials.

Refuse to pay Federal income tax.

"Elect" representatives to negotiate a peace treaty with the National Liberation Front in behalf of people who feel unrepresented on Vietnam.

A detailed presentation of these proposals also appeared in the first issue of *The Student Mobilizer*.

EXHIBIT NO. 9

[The Student Mobilizer, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 17, 1967]

IMPLEMENTATION PROPOSALS

The following motions were passed by the student conference in Chicago, December 28-30. They refer to the procedures to be followed in implementing the decision to hold a national student Vietnam Week, April 8-15.

1. The groups involved in the conference are urged to send a staff person to the New York April Spring Mobilization office to immediately begin organization and mail out the proceedings of this conference.

2. That the immediate major task of this staff be to search out major figures in the academic community, the civil rights, peace, and student movements to be included as sponsors of the national call that emanates from this conference. That sponsors be initiated by local committees as well as the New York staff.

3. That upon accomplishment of this broadening a Continuations Committee be composed of a representative from each organization that composed the steering committee of this conference, plus one from any organization or individuals who volunteer to participate in Vietnam Week and agree to the call. That this Continuations Committee make further plans.

4. That all this be done in cooperation and consultation with the Spring Mobilization Committee officers, but that the continuations committee also maintain a separate identity oriented toward the involvement and organization of the campus and youth in the national student Vietnam Week and the April 15 mobilization and other anti-war actions. That the question of whether or not the full Student Mobilization Committee remain in New York or be located in some other place be decided by the student Continuations Committee on the basis of future development of the mobilization.

5. That this conference direct the Continuations Committee to encourage solidarity actions with the April 15 Mobilization particularly in the Midwest and South, and that they urge the Spring Mobilization Committee to join in encouraging those solidarity actions.

6. That this Continuations Committee convene a conference on as broad a basis as possible following the Spring Mobilization to evaluate the national student antiwar week and mobilization and consider plans for future action.

OTHER MOTIONS PASSED TO DIRECT THE NATIONAL OFFICE IN ITS ACTIONS

a. This conference suggests that the Student Mobilization Committee publicize the convening of a war crimes tribunal by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation in February, 1967.

b. That the Continuations Committee assign topics relating to campus organizing to various campus groups with experience in these areas (i.e. Berkeley -- a strike) and have them prepare a report on the topic which they or the national office will distribute nationally.

c. That the Continuations Committee investigate to find 4 or 5 campuses where it may be possible to hold a strike during Vietnam Week.

d. That local activity must be emphasized in relation to the national action -- i.e. national call supplemented by local calls, local organizers try to reach out into new campuses in their area, etc.

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE ON THE CHICAGO CONFERENCE

Communist Party, U.S.A.

Four members of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States were sponsors of the Chicago conference to plan a national student strike:

Herbert Aptheker, the Communist Party's leading theoretician.

Bettina Aptheker, the Communist Party's top youth agitator.

Carl Bloice, first publications director of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, presently Washington representative of the Communist Party's official newspaper, *The Worker*.

Robert Heisler, former East Coast representative and national coordinating committeeman of the DuBois Clubs, now president of the Communist Forum at the City College of New York; served as leader of the now defunct Communist youth group, Advance; addressed the 15th Congress of the Soviet Young Communist League in Moscow on May 19, 1966, as a representative of the Youth Section of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Eight other sponsors of the Chicago conference who have been identified as members of the Communist Party are:

Carl Braden, executive director, Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF).

Anne Braden, editor of the *Southern Patriot*, official SCEF publication.

Leon Wofsy, former national youth director of the Communist Party and national chairman of the Labor Youth League, the Communist Party's principal youth front in the early 1950's.

James (Jim) Fred Berland,[3] Southern California Committee for New Politics.

Denise Jacobson,[3] chairman, Academic Board Film Committee, Portland State College.

Joe Uris,[3] president, Associated Students, Portland State College.

John P. Van Hyning,[3] Portland State College.

Phyllis Kalb, recently defeated Communist candidate for Student Executive Council, Brooklyn College.

Among the identified members of the Communist Party known to have attended the Chicago conference were:

Mike Zagarell, national youth director and member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Carl Braden
Anne Braden
Bettina Aptheker
Phyllis Kalb

William J. Ternipsede,[3] covered the conference for the official party newspaper, *The Worker*.

W. E. B. DuBois Clubs Sponsors of the Conference

Sponsors who are, or have been, officials and members of the DuBois Clubs include:[4]

Franklin Alexander
Rudy Andrews
Bettina Aptheker
Jim Berland
Carl Bloice
Lauren Brody
Mark Brody
George M. Chaikin
Ken Cloke
Hugh Fowler
Robert Heisler
Phyllis Kalb
Michael Kaufman
Ellen Lichtman
Staughton Lynd
Kathryn Moore
Michael Myerson
Winifred S. Ross
Steve Shreefter
Fred Bernard Silver
Alex Stein
Anna Taylor
Antonio D. Valdez
Matt Weinstein
Mark Weiss
Anthony Wilkinson
Laura (Mrs. Mike) Zagarell

[3] Identified before this committee in executive testimony made public.
[4] See Exhibits 3 and 4 for organizational affiliations.

A number of DuBois Club leaders who were not included on the list of sponsors attended the Chicago conference. Among them were:

Dan Friedlander, a signer of the call to the founding convention of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America, San Francisco, June 19–21, 1964; delegate to the World Congress for Peace, National Independence and General Disarmament held in Helsinki, Finland, July 10–15, 1965, under sponsorship of the World Council for Peace.

Ted Pearson, contributor to *The Worker;* member, national board and Chicago area coordinator, W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America.

Rocque Ristorucci, campus field director, DuBois Clubs; signer of statement refusing to fight in Vietnam.

Mary Smith, secretary of the West Side (Chicago) W. E. B. DuBois Clubs.

Mike Zagarell.

Socialist Workers Party

The Socialist Workers (Trotskyist Communist) Party has been cited as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States.

Leaders of this party who attended the Chicago conference were:

Fred Halstead, current member of national committee of SWP; candidate for comptroller of the City of New York on the SWP ticket in 1961; author of many articles published in the official SWP newspaper, *The Militant*, and of a pamphlet published by the SWP's official publishing house, Pioneer Publishers.

Joel Britton, Chicago organizer, Socialist Workers Party; writer of articles published in *The Militant;* former Midwest organizer of the SWP's youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance.

Jack Whittier Barnes, New York organizer of the Socialist Workers Party; former Midwest organizer, national organizer, and national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Young Socialist Alliance

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance, the SWP youth organization, who sponsored the Chicago conference included:

Lew Jones, 1966 national chairman of the organization.

Thomas G. Morgan, one of three Indiana University Young Socialist Alliance members indicted on charge of subversive activity in 1963.

Paul McKnight, official contact for the Young Socialist Alliance at San Francisco State College.

Dan Styron, contributor of various articles to *The Militant*, official organ of the SWP.

David Frankel, YSA (and SDS) representative, Queens College, New York City.

An official credentials report released by the organizers of the Chicago conference stated that 19 YSA members attended it. Among them were:

Betsy (Mrs. Jack) Barnes, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Edward Heisler, former Midwest representative of the Young Socialist Alliance and cocontributor of article published in *The Militant*; chairman, Chicago Youth for DeBerry and Shaw (Socialist Workers Party candidates for public office) in 1964.

Robin David, former technical assistant on staff of *Young Socialist*, official publication of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Mary Ellis, member of the Berkeley branch of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Progressive Labor Party

Members of the Progressive Labor Party who attended the Chicago conference included:

Andy Racochy of Roosevelt University, Chicago; also member of SDS at this school.

Herb Bleich, writer for *Challenge*, official publication of the Progressive Labor Party.

Stuart Smith, an organizer of the Progressive Labor Party in Chicago, who, before being rejected on physical grounds, had proclaimed that he would refuse to serve in the Army.

SPRING MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE

The significance of the dates selected for Vietnam Week, April 8–15, by those attending the Chicago conference can be fully appreciated only if consideration is given to the Spring Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam [5] and its operations.

The Spring Mobilization Committee was formed at a meeting held in Cleveland, Ohio, on November 26, 1966. About 150 persons attended the meeting.

Reporting on this meeting, *Challenge*, a publication of the Peking-oriented Progressive Labor Party, stated the discussions at it revealed—

> this new national peace organization as a coalition of Communist Party revisionists,[6] trotskyites (of the Socialist Workers Party—Young Socialist Alliance variety), and liberal-pacifists of the Muste variety.

Challenge also reported that of the persons who took part in the conference—

> nearly 40 were public and known trotskyites. Liberal-pacifist elements and Communist Party members and sympathizers were present in similar proportions. Of the radical sections of the anti-war movement, there were less than 20 people from Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and perhaps less than 10 delegates from local anti-war committees that were not dominated by the trotskyite and/or liberal-pacifist elements.

Whether or not the figures and percentages stated by *Challenge* were completely correct, the above description of the conference at which the Spring Mobilization Committee was formed is generally accurate.

Arnold Johnson, public relations director of the Communist Party, attended the conference and gave complete support to a proposal that an organization be formed to stage massive antiwar-in-Vietnam demonstrations in New York City and San Francisco on April 15, 1967.

