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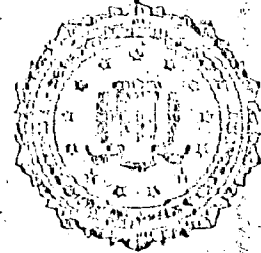
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COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, POLICY ON VIETNAM  
DUBOIS CLUBS POLICY ON VIETNAM  
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY POLICY ON VIETNAM  
PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY POLICY ON VIETNAM  
WORKERS WORLD PARTY POLICY ON VIETNAM  
MAJOR DEMONSTRATIONS  
REPORT

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SUBJECT: SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE IN  
U. S. VIETNAM DEMONSTRATIONS

DATE: November 21, 1966

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## INTRODUCTION

United States aircraft attacked selected targets in North Vietnam following torpedo-boat assaults against American destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin in early August, 1964. In the more than two years that have elapsed since that time, there have been in the United States almost daily demonstrations in the form of sit-ins, teach-ins, parades, rallies, marches, or meetings to protest United States intervention in the war in Vietnam. Several of these demonstrations could be said to have reached major proportions.

Even before the Gulf of Tonkin incident, the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA)--which took its cue from the Soviet Union--and other subversive organizations in the United States were engaged in campaigns to influence the United States Government to withdraw its troops from Vietnam or to participate in negotiations to end the war. They hoped, of course, that either action would result ultimately in a communist victory in Vietnam.

At the same time, these subversive organizations wanted to take full advantage of the clamor for peace in Vietnam created by individuals and pacifist organizations that are for peace and against war no matter what the consequences may be. While these pacifists, like other Americans, have every right to protest any action of their Government with which they disagree, the communists and other subversives quickly perceived that the pacifists' protests presented them with many opportunities.

Of paramount importance, there was the opportunity to foster an impression that widespread opposition--especially noncommunist opposition--exists in this country relative to the Government's policies on Vietnam. This would serve to lend encouragement to the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong to continue the fighting despite adversities and might lead to domestic discontent similar to that which contributed to the earlier French military disengagement from events in Indochina. Thus, the CPUSA and other subversive organizations were resorting to a proven tactic--engaging in a united front with noncommunists to accomplish a single objective, but one that would have different meaning for the participants.

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For the noncommunists, it would be an end to hostilities and the potential threat of a wider war. For the communists, it would be another country added to their camp.

Even beyond their immediate goal, the communists viewed the situation in Vietnam as a direct confrontation of the two opposing world systems. The history of communism does not suggest that the absorption of South Vietnam would be an end in itself. It must be reckoned that a successful communist effort in Vietnam would signal further attempts at conquest in Asia and possibly in Africa, Latin America, and even Europe.

The communists and other subversives also viewed large-scale demonstrations for peace as an excellent opportunity to distribute their publications and their antiwar propaganda, especially that slanted to: (1) describe the war in Vietnam as a classical illustration of "imperialist aggression" and (2) claim that the war has racial overtones not only because it involves nonwhites in Asia but also because it consumes funds that might otherwise be expended for the war on poverty at home. The communists also recognized that these demonstrations provide them with a convenient forum for face-to-face conversations designed to locate and indoctrinate potential recruits.

Since other organizations have been demonstrating for an objective which coincides in many respects with that of the communists, it is not surprising to discover that the communists have followed the practice of leaving the formal sponsorship of demonstrations to others while they concentrated on those phases relating to initiation, plans, guidance, promotion, and participation. Since peace is a noble effort for all to strive to achieve honorably, it is also not surprising to find that there have been some demonstrations in the United States against the war in Vietnam which did not involve participation by a member of a communist or other subversive organization. Those demonstrations which have lacked communist participation are, however, definitely in the minority.

Of particular significance is the large number of former members of communist and other subversive groups who have taken part in anti-Vietnam demonstrations. Participation by these individuals lends some credibility to a statement made by CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall. In October, 1966, he stated that there are 100,000 to 150,000 people in the United States who could be considered communists, but economic and other sanctions against known communists keep the active Party membership down.

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In what way have communist and other subversive organizations contributed to and influenced protest demonstrations against the war in Vietnam? An obvious device used frequently is to direct their members to become participants and to influence others to participate in demonstrations organized by noncommunist organizations.

Several pacifist groups, acting either independently or in association with other pacifist organizations and even with communist front groups, have sponsored many--including most of the major--demonstrations against the war in Vietnam. Prominent among these pacifist organizations are the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE), the Committee for Non-Violent Action, Women Strike for Peace, American Friends Service Committee, Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the War Resisters League. Common among all of these organizations is an absence of any serious effort to exclude participation by communists in any events they sponsor.