Hugh Sterling Fowler of the DuBois Clubs also attended the conference, as did Fred Halstead, national committeeman of the Socialist Workers Party, and Kipp Dawson, identified by *Challenge* as a member of the SWP's youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance, along with Frank Emspak of the National Coordinating Committee To End

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[5] The Spring Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam is the successor to the November 8 Mobilization Committee for Peace in Vietnam, for Human Rights, and for Economic Justice.

[6] To Peking-oriented Communists, Moscow Communists are all revisionists, i.e., too conservative or "right-wing."

the War in Vietnam and Paul Booth of SDS and the National Conference for New Politics.

The Committee's Leadership

Officers of the Spring Mobilization Committee elected at its organizational meeting were:

President—the late *A. J. Muste* of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Some years ago, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover described Muste as a man "who has long fronted for Communists." This remark was occasioned by the fact that Muste was one of a small group of alleged "independent observers" selected by the Communist Party to attend its 16th National Convention held February 9–12, 1957. At the conclusion of the convention, Muste and the other members of the group, with the exception of one, issued a statement attesting to the democratic manner in which the convention had been conducted.

Vice chairman—*Edward Keating*, the founder, publisher, and editor in chief of *Ramparts*, the magazine which recently achieved worldwide publicity—and did tremendous damage to U.S. security operations—by revealing that the CIA had been channeling money to the U.S. National Student Association and other groups. At a New York City demonstration against the war in Vietnam held last November, Keating called for the impeachment of President Johnson. He was one of the speakers at the teach-in on Vietnam held at the University of California, Berkeley, campus on May 22, 1965.

Keating is now the West Coast chairman of the Spring Mobilization Committee operation and has traveled widely and made numerous speeches drumming up attendance for the huge demonstration against the U.S. which his organization hopes to stage in San Francisco on April 15.

Vice chairman—*David Dellinger*, editor of *Liberation*, which describes itself as a "monthly of revolutionary nonviolence." (A. J. Muste was also an editor of this publication.)

Dellinger is a self-proclaimed pacifist, a defender of Castro's regime in Cuba, a supporter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and similar groups. Last fall he made a world tour which included visits to Moscow, Peking, and Hanoi. He visited the last two named Communist capitals despite the fact that the State Department had not validated his passport for travel to Red China or North Vietnam.

Vice chairman—*Robert Greenblatt*, a leader of the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy (IUC).

Vice chairman—*Sidney M. Peck*, member of executive council of the IUC, a speaker at the Chicago conference, and sponsor of Vietnam Week.

Developments related to the activities and sponsorship of the Spring Mobilization Committee since its founding convention in Cleveland have tended to verify the description of the organization made by *Challenge*.

Supporters of the Committee

Sponsors of the group include, in addition to Bettina Aptheker: Albert J. Lima, chairman of the Northern California District of the Communist Party; Arnold Johnson, public relations director of the Communist Party; James R. ("Bob") Lindsay, Communist Party candidate for city councilman of San Jose, Calif.; Ben Dobbs, a

leader of the Southern California District of the Communist Party; Robert Treuhaft and Benjamin Dreyfus, attorneys who have been identified as members of the Communist Party; identified Communist Party members Malvina Reynolds, Don Rothenberg, and Al Richmond, executive editor of the Communist Party's West Coast newspaper, *People's World;* Peter Camejo, a leader of the Vietnam Day Committee who is now running for mayor of Berkeley on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. Camejo is the former national secretary and organizer of the Trotskyist organization's youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance.

Communist activity in support of the Spring Mobilization Committee is blatant. Al Richmond has mailed letters promoting it on *People's World* stationery.

Organizations represented by the Spring Mobilization Committee's officers and sponsors include—in addition to the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and Vietnam Day Committee—such organizations as the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America, National Lawyers Guild, and the Communist-controlled International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

The national office of the Spring Mobilization Committee is located at 857 Broadway, New York City.

The West Coast office of the Spring Mobilization Committee, located at 55 Colton Street, San Francisco, is run by Kipp Dawson of YSA. Investigation by this committee indicates that the principal support for this office and its operations has come from the Trotskyist Communist organization, the Socialist Workers Party.

All Communist parties and fronts—except the Progressive Labor Party and groups it controls—have gone all out in support of the Spring Mobilization Committee and its planned New York City–San Francisco demonstrations on April 15.

There are, of course, many non-Communists who are sponsors of the Spring Mobilization Committee. It is probable that thousands of such persons will support its April 15 demonstrations. Not one of the top officers of the committee is known to be a Communist. With this excellent cover, there is little doubt but that the many Communists who are giving their all-out support to the group's activities will succeed in hoodwinking many persons who are sincere pacifists, liberals, and critics of U.S. policy in Vietnam into supporting the April 15 demonstrations—which the Communists look upon primarily as a means of undermining the United States and promoting Communist interests not only in Vietnam, but in all parts of the world.

The purpose, strategy, and tactics of the Spring Mobilization Committee were clearly spelled out in an article by the late A. J. Muste which appeared in the very first issue of the committee's official publication, *Mobilizer* (vol. 1, No. 1, December 19, 1966). The article was entitled "Cleveland And After."

Referring to "Johnson and the war-machine," Muste wrote: "Our task is to disarm them, not to be morally and politically disarmed by them."

He wrote of the need for a broader peace movement and more coordination if this was to be accomplished and the U.S. forced to withdraw from Vietnam. There is no evidence, he said, that millions of people can now be brought out into the streets to demand an end to the war. Before this could be done they would have to win large

numbers of "labor unionists." It is unlikely this could be accomplished on April 15, 1967. However, Muste wrote, if they could get tens or hundreds of thousands of labor unionists to appear on the streets in an antiwar demonstration—

strikes in war industries would become possible, even likely, and that would take the protest out of the "token" or "symbolic" category.

In further discussing the problem of broadening the base of the antiwar movement, Muste wrote:

To state the problem in my own terms, some who call for broadening the base, talking to other people than ourselves, etc. mean primarily the "man in the street," ordinary run of American citizens. They think of these people as well-meaning but deceived and ill-informed about what is going on in Vietnam. They conclude that these people must be approached with a "moderate" program. They will be impressed by the names of public figures as "sponsors" of our action. These people, "neighbors of ours" must be systematically reached. They tend to be scared off by the more "communist", therefore, we should dilute, cover up, possibly—some might perhaps say—in a pinch sacrafice [sic] our "non-exclusion" policy in order to gain mass support.

He then pointed out that at the Cleveland conference at which the Spring Mobilization Committee was formed the group's nonexclusion policy was not openly challenged. He made it clear that he did not think it would be effective to drop this policy in an effort to reach "ordinary Americans" because there wasn't much hope of doing this. Rather, he said, the Spring Mobilization Committee had to make "creative contacts" with—

the radical sections of the civil rights movement such as CORE and SNCC, both nationally and in localities throughout the country. These people do not need to be "converted" to an anti-war position.

A second group consists of youth, including students. This takes in Students for a Democratic Society and also various left-oriented political groups. There are projects such as a proposed Student Strike anti-draft campaigns, etc., which need to be taken into account.

Muste urged the Spring Mobilization Committee to adhere firmly to its policy of welcoming Communists into its ranks. He wrote:

Finally, the policy of "non-exclusion" is not to be tampered with in any way. * * *

We adhere to the policy of "non-exclusion," first and most of all, because it is right in principle * * *. People of the Left (Communists with or without quotation marks) should be permitted and expected to function normally in the political life of the country.

* * * * * * *

In practice a non-Communist coalition is in danger of becoming an anti-Communist one * * *.

Muste admitted openly that if the Spring Mobilization Committee and the antiwar movement were to bar Communists they would collapse. He wrote:

What no doubt clinches the matter is that if we were to abandon the "non-exclusion" principle we would quickly disintegrate. * * *

Bettina Aptheker and the other Communists who played a major role in organizing the Chicago conference were familiar with the Spring Mobilization Committee, the attitude of its leaders, and its plans. There can be no question about the fact that the week of April 8–15 was chosen as Vietnam Week primarily, if not exclusively, because the Spring Mobilization Committee had designated April 15 as the day of its massive demonstrations against the U.S. Government.

The student Vietnam Week will serve—and is already serving—as a buildup for these demonstrations. The Spring Mobilization Committee has given its all-out support to Vietnam Week and has been working very closely with the Student Mobilization Committee.

INFLUENCE OF SDS ON VIETNAM WEEK

Students for a Democratic Society, or SDS, as it is generally called, is the largest of the "New Left" student organizations. It claims a membership of over 6,000, organized in more than 140 chapters throughout the United States.

Because SDS technically had more representatives at the Chicago conference than any other single organization and because it exerted considerable influence on the nationwide student strike issue even before the Chicago conference was held, no treatment of Vietnam Week would be complete without some consideration of this organization, its activities, and nature.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, testifying before a House Appropriations Subcommittee on February 10, 1966, made the following statement about SDS:

> One of the most militant organizations now engaged in activities protesting U.S. foreign policy is a student youth group called Students for a Democratic Society. Communists are actively promoting and participating in the activities of this organization, which is self-described as a group of liberals and radicals. * * *
>
> This organization sponsored a march on Washington to protest U.S. action in Vietnam which took place on April 17, 1965. Communists from throughout the Nation participated in this march and over 70 past or present Communist Party members from New York City alone, including several national leaders, were observed among the participants.
>
> A national convention of this organization was held at a camp near Kewadin, Mich., in June 1965. Practically every subversive organization in the United States was represented by delegates to this convention. There were delegates from the Young Socialist Alliance, the youth and training section of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party, which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
>
> Also represented were the Communist Party, U.S.A. and the Spartacist group, a Trotskyite splinter organization. Other delegates represented the Progressive Labor Party, a Marxist-Leninist organization following the line of Communist China, and the May 2 Movement, a front group of the Progressive Labor Party.
>
> At this convention, a number of proposals were made to further oppose the U.S. action in Vietnam. One Students for a Democratic Society leader called for deliberate violation of the sedition statutes by Students for a Democratic Society members which it was hoped would result in mass arrests and a "political trial" of the organization. Members were urged to attempt to enter military bases to persuade soldiers that they should refuse to fight in Vietnam.
>
> At a meeting of the national council, the governing body of the Students for a Democratic Society which was held over the 1965 Labor Day weekend, 20 of the approximately 100 participants had past or present affiliations with the Communist Party or other subversive groups. A vigorous antidraft program was proposed at this meeting, which included plans to counsel draft-age youth on how to avoid the draft. This proposal was later submitted to the Students for a Democratic Society membership by referendum for approval but was defeated by a narrow majority.
>
> In spite of this, Students for a Democratic Society leaders recently announced that each local chapter would make its own decisions as to whether an antidraft program would be undertaken by that particular chapter.
>
> During the last week of December 1965, the antidraft program and the Vietnam protest movement again were subjects which dominated discussions at a national membership conference of this group held at Urbana, Ill. Heated exchanges took place between various factions, some of which wanted to continue with a "hard line" and others wanting to retreat entirely from all protest activity in connection

with the Vietnam issue. Although no foreign policy decisions resulted from this conference, the Students for a Democratic Society has continued to sponsor and participate in demonstrations throughout the United States protesting U.S. action in Vietnam.

SDS President Carl Oglesby has told a *New York Times* reporter: [7]

S.D.S. is not a pacifist group.

"We're not against violence, per se," * * *. "We don't like it. Who does? But we're not pretending to be pacifists.* * *."

He also told the same reporter that he wanted SDS to explore the possibilities of a student strike similar to those staged several years ago in France on the issue of Algeria and in Japan over the Japanese-American treaty.

An August 31, 1966, dispatch, written by the Associated Press reporter covering the SDS convention at Clear Lake, Iowa, stated:

Oglesby said Communists have been welcome in S.D.S. since it was formed in 1962.

These statements by Oglesby go far toward explaining the facts about SDS spelled out in Mr. Hoover's testimony.

Further explanation of the activities, makeup, and condition of SDS is provided in documents of the organization itself which spell out the nature and beliefs, or principles, of the group.

SDS, which openly professes its radical and leftist nature, recently initiated "An independent education, research and publication program * * * devoted to the cause of democratic radicalism and aspiring to the creation of a new left in America."

It calls this the Radical Education Project. This "intellectual center for the American New Left [which] seeks to deepen radical left opposition in this country" is located at 510 East William Street, Ann Arbor, Mich. It has been incorporated as a nonprofit educational organization. Its tax-exempt status is now pending before the Internal Revenue Service.

The following statements appear in an SDS document describing the Radical Education Project (REP):

These are beliefs shared by this community:

—that the great promise of American abundance is perverted and thwarted by the functioning of contemporary capitalism.

* * * * * * *

—that in America, where formal democracy is highly developed, the important decisions governing the course of social development and the quality of individual life and opportunity are not democratically made or accountable.

—that America is held in political and moral stalemate not only by sheer economic and political force, but also by a deadening ideology of national chauvinism, celebrating the American Way of Life, the American Dream, the American Century.

—that anti-communism is a central element in this ideological manipulation of belief, of what is true, what is good, what is possible, what is necessary. It provides the cover to "rationalize" the most brutal applications of military and economic power.

—that violent revolution is to be recognized and deplored for its high human cost; but that where the oppressed lack political power violent overthrow may be the necessary, though not sufficient, precondition to economic and political freedom.

* * * * * * *

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[7] *New York Times Magazine*, Nov. 7, 1965, p. 139.

REP is non-exclusionist. We reject the rhetoric of anti-communism and the myth of human affairs as a morality play between the forces of good and evil, capitalist freedom and communist slavery. We are open to all those who would feel comfortable in our company. Our criteria of judgment in matters of politics and belief will be facts, argument, and values.

* * * * * * *

Activities:

* * * * * * *

International Intelligence network: REP is beginning to develop a network of people, in the U.S. and abroad, closely tuned to international events, who will serve the movement as quick, incisive sources of intelligence on issues as they develop—and before. Such a network, including scholars, journalists, leftist youth leaders, government officials, guerrilla leaders, etc., can provide us with first-hand reports and anlysis of the action of insurgent movements, the workings of the foreign policy apparatus, hints of impending developments. Already we have contacts in Japan, most European countries and Canada, Vietnamese rebels and neutrals, African nationalists, and others. These contacts are being extended, and to them we must add American scholars with specialized knowledge and contacts. One former staff member has recently returned from Guatemala where he has made extensive contacts with Guatemalan guerrillas. He will be publishing an account of his trip in the next month or two. On the basis of such contacts we can greatly improve our ability to produce documented political analysis, to make independent judgments, to challenge "official truth" and to base political opposition.

As a first major step in this direction, REP is presently consulting with the University Christian Movement, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and SNCC about the establishment of a Latin American institute. This institute will coordinate research, monitor information, and maintain contacts between radical student, church, and academic groups in this hemisphere. In the near future the institute would put out a magazine on Latin American problems.

Because SDS believes in the above-stated principles and follows an active "nonexclusion" policy, that is, a policy of welcoming Communists of all varieties into its ranks, it is only natural that SDS has been infiltrated and influenced not only by members of the Communist Party, U.S.A., but by Trotskyists and Progressive Labor Party agents as well.

Despite this, it should be noted that SDS has an anarchistic quality that Communist organizations lack and that, at the same time, it lacks the monolithic quality (the strict discipline and control over its members) that characterizes Communist groups.

THE SDS VIEW OF STUDENT STRIKE ISSUE

As early as July of 1966, as a result of Bettina Aptheker's agitation, the SDS National Administration Committee published a paper on her strike proposal.

This paper contained her argument for a strike which, she then proposed, should take place on November 4, 1966. She wrote in part:

Why strike?

Out of the protests and teachins on the campuses of America's colleges and universities has grown a broad and overwhelming sentiment among young people that the war in Vietnam must be ended. A national student strike will unite these sentiments into a powerful statement for peace.

A strike will serve notice on campus military recruiters and CIA researchers that the nation's campuses are "off limits" for their activities—that American institutions of learning must not be the centers for the recruitment of cannon fodder, the development of new "humane" chemicals and gasses, or the training of pacification troops to be used on our neighbors.

A strike on Nov. 4, three days before the national elections, will have international significance, as it will illustrate to the nation and the world that many thousands of U.S. students refuse to associate themselves with the war effort.

Who should strike?

Students in high schools, junior colleges, and colleges should call on their teachers and professors to join them on Nov. 4 in some form of anti-war action. Although much of the peace activities have centered around the college communities, the war has special effects on high school students, especially those who attend ghetto schools. Education for these young people leaves them with little alternative to military service after graduation. For the first time students across the land have an opportunity to participate in one unified action against the war, the draft, and the intrusion of the military into their daily lives.

Following her argument was a preliminary SDS position on the strike written by Greg Calvert, "REACTIONS OF SDS NAC."

Writing for the national administration committee, Calvert stated that it did not have the authority to say whether or not SDS should support the student strike proposal. This should be decided, he said, at the national convention (which was to take place at the end of August). At the same time, he made it clear that the SDS NAC was very dubious about supporting her proposal. The NAC's three arguments against SDS support of the strike were as follows:

First, it objected to the "prominent personality" origin and approach to the demonstration, which it found to be "in direct opposition to the ideals and goals of SDS." It added that "the 'big-name' approach neither builds nor strengthens the radical multi-issue constituency which SDS believes is the only way to change American policy."

Second, launching a strike without preparatory "substantive political dialogue" would probably mean that there would be no such dialogue in the course of developing the strike. On the other hand, the strike program might produce "political statements undemocratically arrived at and totally unrepresentative in character."

Third, it appeared that the strike initiators were attempting to "use" SDS. SDS members must realize, Calvert wrote, that their organization is the largest of the radical student groups and therefore has the responsibility of leadership and active direction of the radical student movement. Despite this, the statement went on:

> SDS has been providing most of the troops for every one else's demonstrations· In effect, we have been used to make other people's political points and to help build others' organizations. * * * If a student strike Nov. 4 will in fact provide visibility for our programs, we ought to direct the event, make it useful in building SDS and gaining visibility for our programs, and for making the political points which the individualistic approach omits. * * * Both our power and our political insight will be lost if we simply tag along on others' initiatives.