Deserving of special mention in connection with demonstrations against United States intervention in Vietnam are two militant youth groups. One of these, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), has been a frequent sponsor or co-sponsor of these demonstrations. SDS, which works hand in hand on campuses with the communist-controlled W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA), has also received support from the CPUSA in regard to its protest demonstrations against United States military activity in Vietnam. In fact, Gus Hall has characterized the SDS, along with the DCA, as a group which the CPUSA has "going for us."

Officials and members of the other militant youth group, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a civil rights organization, have been active in anti-Vietnam demonstrations. SNCC has been praised by the CPUSA for moving rapidly to the left and for being among the first to make the tie between civil rights and peace.

Communist and other subversive organizations have also used their front groups--particularly their youth affiliates--to sponsor independently or in cooperation with noncommunist organizations antiwar or peace demonstrations. Included among these organizations is the previously mentioned DCA. Another is the Young Socialist Alliance, the youth section of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party. A third is Youth Against War and Fascism, the youth group of the Workers World Party, which was formed in 1959 by a splinter group of the Socialist Workers Party. A fourth was the now-defunct May 2nd Movement, a youth front group which was dominated and controlled by the pro-Peking Progressive Labor Party.

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In addition, communist and other subversive organizations establish front groups to promote anti-Vietnam-war activities. An example is the Brooklyn Residents Committee for Peace Now, a front established by Kings County members of the New York District of the CPUSA. Another example is the Pittsburgh Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which was formed for the DCA chapter in Pittsburgh by members of the Western Pennsylvania District of the CPUSA. Local committees to end the war in Vietnam have been similarly organized in many major American cities. Several other examples of communist fronts designed to promote antiwar activities could be listed, including Trade Unionists for Peace, which was established by the New York District of the CPUSA.

Members of communist and other subversive organizations also infiltrate and participate in the activities of organizations established specifically to promote antiwar demonstrations. One of the prime examples is the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which has its headquarters in Madison, Wisconsin. Its Steering Committee includes representatives from the DCA and Arnold Johnson, CPUSA Public Relations Director. Its chairman, Frank Emspak, has attended DCA meetings. He is the son of the late Julius Emspak, who was a CPUSA member and a labor leader. Another instance of this type of infiltration is provided by a highly publicized young member of the CPUSA National Committee, Bettina Aptheker. She has played a leading role in the Vietnam Day Committee of Berkeley, California.

In addition, representatives of communist and other subversive organizations are usually found within the many ad hoc committees created primarily to promote a particular demonstration against United States participation in the Vietnam War. For example, the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee was initiated by the Reverend Abraham J. Muste to sponsor a massive parade on October 16, 1965, a date designated by the Vietnam Day Committee and the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam as a day of international and national protests. Muste, an octogenarian clergyman, is chairman of the Committee for Non-Violent Action, has a long history of association with many pacifist organizations, and has been a leading figure in many of the protests against the war in Vietnam.

The Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee succeeded in getting 25,000 New Yorkers to march down Fifth Avenue on October 16, 1965, under the slogan, "Stop the War in Vietnam Now!" The Steering Committee of the Fifth Avenue Peace

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Parade Committee includes members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Progressive Labor Party. However, the overriding force is the CPUSA, represented by members who are also members of Women Strike for Peace and the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

A recently formed ad hoc committee--the November 8th Mobilization Committee--has as its chairman the durable Abraham J. Muste. This Committee was established for the purpose of planning a mass mobilization for peace during the four days in November immediately preceding the 1966 elections. The proposal for this Committee was made by Professor Sidney Peck of Western Reserve University at a conference in Cleveland, initiated and hosted by the Inter-University Committee for a Public Hearing on Vietnam, which works closely with the leadership of Students for a Democratic Society. Peck was a member of the Wisconsin District Committee of the Communist Party in the 1950's.

Listed among the sponsors of the November 8th Mobilization Committee were the following: Herbert Aptheker, leading CPUSA theoretician and father of Bettina Aptheker; Franklin Alexander, Chairman of the DCA and a CPUSA member; Carl Oglesby, former National President of the SDS; and Yale Professor Staughton Lynd, who accompanied Aptheker on a trip to North Vietnam in December, 1965, and who was a member of the now-defunct American Youth for Democracy, a communist youth front. It is typical of these ad hoc committees to include in the list of sponsors individuals like Aptheker, Lynd, and Muste, who have been prominent in many antiwar demonstrations, and names that might attract attention, such as that of Norman Thomas, perennial Socialist Party candidate for President of the United States. The CPUSA National Board agreed to give full cooperation to the November 8th Mobilization Committee.

The cumulative effect of communist and other subversive influence and participation in Vietnam demonstrations in the United States has been to give aid and comfort to the enemy, to advance the goals and interests of world communism, and to be detrimental to this Nation's security and welfare.

The pages that follow contain information relating to the policies of the CPUSA and other subversive organizations on the war in Vietnam. Selected examples of participation by members of these organizations in major anti-Vietnam demonstrations appear in the latter portion of this document.

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COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, POLICY ON VIETNAM

End the War

As early as the Fall of 1961, condemnation of United States military presence in Vietnam appeared in "The Worker," east coast communist newspaper. By the Spring of 1963, CPUSA national headquarters was issuing instructions for May Day celebrations which urged Party members to press demands for an end to the war in Vietnam and to criticize the Administration for its "aggressive" policies in South Vietnam and in Cuba.

Condemn "American Imperialism"

At a meeting of the CPUSA National Board held in September, 1963, CPUSA Public Relations Director Arnold Johnson claimed that "American imperialism" had perpetuated the division of Vietnam. He proposed that the Party become more active in a campaign to urge the withdrawal of American Armed Forces from Vietnam and the replacement of the Diem regime with a "democratic coalition government." Gus Hall instructed that a statement be issued by the Party to condemn "American imperialism" in Vietnam.

Contact "Peace Forces"

In a subsequent meeting held to discuss Hall's proposed statement regarding developments in Vietnam, the late Jack Stachel, a prominent CPUSA functionary, stated that, after the issuance of the statement, the Party should contact all the "peace forces" in New York City in an effort to organize a mass meeting. In addition, he said the Party should issue a call for everyone to write letters to Congressmen and Senators demanding an end to the war in Vietnam.

Protest Visit

At a meeting of Party leaders in the Northern California District held in October, 1963, District Chairman Mickey Lima announced that all Party members should be instructed to take part in a demonstration to protest against the visit of Madame Ngo Dinh Nhu to San Francisco. Lima added that those participating in the demonstration should carry placards urging the recall of American troops from Vietnam.

Party Directive

In March of 1964, CPUSA national headquarters sent a directive, entitled "The U.S. and South Vietnam Developments," to all Party districts. This directive reviewed developments in South

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Vietnam, assessed their repercussions on the United States, and described the situation in Southeast Asia as an even greater threat to peace than Cuba or Berlin. All Party districts were urged to send telegrams to President Johnson protesting American "military aggression" in South Vietnam, to place advertisements in newspapers throughout the country, to organize protest meetings and picket lines, and to enlist the support of noncommunist groups in these activities.

#### Demands for Withdrawal

Southeast Asia was the principal topic of discussion at a meeting of the Party's Secretariat held in June, 1964. In the main report, Jack Stachel proposed, among other things, that the Party raise the slogan "Bring the Boys Home!" To supplement Stachel's proposals, the Party called upon veteran member Margrit Pittman to prepare a discussion outline on the topic "Vietnam and Peace." In this outline, Pittman urged telegrams, letters, resolutions, meetings, marches, and other forms of demonstrations to demand that the United States withdraw from South Vietnam and not intervene in Laos or Cambodia.

#### "Dirty Aggression"

The CPUSA quickly came to the support of Communist North Vietnam and characteristically criticized United States foreign policy when United States aircraft attacked selected targets in North Vietnam following torpedo-boat attacks against American destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin in early August, 1964. Speaking at a meeting of the Party's Southern California District, District Chairman Dorothy Healey called this action against North Vietnam "dirty aggression." She suggested that 50,000 letters be sent to President Johnson to protest the action against North Vietnam and to warn the President that he did not have a captive vote.

#### "Speak Out for Peace"

As Healey was speaking in California, CPUSA national headquarters was issuing a press release in New York City in which it condemned the "retaliatory strike" against North Vietnam and charged that United States warplanes had brought death to innocent people. The release called for all people "to speak out for peace" through petitions, letters, and telegrams to be sent to President Johnson, Senators, and Congressmen urging negotiations and the settlement of all the issues through the existing machinery of the 14-power Geneva conference and the "good offices of the United Nations."

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### Stimulate Pressure

By letter dated August 19, 1964, and addressed to all districts, the CPUSA National Organization Department referred to this press release. All Party members were urged, because of the role of "United States imperialism" in Southeast Asia, to use even greater initiative to stimulate pressure for a negotiated settlement and the convening of a 14-nation conference concerning Vietnam.

### Strive for a Conference

At an enlarged meeting of the CPUSA National Board held in November, 1964, Arnold Johnson urged the CPUSA to utilize the many organizations and "groupings" which, he said, were bringing pressure on the United States Government to end the war in Vietnam. Johnson proposed that the Party strive for a conference in Washington, D. C., which would represent the totality of American opinion on Vietnam and would attempt to bring about a change in United States policy in Vietnam. In this connection, Johnson suggested that the Party prepare by the end of November, 1964, a definitive document on Vietnam and distribute 50,000 copies of this document. Such a document was prepared and sent to all Party districts with instructions that it be given wide circulation.

### Demand for Peace

During a meeting of leading CPUSA functionaries held in late November, 1964, Arnold Johnson again stressed the need for the Party to fight against extension of the war in Vietnam. He stated that the CPUSA could do this with the "forces striking for peace." He suggested that a memorandum on the Party's position be sent to all districts. The key point in the memorandum would be the demand for peace and an end to the war in Vietnam.