This statement made it clear that SDS was not opposed in principle to the idea of a nationwide student strike designed to undercut the U.S. role in Vietnam. It was simply objecting to the manner in which the strike had been called on the grounds that (1) it did not conform to the "radical" and yet "democratic" principles which SDS professes and (2) the proposal was not the best strategy for developing a solidly based radical movement in the U.S.

SDS members were urged to write or call the national office (1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, the same building in which the Chicago Peace Council is located), advising whether they believed: (1) the SDS national secretary should sign the call to the strike, (2) SDS should issue its own call, (3) SDS should "forget the whole deal," or (4) it should oppose the idea of strike and suggest an alternative event.

There has been considerable "dialogue" within SDS on the issue of the national student strike since the national administration committee brought Bettina Aptheker's proposal to the attention of its members last summer.

Although Bettina Aptheker addressed the 1966 SDS convention at Clear Lake, Iowa, at the end of last August,[8] the convention failed to endorse her strike proposal.

SDS AT THE CHICAGO CONFERENCE

SDS designated two of its members, Fred Kushner of Roosevelt University (Chicago) and Steve Kindred of the University of Chicago, to present the SDS position on a student strike at the Chicago conference.

Kindred was the first speaker at the plenary session held on the first day of the Chicago gathering, December 28. He reportedly spoke on the increasing futility of "shouting slogans" about the war and stated that it was necessary to build a "broad-based left movement" that would take power from the "increasingly fascistic" rulers of the United States. He objected to "one-shot" operations. He said that he saw no need for a separate student mobilization and that permanent programs of the type needed had not been developed because too much time had been spent worrying about money for travel to places where demonstrations are held, making signs for picket lines, and so on.

He urged the conference delegates to call for local demonstrations on April 15, the day of the spring mobilization. After that, he said, there should be a moratorium on all demonstrations until October 1967 when they could stage "the biggest International Days of Protest that Johnson has ever seen."

Bettina Aptheker, Eugene Groves, and Sidney Peck spoke after Kindred. All ignored the issues he had raised. Kindred, according to an SDS publication, then—

> jumped over a row of chairs and, face red said that he felt "used", that Bettina and the plenary were not discussing the question of whether or not to hold a student mobilization * * * and he was afraid that "tomorrow we'll be presented with a continuations committee, six campus travelers, and a date" [for the strike].

SDS's major interest was getting the support of the Chicago conference for opposition to draft status 2–S, which it considers a governmental method of dividing students from the rest of the population through special class privilege.

Because of the objections of Kindred and other SDS representatives, the conference later discussed the issues they had raised. It refused, however, to endorse the SDS position on the draft. The SDS plea was opposed by the DuBois Club representatives, the representatives of the Young Socialist Alliance, and Mike Zagarell, national youth director of the Communist Party.

As a result of what happened at the Chicago conference, Bernard Farber, who represented Roosevelt University SDS at it, subsequently wrote:

> I'd just like to say that SDS should be careful in the coming period about just who and what it enters into coalitions and united actions with. United fronts

[8] Another identified Communist Party member, Anne Braden, also addressed the convention on the subject of "Black Power." Literature of the Communist Party, the Progressive Labor Party, the Socialist Workers Party, and its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance, was distributed at the convention.

are fine, at times, but my real hope for SDS is that we can organize openly and honestly, on the basis of our POLITICS, a movement to change this society. * * *

An SDS national conference was held in San Francisco, Calif., December 28–31, 1966. This conference actually overlapped the Chicago conference to plan a national student strike. It did not endorse either the proposed national student strike or the April 15 demonstrations.

Shortly after this conference, the reasons why SDS opposed the spring mobilization project were spelled out in a position paper written by Pat Popkin for the Northern California Regional Council. While this paper was directed specifically to the issue of the April 15 demonstrations, the SDS arguments advanced in it were applicable to the national student strike as well. (See Exhibit No. 10, p. 43.)

PARTIAL SDS SUPPORT OF VIETNAM WEEK

Despite the repeated opposition of SDS officials to a student strike and the Vietnam Week idea and the failure of the national organization to officially endorse either action, various SDS units and members are today supporting Vietnam Week.

SDS has two disadvantages when it gets into a conflict with Communist and ultraradical groups on any issue: (1) It grants its local chapters and individual members much more freedom than the other organizations do; (2) because it welcomes Communists and radicals of all descriptions, it sometimes develops that SDS "delegates" to some gathering will not represent the SDS position at all because they are members of the Communist Party, Progressive Labor Party, or Socialist Workers Party and their first loyalty is to those organizations. When a showdown comes, these SDS members support the position of these other groups in opposition to the position of SDS.

This may explain why an SDS regional conference held in De Kalb, Ill., at the end of February 1967 voted to support Vietnam Week. Reportedly, over 125 SDS members representing campuses in Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Iowa attended the conference. SDS officials present included Jane Adams, the group's former national chairman; Carl Davidson, one of its current national vice presidents; and Kathy Wilkinson, editor of its official publication, *new left notes*.

The regional conference was addressed by Dan Styron and Dan Friedlander, representing the Student Mobilization Committee, and Jack Spiegel and Sidney Peck, representing the Spring Mobilization Committee.

The upshot of the gathering was a vote to support both the Student Mobilization Committee's Vietnam Week and the Spring Mobilization Committee's planned April 15 demonstrations. This action actually placed the midwest section of SDS in opposition to the national organization's position.

The Communist Party newspaper, *The Worker*, stated that Jane Adams told its reporter that many SDS chapters in the region represented by the conference were "very excited" about Vietnam Week and were planning many different kinds of activity for it.

EXHIBIT NO. 10
(Copy with typing errors corrected)

No More Parades?
An S.D.S. Position Paper on the April 15 Mobilization

Several Local chapters of Students for a Democratic Society, the December National Conference, and the Northern California Regional Council of S.D.S. have all recently voted not to endorse the April 15th Mobilization. This seemingly decisive action on the part of the organization which called the first major march against United States intervention in Vietnam is the result of much discussion and thought on the part of the members of S.D.S. Several of the most frequent arguments against participation will be recounted here so that the position of the group might appear more intelligible and those supporting the Mobilization might come to question some of their, perhaps incorrect, assumptions.

(1) The parade as a tactic. It was the feeling of many S.D.S. members that the parade is no longer a viable tactic to be employed by the Peace Movement, since it serves no political or organizational purpose. Since we began marching the war has continued to escalate in total disregard for the visible sentiments of the Peace Movement. Moreover, marches no longer serve as a means by which to organize others. Rather, they draw upon the already organized groups who are tired of marching as evidenced by the dwindling number of participants in the various "Days of Protest." Also press coverage of mobilizations has also decreased.

(2) The places of the mobilization. The choice of places in no way suggests drawing upon new constituencies; e.g. rural areas or the Southern United States. Nor is it politically relevant, as the decisions regarding the war are not made in Chicago, San Francisco, and New York--the decisions are made in Washington.

(3) The timing of the mobilization. The time as well is politically irrelevant. Although April 15th has symbolic value, it is not particularly relevant to the day-to-day atrocities of the war about which many citizens not in the Peace Movement are concerned and may be moved to respond to.

(4) The war in Vietnam as a single issue. We in S.D.S.do not view the war in Vietnam as an aberration of U.S. policy. Rather, we view it an oppressive action on the part of the government similar to many other oppressive actions which form part and parcel of the lives of many Americans. Thus, we feel that the suffering of the Vietnamese people is akin to the suffering of the people of the United States, that the draft and the war are manifestations of the same kind of thinking on the part of the government, that poverty and racism are as much a result of deceptive government action as the Vietnam war--and that these links must be explicated, understood, and spoken of. The Peace Movement fails to do this in any real way. Rather, the issues are in no way linked--the emphasis is only on the war. Thus, the movement fails to relate honestly to the oppression experienced by many Americans as part of their everyday lives.

For these reasons, then, and many others S.D.S. members feel that the April 15th Mobilization will fail to gain political relevance or organize new people in opposition to the war in Vietnam.

Pat Popkin
for the Regional Council

CHAPTER III

Student Mobilization Committee

As directed by the Chicago conference, its continuations committee established an office in New York City—at 29 Park Row. This serves as the national headquarters of the group formed to publicize and organize Vietnam Week—the Student Mobilization Committee. Other offices were later established in Berkeley, Los Angeles, Chicago, Cleveland, and Nashville.

Committee investigation indicates that the national office of the Student Mobilization Committee was set up in New York City primarily at the insistence of the Trotskyist Communists (with SDS support) because they feared that if the group had its headquarters in Chicago, it would be dominated by the Communist Party.