### "Key Test"

Following through on Johnson's suggestions, the CPUSA National Organization Department sent an avalanche of instructions to all Party districts for activities designed to achieve communist objectives in South Vietnam. CPUSA district leaders were instructed to organize activities in the trade-union movement, in youth organizations, and in religious organizations until peace was achieved. The Party directive pointed out that at that time of year church and other organizations raised the question of "Peace on Earth," but the "key test" was what they said on Vietnam.

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"Peace on Earth"

The CPUSA National Organization Department issued another directive in early December, 1964, in which Party members were urged to pay special attention to the full use of the "Peace on Earth" sentiment of the people during December. Party districts were requested to advise CPUSA national headquarters what was being planned and what was being done by labor, youth, women, church organizations, and "professional peace organizations" in their areas to make the greatest use of the season when the world was calling for "Peace on Earth."

Appeal to America's Conscience

In still another directive issued in December, 1964, the National Organization Department warned all Party districts that every passing event made it more urgent that all sections of the population speak out "to end the war in South Vietnam." Party districts were urged to make special efforts for mass activities and expressions of peace during the weekend of December 19-20. This Party directive called attention to an enclosed leaflet which urged the reader to "join in an appeal to the conscience of America to end the war in Vietnam." The "appeal" leaflet called for public action on December 19, 1964, in the form of leaflet distributions, vigils, and "poster walks" to protest against actions of the United States Government in South Vietnam. Abraham J. Muste and other well-known pacifists were among those sponsoring this leaflet.

"Aggressive and Barbarous"

Herbert Aptheker spoke on February 8, 1965, to a rally of approximately 1,300 students at the University of California at Berkeley held to protest United States policy in Vietnam. Aptheker described an American bombing mission into North Vietnam on February 7, 1965, as "aggressive and barbarous." During his remarks, Aptheker characterized the Viet Cong as "a national libertarian movement front" embraced by the people of Vietnam.

Dramatize the Situation

At a meeting of the New York District Board of the CPUSA held on February 8, 1965, the late District Organizer Robert Thompson stated that the situation in Vietnam must be dramatized. In this regard, he suggested discussions with civil rights leaders, peace leaders, and trade-union leaders. His other suggestions included

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promotion of activities by students in city colleges and the sending of telegrams and delegations to Senators and Congressmen for the purpose of denouncing the situation in Vietnam.

#### Major Point

In a February 9, 1965, memorandum to all districts from the National Organization Department, it was stated that the major point on the agenda for all the American people was obviously to bring a halt to the war in South Vietnam, to demand an end to all acts of aggression against North Vietnam, to insist that all military personnel and forces of the United States be withdrawn from South Vietnam, and to insure that the Vietnamese be given an opportunity to determine their own destiny and to exercise their right of self-determination. By means of this memorandum, Party districts were instructed to take immediate steps to cooperate with all national peace organizations in regard to activities involving picket lines, peace walks, student assemblies, delegations to Washington, and statements by trade-union leaders.

#### Brink of Disaster

A CPUSA press release, dated March 2, 1965, contained a statement by Gus Hall in which he asserted that the bombing of North Vietnam by United States "forces of aggression" had brought the world to the brink of disaster. The press release demanded an end to all bombing, withdrawal of all troops, ending of the war in Vietnam, reconvening of the Geneva Conference, and activation of any agencies of the United Nations which could facilitate peace.

#### Threat of Nuclear War

Also on March 2, 1965, CPUSA national headquarters sent a letter to all districts stating that it was obvious that the major crisis facing the American people was the threat of a world nuclear war arising from the escalation of the unjust war in Vietnam. The letter urged that every step be taken quickly to express every form of protest against this threatened world war.

#### "Atrocious War"

In a memorandum to all districts dated March 31, 1965, the CPUSA National Organization Department referred to the "atrocious war" in Vietnam and urged protest actions. In this regard, it was stated that April 17, 1965, was becoming the major point of concentration for youth, for adults in peace organizations, and for the Left,

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including communists. The Party directive also described the planned April 17, 1965, Student March on Washington to end the war in Vietnam as the "biggest single action calling for an end to the war in Vietnam."

#### Testing Ground

On March 30, 1965, Herbert Aptheker spoke to some 200 persons in New York City and attacked United States policy in Vietnam. He stated that this country was using Vietnam as a testing ground for new weapons, was exploiting the people and resources of Vietnam, and was continuing the war for its imperialist designs. He urged those in his audience to write letters to their Senators and to President Johnson for the purpose of showing their indignation over United States policy and asking for the withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam. Aptheker said he would participate in the April 17, 1965, March on Washington and he urged young people in his audience to do likewise.