This is supported by an article written by Bernard Farber and published in the January 6, 1967, issue of the official SDS newspaper, *new left notes*. Farber, a member of the Roosevelt University chapter of SDS and a delegate to the Chicago conference, wrote, in part, as follows:

> The continuations committee office was moved to New York, partially because of YSA-SWP fears that an office in Chicago would be CP dominated and partially after consultation with SDS people who agreed that in light of the NC action it wouldn't be too cool an idea to maintain an office where the present one was—in the same building as the SDS NO [National Office]. * * *

On January 10 the national headquarters of the Student Mobilization Committee made a mailing of a "Dear Friend" letter which summarized what had developed in Chicago and called for support of Vietnam Week. Enclosed with the letter were mimeographed copies of the Call to Vietnam Week adopted at the Chicago meeting, as well as copies of the "IMPLEMENTATION PROPOSALS" (Exhibit No. 9) and "PROPOSALS FOR CAMPUS ACTION" to be taken during the week of April 8–15.

The Student Mobilization Committee placed an ad in the Communist weekly, the *National Guardian*, of January 21. This ad, after briefly outlining the nature of Vietnam Week and referring to the mass Spring Mobilization Committee demonstrations planned for New York and San Francisco on April 15, noted:

> This is a vast undertaking and one which will require a lot of money. The national office of the Student Mobilization Committee has a budget of $7,000 to start with, above and beyond what hundreds of individual campuses will have to raise. Moreover, student groups are woefully lacking in funds.
>
> We appeal to you to help us carry out this project and help end the war in Vietnam.
>
> Please give generously—as much as you can and as soon as you can.

On January 28, 1967, the continuations committee of the Chicago conference held a meeting in New York City which was reportedly attended by over 70 students representing 14 States. The first business of the meeting was a "lively discussion" of plans to answer

charges about Vietnam Week made by the chairman of this committee, Representative Edwin E. Willis, in a January 28 press release. The chairman had stated in reference to Vietnam Week that—

> an assortment of Communists of both the Peking and Moscow varieties, fellow travelers, Marxists, radicals, pacifists and professional "peace" agitators have launched a "crash program" to undermine and sabotage U.S. resistance to Communist military aggression in Vietnam.

(The so-called "answer" to the chairman's charges consisted of a statement issued on February 1 reiterating the organization's "non-exclusion policy," that is, its policy of welcoming Communists into its ranks and unfounded derogatory statements about the chairman and the State he represents in the Congress.)

The morning session also received reports from the full-time headquarters staff on its activities, including fund-raising and the solicitation of sponsors for Vietnam Week. Those attending the meeting were also informed that 5,000 copies of a publication, *The Student Mobilizer*, had been printed and were being distributed nationally.[1]

Speakers at the meeting included Stokely Carmichael, Marjorie Kinsella, Professor Sidney Peck, and Rev. James Bevel.

Gwendolyn Patton of Atlanta reported on work the Southern Student Organizing Committee was undertaking in support of Vietnam Week. Danny Rosenshine of Cleveland reported that a regional office had been established in that city to organize and coordinate Vietnam Week activities in six States.

The meeting was also informed that 40 high schools in New York had been contacted about Vietnam Week and that a meeting would be held in New York City on February 4 for representatives from these schools.

It was also announced that high school groups had been formed in Seattle, San Francisco, and Philadelphia to support Vietnam Week; that organizing conferences were planned in all parts of the country; and that the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), in cooperation with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was planning a "Southside" conference that would coincide with a demonstration to be held in Atlanta, April 15.

Delegates at the meeting decided to distribute hundreds of thousands of pledge cards to students throughout the country, asking them to participate in Vietnam Week activities.

"THE STUDENT MOBILIZER"

The first issue of *The Student Mobilizer*, dated January 17, 1967, contained an introductory page with basically the same content as the "Dear Friend" letter of January 10. It also contained reprints of the Call to Vietnam Week, the "IMPLEMENTATION PROPOSALS," the "PROPOSALS FOR CAMPUS ACTION," and the resolution on Puerto Rico adopted at the Chicago conference.

This resolution followed the Communist Party line on Puerto Rico 100%.

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[1] At that time, the Spring Mobilization Committee had a publication entitled *Mobilizer*, the name of which has since been changed to *Mobilizer To End Mass Murder In Vietnam*.

In addition, the publication featured the following articles:

"CAMPUS WAR CRIMES TRIBUNALS"
A Proposal for a Campus Antiwar Action
by Dan Styron, Chicago

This article spelled out in detail the method of staging a war crimes tribunal on campus, the prearrangements and research to be made, the length of the tribunal, the type of witnesses to be called, the kind of testimony they should give, publicity surrounding the tribunals, etc. One sentence in the article read as follows:

> In order to maximize the effectiveness of this project, it is important to conduct the tribunals in a serious manner, with as much impartiality as possible.

This sounds fine—but before writing these words in his article, Styron had also written:

> After it has been established that the U.S. government is guilty of war crimes in Vietnam * * * .

Obviously such campus "war crimes tribunals" as are held during Vietnam Week will have some of the basic characteristics of the "trials" held in Communist countries.

"BLACK PEOPLE AND THE MANY WARS"
by Gwendolyn Patton

This article denounced the war in Vietnam as "a racist war" in which "black people are the cannon fodder." It also stated that:

> Vietnam and wars like it is [sic] inherent in the very nature of this country. * * * Therefore, the procedure and the course of action to take should not simply be one of *trying* to stop the war in Vietnam, but one that will radically change this country * * *. To think that ending the war in Vietnam will make this country "good" is a naive fallacy. * * * the enemy is the white capitalists who make up the U.S. government. * * * [Emphasis in original.]

"ON ORGANIZING STUDENT STRIKES FOR PEACE"
by Bettina Aptheker

Excerpts from this article follow:

> A student strike against the war, as it has now been defined, is one carried out with the intention of seriously disrupting, if not actually closing several universities or colleges for one day. A student strike for peace can be conducted in at least two possible ways. However, if we are talking in terms of seriously disrupting a university, then we are limiting this discussion to campuses where there is a strong anti-war movement capable of really beginning to lay the groundwork for such an action.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> Experience in recent months has shown that a prolonged student strike, while effective, is very costly to the students. While a prolonged strike is not rejected here, the context of this discussion is in terms of April 8–14 when such an action would be part of a general anti-war mobilization and consequently would not be an isolated act. A one-day strike involving a good section of one community is extremely effective. It shocks a lot of people into realizing that the grievance is not singular but community-wide.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> On campuses with a developed anti-war movement student strikes should be seriously contemplated. In some places it will be possible to get the student government and/or the faculty senate to vote to cancel classes for one day. Large numbers of students and faculty have been for some time and remain in passive opposition to the war. A strike which affords them the opportunity to express their opposition to the war through utilizing their individual skills and interests can bring them into activity.

With three months in which to plan and organize a strike every effort should be made to insure the participation of all sections of the academic community. Organizing can be done department by department. Anti-war organizers should be out to every student group whether it be political, religious, or social. Wherever possible organizers should talk to students in their dormitories, co-ops, and even apartments. At Berkeley we have had occasion to take 1,000 active students and give them each 25 telephone numbers and in a weekend we have called 25,000 students. The point here is that leaflets and rallies are not enough. In order to successfully organize an entire campus community almost every person must in some way come face to face with another working actively against the war. Our experience has always been that there is no short-cut to organizing.* * *

"UNCOVERING CAMPUS WAR RESEARCH"
by Robin Maisel

The proposals made in this article, if carried out successfully on a broad enough scale, would virtually destroy a large element of the overall security program of this country—by publicizing for the benefit of its enemies much of the research being conducted to enable the American people to defend themselves against, and to match, any weapon an enemy might use against them. Excerpts from the article follow:

On scores of campuses around the nation the U.S. government employs some of the best minds in the sciences and humanities for projects in weaponry and military politics to develop the tools of war and the arguments to "justify" the war in Vietnam. It is surprisingly easy to uncover these projects, hold them up to judgment by the public on the basis of the facts about them, and gain forces for the anti-war movement. In the case of the University of Pennsylvania the "spy in the bookstore" aspect, while perhaps the most "romantic" part of the story, was only a small part of the job of exposure. The incriminating list of books only aroused the suspicions of the anti-war committees. The research which cinched the case was done patiently and quietly in the university and public libraries by students and faculty.

LOTS OF MATERIAL AVAILABLE

There is a wealth of material about the "secret" projects conducted on the campus. * * * There is always some scuttlebut [sic] among the faculty about who received how much money, from whom, for what, and what kind of book and equipment grants came with the deal.

The government is also very free with information for he who is willing to dig in and find what he wants. The U.S. government printing office publishes a monthly listing of grants and expenditures. * * *

The various "craft" journals in the sciences constantly carry abstracts of articles about projects endowed by the government. Special interest groups, such as the chemists or biologists have magazines which reveal the latest news about the availability of government money for research. Projects which are presumably "secret" often leave little clues or signs somewhere. * * *

After uncovering evidence that any college or university is doing classified research for the United States Government, Maisel continued, students should always ask the following questions:

Why is this or that project secret?
What is there to hide?
Why would the revealing of the project cause such great embarassment [sic] to the university?

The asking of these questions, he stressed, is "the first rule of thumb" in exposing "complicity" with the war. He then made the ridiculous statement that: "The only projects which need to hide behind the secrecy of closed files are those which cannot be justified if made public."

The final paragraph in his article opened with these words:

> It will take a conscious effort by scientists and others on the faculty of our universities to keep themselves from being used by Johnson to help fight the war.