#### Leading Role Claimed

At a CPUSA National Committee meeting held in late April, 1965, Gus Hall charged that the United States was guilty of "imperialist aggression" and that its activities in Vietnam could be compared with fascism in Nazi Germany. Hall contended that the United States had been able to escalate the war because the Sino-Soviet dispute had prevented the "socialist countries" from presenting a united front. In concluding his report, Hall claimed that CPUSA officials and members had taken part in the leadership, planning, and initiation of recent mass actions to protest the war in Vietnam.

#### Need for More Militant Activities"

Among those participating in the discussion of Hall's report was James Tormey, a leading member of the Party's New York District. Tormey stated that there was a need for more militant and demonstrative activities and an intensification of the fight against United States "imperialism" in Vietnam.

#### Top Priority Project

Gus Hall told the CPUSA Secretariat on April 28, 1965, that the "peace struggle" was one of the main projects for the Party and would be pushed on a full-time basis. He instructed Party

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leaders to have the CPUSA work with all kinds of people in demonstrative actions and in putting pressure on the administration, Senators, Congressmen, and other Government officials. The idea of pressure, Hall added, must be maintained in every possible way, including the use of advertisements. Hall also stated that this had to remain a major and top priority project for the CPUSA and suggested that Arnold Johnson work full time on it.

#### Escalation of Protest Movements

Hall claimed, in a speech made at Los Angeles on May 2, 1965, that the most significant recent development was the escalation of mass protest movements by the American people. In a period of a month, he noted, there were two historic mass mobilizations--one in Alabama and one in Washington, D. C. The most popular slogan in the Alabama mobilization, Hall maintained, was "Bring the troops back from Vietnam and send them to Alabama." Thus, Hall concluded, civil rights leaders were also becoming peace leaders and peace leaders were becoming civil rights leaders also.

#### Cumulative Effect

At an appearance at Oberlin College on May 12, 1965, Herbert Aptheker again criticized United States foreign policy. He described American policy in Vietnam as illegal, immoral, militarily untenable, and diplomatically disastrous. Urging a united front against the war in Vietnam, Aptheker supported an appeal in "The New York Times," signed by 800 college professors, which called for a "cease fire," negotiations with the Viet Cong, an end to air raids, the use of the good offices of the United Nations, and assurances to the world that America would not use nuclear weapons in pursuit of victory or peace. Addressing himself to protest demonstrations, Aptheker contended that they were having a cumulative effect.

#### Number One Priority

By memorandum dated July 8, 1965, the Communist Party's New York District called attention of all clubs to the need for peace activities. It was stated in this memorandum that the further escalation of the war in Vietnam and the continuing intervention of United States military forces in the Dominican Republic made peace activities the Number One priority of the entire CPUSA organization.

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### No Relaxation

The Party's New York District issued another memorandum on July 26, 1965, calling attention to the fact that the CPUSA had undertaken and had been involved in many actions, protests, and educational forums around the burning question of war and peace. The memorandum went on to say that no relaxation or slowing down of activities could be allowed. On the contrary, activities must be multiplied and must involve more people in the communities.

### Be More Active

On August 14, 1965, young Party members of Seattle and Portland met in Portland, Oregon. The main speaker was Bettina Aptheker. She stated that Party youth must be more active and must not be afraid to take open action. She said that she had been at the scene earlier in the month when troop trains had almost been stopped at Oakland, California. According to Aptheker, young communists from the San Francisco area had a part in organizing the efforts to halt troop trains in California.

### Slogans Approved

A feature of the CPUSA national youth cadre conference held near Monterey, Indiana, in mid-September, 1965, was a three-hour lecture by Gus Hall. Predictably, a major portion of Hall's lecture was devoted to the war in Vietnam. He instructed that the CPUSA must use slogans in an effort to force the United States to retreat in Vietnam. Hall then cited with approval the following slogans, which he attributed to the Women Strike for Peace: Stop the Bombing! No More U. S. Troops in Vietnam! Negotiations Based on the Geneva Agreement!

### Slogans Supplied

In a letter to all districts dated September 10, 1965, the CPUSA national office advised that the following slogans should be used to strengthen the campaign to end the war in Vietnam and for greater unity of all "peace" forces: End the War in Vietnam! Stop U. S. Aggression Against Vietnam! Bring Our Boys Home! Withdraw All U. S. Troops! Let the People of Vietnam Determine Their Own Affairs! End Bombings! Stop Escalation! Create the Climate for Meaningful Negotiations with the National Liberation Front! Halt All Acts of Torture! End

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Gas and Chemical Warfare! Restore the 1954 Geneva Accord for the Independence and Unification of Vietnam! Peace in Asia! Recognize People's China! U. S. Imperialist Aggression in Vietnam Endangers World Peace!

#### With All Energy

At a September, 1965, meeting of a press club of the Party's New York District, the late Jack Stachel told the communist editors present that they must continue with all their energy to expose American imperialist policies in Vietnam and elsewhere. Stachel urged them to support the demands of the Women Strike for Peace, which, he said, included a cessation of bombing to create an atmosphere for negotiations; implementation of the 1954 Geneva decisions; and negotiation, with all concerned, particularly with the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong).

#### War Hysteria

Gus Hall held a press conference in October, 1965, and stated that the time had come when all nations must have the right to determine their own affairs. Therefore, he said, the United States had no right--moral or legal--to be in Vietnam. He condemned efforts of the United States to "whip up" an atmosphere of war hysteria against the peace movement. The United States policy of "imperialism and aggression," Hall added, was the basis for this Nation's problems.

#### Washington Weekend

In the Fall of 1965, the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam issued a call for a four-day National Antiwar Convention to be held in Washington, D. C., during the period from November 25 through November 28, 1965. In addition, the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) issued a call for a one-day march to be held in the same city on November 27, 1965.

#### Plan To Influence

The subject of the antiwar convention was introduced by Arnold Johnson at a meeting of leading CPUSA functionaries held in New York City on October 23, 1965. He said the Party should make plans in advance to influence the convention and expressed the hope that the convention would form a loose,

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all-inclusive organization which would have the ability to launch and coordinate action on Vietnam. Helen Winter, who is on the staff of the Party's national office, stated that there would be people--Trotskyites, for example--at the convention with whom the Party would not want to work ordinarily, but it was important, under the circumstances, to work with the whole group.

#### Major Peace Events

In a November 12, 1965, letter to all districts, CPUSA national headquarters described the march and the convention to be held in Washington as two major peace events calling "for urgent and constant attention." Party headquarters requested information on what was being done to support these events by sending delegates and participants. In a reference to the march, the directive stated that all areas could afford to raise their sights and goals to make this a major peace demonstration, because the "Johnson Administration is bringing every pressure and using every device to suppress the protest." Concerning the convention, CPUSA headquarters asserted that this could be a major event to establish coordination among "varied peace organizations" and that it deserved cooperation.

#### Points for Peace

In a document dated November 17, 1965, addressed to all districts and captioned "Memo on End Vietnam War Action," CPUSA headquarters referred to its November 12 directive and reiterated that both events scheduled for Washington called for the most urgent and maximum attention as the "major points for peace mobilization." This communication informed the membership that several communist "spokesmen" would be at the convention and would have available relevant material.

#### Party Mobilization

It did not take long for the messages from CPUSA headquarters to reach the membership. It was announced, for example, at a meeting of the Lower East Side Section of the Party's New York District held on November 21, 1965, that there should be an "all-out" effort to influence people to participate in the march. On November 18, there was a meeting of the steering committee of Trade Unionists for Peace. As noted previously, this organization was formed by the CPUSA to mobilize the laboring class for the cause of peace, especially in Vietnam.

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At this meeting, it was announced that members of this organization would travel to Washington in a special bus to participate in the march. The District Organizer of the Party's Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware District ordered that as many CPUSA members as possible should participate in the march. On November 16, a functionary in the Party's New York District stated that the CPUSA planned to send delegates, openly identified as CPUSA members, to Washington for the march and the national antiwar convention.

#### "Unjust War"

Gus Hall made several statements about the war in Vietnam during a news conference he held in Chicago on December 6, 1965. The most critical question before the world today, he said, is the unpopular, "criminal" action of the United States in Vietnam. The position of the CPUSA, he pointed out, is that this is an "unjust war." Hall also declared that the CPUSA has been active in demonstrations urging that the war be ended quickly through negotiations with the National Liberation Front, the only legitimate government of South Vietnam.

#### Expanding and Unifying

Vietnam was mentioned prominently in a report made by Hall at an enlarged meeting of the CPUSA National Committee held in January, 1966. He claimed that the peace movement was expanding and unifying. Hall told his audience that the CPUSA had been participating openly in the peace movement and that the Party's participation changed the character of the peace movement by helping it to develop a more "anti-imperialist consciousness." Looking ahead, Hall instructed that the Party must try to broaden the base of the peace movement, specifically in regard to trade unions and veterans' groups. He also ordered that every CPUSA member must be active in some aspect of the fight for peace.

#### "Any and All" Slogans

At the National Committee meeting held in January, 1966, Herbert Aptheker reported on a trip he had made to North Vietnam in late December, 1965. Aptheker announced that he had met with leaders of the Communist Party of North Vietnam who told him that they were "deliriously happy" that the CPUSA had finally established contact with them, because they want "close fraternal ties" with the CPUSA. Aptheker also reported that the North

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Vietnamese communist leaders urged that "any and all" slogans be used in antiwar demonstrations, if this would result in increased protest activity in the United States.

### "Rock the Nation"

Robert Heisler, who was elected to the CPUSA National Committee in June, 1966, delivered a report to a joint meeting of all CPUSA youth clubs in New York City in April, 1966. In his report, he stated that the peace movement had already begun to "rock the Nation." He described it as a movement which had shifted its center of gravity leftward and as a movement whose full weight of criticism and confrontation was directed against Washington in a challenge to American foreign policy in Vietnam.