THE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS STAFF

The "STAFF NOTES" which concluded the first issue of *The Student Mobilizer* were written by Linda Dannenberg, Paul Friedman, and Gus Horowitz, who, along with some others, have been operating the national headquarters of the Student Mobilization Committee. They ended their notation with an appeal for funds and volunteer workers.

Linda Dannenberg, a 23-year-old graduate of the University of New Hampshire, attended the Chicago conference at which the Student Mobilization Committee was formed. She is a veteran of the Selma-to-Montgomery march in the spring of 1965. In addition to serving as a coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee, she also serves on its staff and the staff of the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee. (The latter is a New York City antiwar-in-Vietnam organization which, like the Spring and Student Mobilization Committees, has a mixed group of identified Communists, notorious fellow travelers, and pacifists in its leadership.)

The Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, with Linda Dannenberg participating, held a conference on March 18 to organize support for the April 15 demonstration in New York City.

Paul Friedman, former chairman of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs' unit at the State University College of New York at New Paltz, is also a member of the New York University chapter of the Committee To End the War in Vietnam.

Gus Horowitz, who has written for the Socialist Workers Party newspaper, *The Militant*, is a former member of the Chicago unit of the Student Peace Union, the Boston University Students for Peace, and the May 2nd Movement.

He was also formerly the editor of the "Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter." On February 17 he wrote a letter to subscribers to this newsletter in which he announced that the publication was being suspended. The reason he gave for this action was as follows:

> "This is because our entire staff and resources have been thrown into the Spring Mobilization Committee and the Student Mobilization Committee. These organizations are working for the same basic aims as the NEWSLETTER has always projected. In addition, these committees promise to be capable of drawing new forces into the anti-war movement on a broader basis than ever before. We feel, therefore, that it is incumbent upon us to suspend publication for the time being in order to help these organizations build the largest possible anti-war actions on April 15th. * * *

He also informed his subscribers that in place of the newsletter they would be sent copies of *The Student Mobilizer* and the *Mobilizer*. (Horowitz stated that 25,000 copies of the second issue of *The Student Mobilizer* would be printed.) He urged them to support the programs of both the Student Mobilization Committee and the Spring Mobilization Committee.

Bill Snyder, a member of the SDS chapter of the City College of New York, is also on the headquarters staff of the Student Mobilization

A Call to
VIETNAM WEEK
(APRIL 8—15)



"They have made a desert and called it peace."

--Tacitus

It is two years since the U.S. government began bombing North Vietnam. For two years the U.S. government has continued to escalate the war and spent ever increasing sums of money. In Vietnam the war is being paid for by the increasing shedding of the blood of American and Vietnamese soldiers, and the ever increasing killing of Vietnamese civilians. At home the war is being paid for by increased food prices, increased tuition, and the ever increasing disruption of the lives of American youth. This poses a challenge to those Americans who for the past two years have been striving to bring the horror of the war to the attention of their fellow Americans: for now large segments of America can be reached with the message that the war is a barrier both to their own individual happiness and to the fulfillment of the American dream of a nation with liberty and justice for all.

We must respond to this challenge by confronting our fellow students and our professors with the truth about the war and its perverse effects upon our society:

We must face the true nature of the war. It is first of all a war of aggression against the people of Vietnam, who seek only to exercise that right of self-determination for which Americans fought in 1776. It is a racist war, a murderous war against a colored people. It is an illegal war fought in our name but without our consent. It is but one symptom of a diseased society, a symptom that must be ended if it is to be possible to begin treating the disease itself.

We must face the true nature of the draft system. It is that system by which the war machine is nourished by the blood of young men. It is that system which makes the war possible. It further perpetuates a system of racism in the United States. It calculatedly penalizes the poor. It is used by the government to crush the aspirations of American racial minorities. It converts the classroom into an arena in which the losers are sent out to kill and be killed and the winners must live with the knowledge that their "success" in school may mean another's death on the battlefield.

The war in Vietnam makes it clear that the administration of this country with the complicity of the colleges and universities prefers to train Americans to become instruments of war instead of enlightened human beings.

We, the Student Mobilization Committee, urge all those students who wish to oppose the criminal war in Vietnam to dedicate themselves anew to the task of ending the war. Specifically we propose that April 8 - 15th be designated as Vietnam Week. We urge national student action during Vietnam Week which will culminate in the transportation of as many students as possible to New York and San Francisco as part of the general Spring Mobilization of the antiwar movement on April 15th. Finally, we propose that the focus of End the War in Vietnam Week be on: (1) Bringing the GI's home now; (2) Opposing the draft, and supporting the right of individuals to refuse to cooperate with the military system; and (3) Ending campus complicity with the war effort.

It is especially appropriate that we American students, fighting for the right to determine our own future, support the right of self-determination throughout the world and call for international opposition to the war in Vietnam, which denies the right of self-determination to the people of Vietnam.

National Sponsors for the Call to Vietnam Week (April 8 – 15)

(Organizations and universities listed for purposes of identification)

FRANKLIN ALEXANDER
National Chairman
W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America

BETTINA APTHEKER
University of California, Berkeley

NORMA BECKER

JULIAN HOUSTON
Student Body President, Boston University

LEW JONES
Chairman, Young Socialist Alliance

LEONARD JOYCE
Assistant Civil Rights Commissioner

STEPHEN RATNER
President
John Adams High School, New York

JEREMY RIFKIN
Vice President, Inter-Fraternity Council
President, Senior Class

University of California, Berkeley

NORMA BECKER
Founder
Teachers Committee for Peace in Vietnam

PAUL BOOTH
Hyde Park SDS, Chicago

PETER BUCH
Bring the Troops Home Newsletter

MARIS CAKARS
Field Secretary
Committee for Non-Violent Action

GREG CARLSON
Students for Non-Violence, Philadelphia

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

KEN CLOKE
Director of Law Student Program
National Lawyers Guild

ROBIN DAVID
Madison Committee Against the War in Vietnam

KIPP DAWSON
San Francisco State Vietnam Day Committee

JANET DEWART
Southern Student Organizing Committee
Nashville, Tenn.

SUSAN EANET
New York Regional Coordinator
Students for a Democratic Society

FRANK EMSPAK
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STAN FOWLER
California Christian Fellowship
University of California, Berkeley

GORDON FOX
Detroit High School Students for Peace

CARL FRANK
Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee

THOMAS N. GARDNER
USNSA Southern Project

TERRI ANNE GOTTERSMAN
Campus ADA, Fredonia, N.Y.

CARL GRIFFLER
Executive Secretary
Fort Hood Three Committee

DIEDRE GRISWALD
Youth Against War and Fascism

THOMAS A. HATCHCOCK
Chairman, Committee on Social Issues
Georgia State College

LEONARD JOYCE
Assistant Civil Rights Commissioner
Notre Dame Student Government

JOE KEARNS
National Secretary, Student Peace Union

MARJORIE KINSELLA
Secretary, Chicago Peace Council
Roosevelt University, Chicago

STANLEY KLEIN
Brooklyn College Student-Faculty Committee to End the War in Vietnam
Brooklyn College, New York

CHARLES LARSON
President, Student-Faculty Council
Wayne State University, Detroit

MICHAEL MARKOWITZ
Student President
City University of New York

FLOYD McKISSICK
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality

MICHAEL MYERSON
Director, Tri-Continental Information Center

KAY MOLLER
Students for Peace, University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pa.

PROF. J. B. NEILANDS
Committee for New Politics
University of California, Berkeley

DAVID NOLAN
Southern Student Organizing Committee
Charlottesville, Va.

BRIAN O'BRIAN
Executive Committee, American Federation of Teachers, Berkeley, Calif.

PETER ORRIS
Harvard Chapter
Students for a Democratic Society

GARY PADOLNER
South Shore High School, Chicago

JODY PALMOUR
Southern Student Organizing Committee
Atlanta, Ga.

GWENDOLYN PATTON
National Student Association,
Southern Project

SIDNEY PECK
Prof., Dept. of Sociology
Western Reserve University

PAUL POTTER
Assistant Professor
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

President, Senior Class
University of Pennsylvania

DAN ROSESHINE
Chairman, Cleveland Committee to End the War in Vietnam

PEDRO JUAN RÚA
Federación de Universidades Pro-Independencia (FUPI)

SHELDON SACHS
Student Government President
City College of New York

SAN FRANCISCO YOUNG DEMOCRATS

JOE SANDERS
Chairman, Wayne Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Detroit, Mich.

MARIO AND SUZANNE SAVIO
University of California, Berkeley

DAVID SEYMOUR
University Methodist Chaplain
University of Pennsylvania

BILLY SHAPIRO
NSA Coordinator, Brooklyn College

LINDA SHEPPARD
Chairman, Greater Boston Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam

PROF. MULFORD Q. SIBLEY
University of Minnesota

MORRIS STARSKY
Philosophy Department, Arizona State University Committee to End the War in Vietnam

ALLEN STRASBURGER
Co-Chairman, Peace and Equal Rights Committee
Monmouth College, W. Long Beach, N.J.

TOM TUCHMAN
President Pro-tem Student Senate
New Paltz, N.Y.

CAROLE ELEANOR WALL
Mary Baldwin College, Virginia

JUDY WHITE
Socialist Workers Party

MICHAEL YUEFF
UCLA Vietnam Day Committee

MICHAEL ZAGARELL
National Youth Director
Communist Party, U.S.A.

HOWARD ZINN
Professor, Department of Government
Boston University

There are additional sponsors. The list is available on request.

Student Mobilization Committee

National Office
c/o Linda Dannenberg
29 Park Row, 5th floor
New York, N.Y. 10038
Tel: 964-0070

c/o Women for Peace
2495 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California
94703

S.S.O.C.
1703 Portland Avenue
Nashville, Tenn. 37212

c/o Chicago Peace Council
1608 W. Madison, Rm. 201
Chicago, Illinois

Ohio Regional
Coordinating Committee
10616 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44106

☐ I support the Call for Vietnam Week
☐ I would like more information on the Student Mobilization Committee
☐ Here is my contribution to aid your work $.....

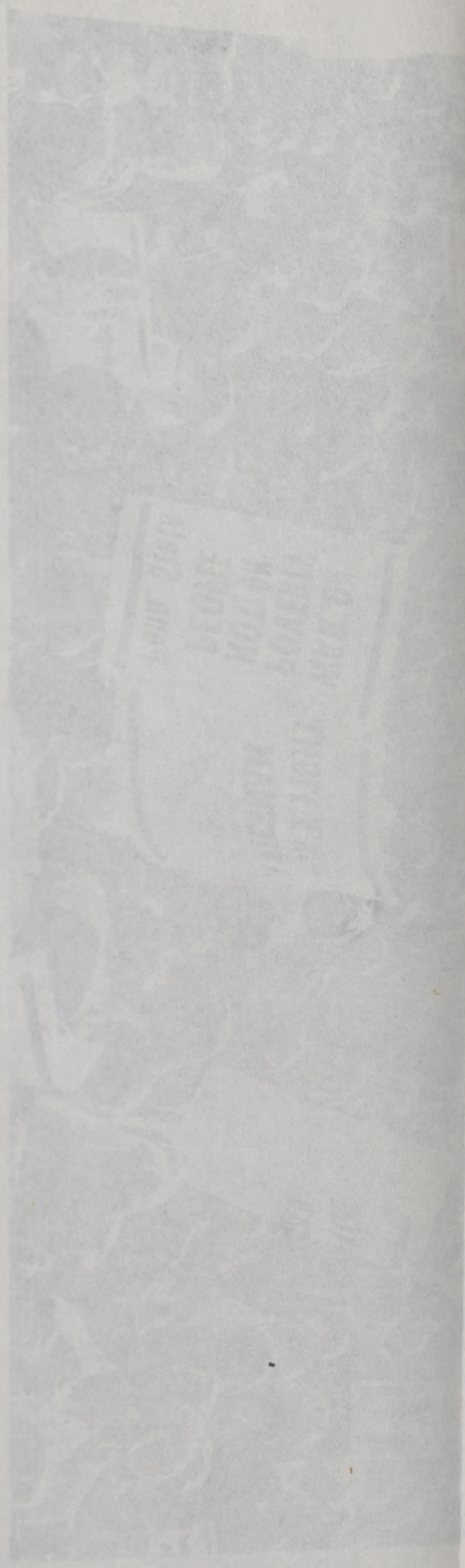
Name.....
Address.....
.....Zip.....
School.....
Organization.....

EXHIBIT No. 11

76-322 O - 67 (Face p. 49)

A Call to VIETNAM WEEK

(April 15—18)



Student Mobilization Committee

Chicago, Illinois
1608 W. Madison, Rm. 201
c\o Chicago Peace Council
Tel: 864-0020

Cleveland, Ohio 44106
10819 Euclid Avenue
Coordinating Committee
Ohio Regional

New York, N.Y. 10038
25 Park Row, 5th floor
c\o Liuda Donnenpeig
National Office

94703
Berkeley, California
5482 Shattuck Avenue
c\o Women for Peace

Nashville, Tenn. 37215
1703 Portland Avenue
S.S.O.C.

Organization.....
School.....
.....Zip.....
Address.....
Name.....
☐ Here is my contribution to aid your work $.....
☐ I would like more information on the Student Mobilization Committee
☐ I support the Call for Vietnam Week

11 .ON TIBMIX

Committee. He is in charge of organizing support for Vietnam Week in the New York area.

Committee investigation has determined that rent for the New York office of the Student Mobilization Committee has been paid by the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee.

ATTEMPT TO CONCEAL COMMUNIST INVOLVEMENT

The Student Mobilization Committee has made national mailings of "A Call to Vietnam Week," which listed 62 national sponsors. (See Exhibit No. 11 opposite this page.) Of these, 33 persons had not previously been associated with the student strike and Vietnam Week proposals.

The 62 names listed on this call as national sponsors of Vietnam Week, again, were deliberately selected to play down and conceal the strong, extensive Communist influence which, it has been demonstrated, exists in the Vietnam Week program.

Michael Zagarell was openly identified as "National Youth Director, Communist Party, U.S.A." on the call and Franklin Alexander was identified as "National Chairman, W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America." Most students reading the list of sponsors would probably know that "Bettina Aptheker, University of California, Berkeley," was a professed Communist. The great majority, however, would not realize that "Judy White, Socialist Workers Party," "Lew Jones, Chairman, Young Socialist Alliance," and "Diedre Griswald,[2] Youth Against War and Fascism," actually represented Communist organizations.

All other names listed as sponsors—that is, the great majority of them—were chosen to create the impression Vietnam Week was basically a non-Communist project.

This call listed five Student Mobilization Committee offices:

Its Park Row national headquarters in New York City;

The Chicago Peace Council in Chicago;

An "Ohio Regional Coordinating Committee" in Cleveland;

The Southern Student Organizing Committee headquarters in Nashville, Tenn.;

A Berkeley, Calif., office located in the West Coast headquarters of Women for Peace.

To make sure that no Communists would be uninformed about its operation, the Student Mobilization Committee placed an ad in the March 12 issue of *The Worker*—pleading with its readers to contribute money and time to the committee. The ad was headed:

"*The* CIA *Doesn't Support Us! We Need You!*"

This ad made it clear that there was complete cooperation between the Student Mobilization Committee and the Spring Mobilization Committee. It stated that the Student Mobilization Committee had been working for 2 months "to bring thousands of students to New York and San Francisco for the April 15th demonstrations." It boasted of "*amazing progress*" on the Student Committee's part—contact with over 300 campuses; the mailing of 50,000 calls; 30,000 *Student Mobilizers;* 50,000 pledge cards; and thousands of buttons, posters, and stickers.

Contradicting the earlier statement that the committee had initially been given $7,000 to finance its operations, it claimed that all this

[2] Correct spelling "Griswold."

had been done with a total income of "*less than* $1,000—most of which is borrowed money!" [Emphasis in original.]

A flyer printed by the national office of the Student Mobilization Committee in March also verified the complete unity of purpose and action between the Student Committee and the Spring Mobilization Committee. This flyer was primarily a call for participation in the April 15 march to the U.N. headquarters in New York City, sponsored by the Spring Mobilization Committee. It stated that:

"As part of the national Spring Mobilization against the war, the Student Mobilization is organizing student participation * * *."

(See Exhibit No. 12, below.)

EXHIBIT NO. 12

MARCH
TO
END THE WAR IN VIETNAM
BRING THE TROOPS HOME NOW
END THE DRAFT
END CAMPUS COMPLICITY IN THE WAR

Saturday, April 15

Assemble 11 a.m. Central Park Sheep's Meadow

March at noon with thousands of others through midtown to the U. N.

Rally at the U. N. at 3 p.m.

ORGANIZED BY

THE STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

As part of the national Spring Mobilization against the war, the Student Mobilization is organizing student participation in anti-war activities to take place during the week of April 8th to 15th. Two massive demonstrations, one in San Francisco and the other in New York, are to be the focus of the week of activity, and the participation of trade unions, and civil rights groups, as well as the deepening opposition to Johnson's dirty war, promise to make these marches the largest and broadest to be held against the war. The Student Mobilization Committee is co-ordinating activities of over twenty-five campuses in the New York area, and will provide speakers and literature on request.

JOIN THE MARCH

BUILD THE MOVEMENT TO END THE WAR

If you would like more information, contact:
Student Mobilization Committee
c/o Linda Dannenberg
29 Park Row (5th Floor)
New York, New York 10038
Telephone: 23[illegible]-4535

☐ I will march on April 15th to end the war.

☐ Call me to help with the mobilization.

Name_____Phone_____
Address_____Zip_____
I enclose a contribution of _____ to help.

The second issue of *The Student Mobilizer* announced that "field travelers" had been touring the country for the Student Mobilization Committee and had already covered New England, the far West and Southwest, North and South Carolina, Illinois, Ohio, Iowa, and some of the Southeast, publicizing Vietnam Week and that more such travelers would be doing the same work in areas not covered. It appealed for volunteers for this project.

Professor John McDermott, editor of *Viet-Report*, it said, was available to go on speaking tours for the committee.

It claimed that there were already 15 campuses in Los Angeles that had Student Mobilization Committees "or the beginnings of such."