### Historic Date

Heisler recalled, in his report, that the first mass action to protest the war in Vietnam occurred on April 17, 1965--the March on Washington initiated by the Students for a Democratic Society with the support of "all the other left youth organizations." Heisler called this date historic because it brought about a major breakthrough--the policy of "non-exclusion" of communists in activities for peace. Also in regard to peace demonstrations, Heisler praised the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam and described it as an organization whose main forces were "left-oriented."

### Central Issue

In the Spring of 1966, Dorothy Healey, Chairman of the CPUSA's Southern California District, announced that she would be a candidate in the June 7, 1966, primary for the office of Tax Assessor for Los Angeles County. In a campaign speech given at a May Day Rally held in Compton, California, Healey stated that the war in Vietnam would be the central issue in her campaign. The American people who rejected Barry Goldwater's "itchy finger on the atomic trigger" in 1964, Healey declared, are called upon in 1966 to end Lyndon Johnson's war in Vietnam. A President who betrayed his mandate and a Congress which surrendered its congressional authority, Healey added, must be compelled to end this dishonorable war and "bring our troops home." Healey also stated that the problems stemming from the need for education, housing, and welfare in Los Angeles County will remain unsolved as long as the war in Vietnam continues.

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In her concluding remarks, Healey stated that the war in Vietnam overshadows all other issues.

#### Keynote Speech

The 18th National Convention of the CPUSA opened on June 22, 1966, with Gus Hall's keynote address delivered before representatives of the press. The Party's campaign against United States participation in the war in Vietnam was featured in his address. He stated that the United States is engaged in cold-blooded imperialist aggression and compared its actions in Vietnam to the savagery of Hitler's Germany. The CPUSA, Hall contended, has contributed much to the movement for peace and has involved each of its members in some phase of the struggle for peace.

#### Peace Panel

At the convention, a report of the peace panel was adopted by acclamation. The peace panel recommended a strong and effective trade-union committee for peace; a merger of the peace movement with other mass struggles; and a significant increase in mass participation throughout the United States in parades, picket lines, and other demonstrations in behalf of peace. The peace panel also urged participation in demonstrations on August 6 through August 9, 1966, to mark the bombing of Hiroshima. This panel also declared that peace in Vietnam should be the central issue in the November elections.

#### Grass-Roots Crusade

The CPUSA held a two-week national "youth educational encampment" at Camp Webatuck, Wingdale, New York, during the period from August 29 through September 11, 1966. A portion of the final day of the encampment was set aside for a lecture by National Chairman Henry Winston. He told his listeners that it was imperative that the CPUSA organize a nationwide grass-roots crusade for peace in Vietnam. Winston claimed that labor and minority groups are the key to the development of opposition to the war in Vietnam. Solid opposition to this war, Winston added, must be developed by the Party during the coming political campaigns.

#### Crucial Issue

Following this encampment, the CPUSA held a three-day national youth conference at Camp Webatuck from September 12 through September 14, 1966. In the principal report, CPUSA National Youth

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Director Michael Zagarell described the war in Vietnam as the crucial issue facing the CPUSA. Zagarell told the young Party leaders that the war in Vietnam is responsible for inflation, for the drafting of students, for a curtailment of funds for education, for a cutback in the war on poverty, and for worsening conditions in the Negro community. The CPUSA, Zagarell stressed, believes that it is possible to end the war in Vietnam through the election of Congressmen who oppose the war. He then urged support for independent candidates, support for outspoken antiwar candidates of the two major political parties, and promotion of "peace ballots" if all the candidates are prowar.

### Student Strike

Among a number of goals for Party youth proposed by Zagarell at this youth conference was the organizing of a CPUSA-initiated national student strike. The conference also heard a special report from Bettina Aptheker, who originated the proposal for a national student strike. She announced that a planning meeting for the strike will be held in Chicago during the Christmas, 1966, recess. International support will be obtained so that simultaneous strikes will occur in several countries. Aptheker stated that the purpose of the strike will be to protest the draft, weapons research on college campuses, and the effects of the war in Vietnam on domestic affairs. The numerical goal, according to Aptheker, is a student strike with half a million participants in the United States.

### Mobilization Committee Supported

The CPUSA National Board at a meeting held in late September, 1966, agreed to give full cooperation to the November 8th Mobilization Committee. This is the ad hoc committee chaired by Abraham J. Muste and established to plan a variety of activities for peace in Vietnam from November 5 through November 8, 1966.

### Join Other Forces

On September 30, 1966, Henry Winston spoke at an open meeting in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, sponsored by the CPUSA. In his speech, Winston stated that the CPUSA advocates withdrawal of all American troops in order to bring about an end to the war in Vietnam. Until the troops are withdrawn, Winston contended, true peaceful negotiations cannot be conducted. The Party will

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join other forces, Winston stated, in advocating peace. When peace is achieved, he added, the money being spent on the war can be devoted to the problems existing in the United States, particularly those of the Negroes.