The issue featured an article by Paul Booth of SDS, "The Efficacy Of Antiwar Protest," which, in its implied all-out support of Vietnam Week and the April 15 demonstrations, contradicted SDS's official stand-off position on these projects.

WEST COAST OFFICE

The West Coast headquarters of the Student Mobilization Committee has been more active than any other except the New York office in promoting support for Vietnam Week and the April 15 demonstrations. It is located at 2495 Shattuck Avenue in Berkeley, which is the headquarters of Women for Peace, an organization which, since it was first formed in the fall of 1961, has enjoyed the complete support of the Communist Party. Hearings held by the Committee on Un-American Activities in December 1962 revealed that a large number of key officers in the New York, New Jersey, Connecticut section of this group were or had been members of the Communist Party.

The West Coast unit of the Student Mobilization Committee also operates out of 55 Colton Street, San Francisco. This is the office of Californians for Liberal Representation and also serves as the West Coast office of the Spring Mobilization Committee. Don Rothenberg, leader of the Californians for Liberal Representation, who is also playing an active role in the Spring Mobilization Committee, has been identified as a member of the Communist Party in testimony before this committee. When given an opportunity to deny this identification in an appearance before the committee, he invoked the fifth amendment.

The Berkeley headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party on Minerva Street is also used by the West Coast headquarters of the Student Mobilization Committee for the distribution of literature and other activities related to Vietnam Week.

The West Coast office has made various mailings of promotional literature on Vietnam Week. On February 5, 1967, it held a conference at its Colton Street office to organize support for the program. Over 100 students from various campuses on the West Coast took part in the conference.

Committee investigation indicates that the West Coast headquarters of the Student Mobilization Committee is under the direction of Bettina Aptheker, working in close liaison with the Socialist Workers Party and its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance.

THE CHICAGO OFFICE

The office of the Chicago Peace Council, 1608 West Madison Street, was used as the Chicago headquarters of the Student Mobilization Committee for some time after the Chicago conference. The organization has since established a headquarters at 2817 West Division Street.

A flyer distributed by this office indicates how far the Student Mobilization Committee has gone in promoting the major effort of the Spring Mobilization Committee. Without referring to the group by name, the flyer stated that the movement to end the war in Vietnam, on April 15, "will launch the MOST MASSIVE PROTEST DEMONSTRATION AGAINST US GOVERNMENT POLICY that has ever been held." [Emphasis in original.]

The flyer also noted:

> A chartered train and busses will be leaving Chicago for New York on April 14th and return April 16th. The tentative fare will be $20 to $25, depending upon how much money can be raised to subsidize transportation costs.
>
> Join the Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam by returning the coupon below.

The coupon referred to provided spaces for persons to indicate that they wanted more information on the Spring Mobilization, that they would need transportation to New York, that they were enclosing a contribution, etc.

The coupon was to be returned to:

> Student Mobilization Committee,
> c/o Mareen Jasinski,
> 2817 W. Division,
> Chicago, Ill. 60622,
> tel. 252–0498 [or] 288–5790

Committee investigation reveals the former telephone number is registered to Miss Jasinski and the latter number to three women, one of whom is Jacqueline "Jackie" Goldberg.

Miss Goldberg attended the Fifth World Congress of Women held in Moscow in 1963 under the auspices of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), a worldwide Communist front founded in 1945 to promote the Soviet party line. In 1965, she served on the policy committee of the American Youth Festival Committee which was set up to promote attendance by U.S. youth and students at the Communist-planned Ninth World Youth Festival. As previously mentioned, she was associated with Bettina Aptheker in the leadership of the Free Speech Movement at the University of California.

As the drafting of this report was completed, the committee was in receipt of information indicating that the organizers of Vietnam Week have made extensive plans for demonstrations of various types, both on and off campus, during the week of April 8–15.

CHAPTER IV

Conclusions

The proposal for a nationwide student strike was completely Communist in origin.

The Chicago conference, at which the decision to stage Vietnam Week (April 8–15, 1967) was made, was instigated and dominated by the Communist Party, U.S.A., and the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America.

By careful selection of a limited list of national sponsors, a deliberate effort has been made in the printed Call to Vietnam Week to conceal the major role the Communists have played—and are playing—in organizing and promoting this project.

Communist organizations, the Communist press, Communist fronts, and individual Communists are united in giving their all-out support to Vietnam Week and all the activities and demonstrations associated with it.

Communists are playing dominant roles in both the Student Mobilization Committee and the Spring Mobilization Committee. Further, these two organizations have unified their efforts and are cooperating completely in their purpose of staging on April 15 the largest demonstrations against the war in Vietnam ever to take place in this country.

The immediate objective of Vietnam Week and the April 15 demonstrations is to reverse the U.S. policy of resisting communism in Vietnam.

The constant professions of a desire for "peace" which have appeared in the literature and publicity related to Vietnam Week are completely insincere; the real, ultimate aim of the dominant Communist element in this movement is not peace, but the undermining of the United States, the destruction of any possibility of establishing a stable democratic government in Vietnam, the promotion of a Communist takeover in Vietnam, and the general advance of world communism.

The organization and planning of the Vietnam Week demonstrations provide an excellent example of successful implementation by the Communists of their "united front" strategy.

Dr. Martin Luther King's agreement to play a leading role in the April 15 demonstrations in New York City, and his freeing Rev. James Bevel from his key position in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to head up the Spring Mobilization Committee, are evidence that the Communists have succeeded, at least partially, in implementing their strategy of fusing the Vietnam and civil rights issues in order to strengthen their chances of bringing about a reversal of U.S. policy in Vietnam.

Pacifist elements are involved in Vietnam Week, in the Student Mobilization Committee, the Spring Mobilization Committee, and its predecessor, the November 8 Mobilization Committee for Peace in

Vietnam. Generally speaking, however, genuine pacifist elements and organizations in this country are relatively small and weak. Alone, they have never succeeded in staging a major demonstration. While the sincerity of these groups in agitating for peace in Vietnam and elsewhere is not to be questioned, it is clear that they have played, and are playing, a minor role in Vietnam Week and in other anti-Vietnam-war demonstrations that have taken place in this country in recent years.

Every major, large-scale demonstration against the war in Vietnam which has taken place in this country has had all-out Communist support. They have, in fact, achieved the status of "large-scale" and "major" mainly because of the effort put into them by Communist elements.

The success of the Communist united front strategy, which is so evident in the Vietnam Week program, indicates that much needs to be done, particularly on the college level, to inform the youth of America about both the principles on which the Government of this country is based and the nature, record, strategy, and tactics of communism. No person who is truly dedicated to freedom, liberty, and the concept of democratic government, who opposes tyranny and totalitarianism—and, at the same time, is truly informed about the nature and record of communism—joins in any united front operation with Communists.

Such success as the instigators and organizers of Vietnam Week may have in staging anti-U.S. demonstrations, April 8–15, and in turning out large numbers of people for the New York and San Francisco demonstrations must be attributed primarily to the Communists. The overall success of this operation will also be an indication of Communist strength and the extent to which the Communists are able to influence and manipulate non-Communist Americans.

The Communist propaganda apparatus throughout the world will capitalize, in every way possible, on the Vietnam Week and April 15 demonstrations. The global publicity given to them by the Communist propaganda machine will have the following effects:

(*a*) It will give aid and comfort to Communists everywhere, particularly in Vietnam.

(*b*) Among non-Communists, it will tend to create the false impression that a truly large segment of the U.S. population is vehemently opposed to this country's policy in Vietnam.

(*c*) U.S. leaders will be faced with greater difficulties in convincing our allies of the correctness of this country's policy in Vietnam.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1967

Hanoi Says U.S. Protest Rallies Prove Saigon Will Lose the War

TOKYO, Feb. 19 (UPI)—North Vietnam said today that it regarded demonstrations in the United States against American policy in Vietnam as proof that the Communists would win the war.

An article in the official Government newspaper Nhan Dan said the North Vietnamese "hailed the mounting struggle of the entire people of the United States of America against Johnson's aggressive war in Vietnam."

The article was signed Chien Si, Vietnamese for "Fighter." It was broadcast by the official North Vietnamese press agency.

Citing recent demonstrations in the United States against United States policy, the Communist newspaper said, "Justice and the Vietnamese people will certainly triumph and the United States aggressors will certainly be defeated."

"Entering this year, the movement in support of the Vietnamese people and in condemnation of the United States aggressors is seething throughout the world, including the United States, especially since the renewed bombing of North Vietnam after Tet," [the lunar new year] Nhan Dan said.

The article said that from Fe 9 to 11 "o r e r l on A ric Ca ho . . t ts a e i 7

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[1] Referred to as Alberts in this reference.

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[1] Incorrectly referred to as Allan.
[2] Incorrectly spelled Emspack.

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[1] Incorrectly spelled Gleason.
[2] Incorrectly spelled Griswald.
[3] Incorrectly referred to as Donald.

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[1] Spelled Maltzer in this reference.
[2] Spelled O'Brian in this references.
[3] Incorrectly spelled Ogelsby.

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[1] Incorrectly spelled Roseshine in this reference.

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[1] Incorrectly spelled Tuckman in this reference.
[2] Incorrectly spelled Moriis.

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