De-Escalation Advocated

CPUSA Vice Chairman Claude Lightfoot held a press conference in Chicago on October 14, 1966, in which he described himself as a write-in candidate for United States Senator from Illinois. Lightfoot stated that his program consists of immediate de-escalation of the war in Vietnam in order to provide funds necessary to finance a crash program of in-plant and apprenticeship training for Negro youth with adequate living costs to be provided during the training and a Government-backed program for securing guaranteed jobs at prevailing union scales on completion of training.

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## DUBOIS CLUBS POLICY ON VIETNAM

As a communist-controlled group, the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) follows the CPUSA line on Vietnam, just as it has paralleled other communist policy since it was founded in June, 1964, on the orders of CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall.

### Vietnam Resolution

A Midwest Regional Conference of the DCA was held in late February, 1965, at the Student Memorial Union, located on the campus of the University of Wisconsin. The Conference adopted a resolution on Vietnam calling for the withdrawal of United States troops, cessation of all aid to the Government of South Vietnam, and condemnation of United States "aggression" and "brutality" in Vietnam. The Conference also instructed each DCA unit in the Midwest Region to establish an educational committee on Vietnam.

### "Stepped-Up" Campaign

In March, 1965, the DCA National Office sent to all its branches an "Emergency Memo on Viet Nam Crisis." In this memorandum, the opinion was expressed that it was possible to mobilize massive support for a movement to bring peace to Vietnam. It was further stated that the DCA was circulating in colleges and universities a petition of refusal to serve in the Armed Forces against the people of Vietnam. In conclusion, the DCA memorandum called upon all chapters, members, and friends of the DCA to join with all groups and individuals in a "stepped-up" campaign to end the war in Vietnam.

### Coordinators' Conference

A national conference of area coordinators and "friends" of the DCA was held in Chicago during May, 1965. At this conference, it was concluded that DCA efforts throughout the Summer of 1965 must be directed toward building mass pressure and protest against the policy of the United States on Vietnam. The conference also passed a motion that it is the position of the DCA that the National Liberation Front is the only true representative of the people of South Vietnam.

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### End "Aggression"

The National Coordinating Committee, which is the policy making body of the DCA, adopted a resolution in June, 1965, calling for an end of United States "aggression" in South Vietnam; an immediate end of United States bombings in North Vietnam; the immediate withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam; and the recognition of the National Liberation Front as the only true representative of the South Vietnamese people.

### Main Objective

Bettina Aptheker spoke to a group of young CPUSA members from Seattle and Portland, Oregon, on August 14, 1965. At this meeting, she stated that the main objective of the DCA was to work on the issue of peace and to force the United States out of Vietnam. Some three weeks later, Hugh Sterling Fowler II was elected as DCA Chairman at a national conference held in Chicago. Fowler had been Chairman of the DCA Peace Committee in Berkeley, California, and had been active in the Spring of 1965 organizing demonstrations against United States foreign policy concerning Vietnam.

### Committee Decisions

The DCA National Coordinating Committee met again from November 30 through December 2, 1965, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. At this meeting, it was decided that the DCA would work closely with the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam. It was also decided that the DCA, either alone or jointly with other groups, would sponsor a march on Washington in August, 1966, to end the war in Vietnam. Following this meeting, Fowler held a press conference, at which time he was wearing in his lapels the official pin of the DCA and the pin of the Vietnam National Liberation Front.

### How Much Longer?

An article by Fowler, who has attended CPUSA national cadre training schools, appeared in the January-February, 1966, issue of "Insurgent," a bimonthly DCA magazine. Fowler alleged in this article that the United States is murdering hundreds of thousands of women and children in Vietnam and that the "power

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structure" wants the war to continue because it is profiting financially from the war. Fowler asked how much longer the President and "his cohorts" would be allowed to kill, maim, and destroy American and Vietnamese people.

Public Not Kept Informed

Herbert Aptheker was one of the featured speakers at the second National Convention of the DCA held in Chicago from June 17 through June 19, 1966. In his remarks, Aptheker claimed that the administration is not keeping the public informed about the situation in Vietnam. He advocated removal of all United States troops from Vietnam, diversion of all funds being spent on the war in Vietnam to the war on poverty, and United States participation in a peace conference in Geneva.

"Militant Forms"

The DCA National Executive Committee, which governs the day-to-day activities of the organization, issued a leaflet on June 30, 1966, which stated in part: "In every area the DuBois Clubs must help initiate a balanced program aimed at a variety of people and utilizing a variety of forms of opposition to the bombing and to the war." The leaflet called for demonstrations and mass distribution of leaflets as the first part of an intensified campaign to end the bombing and the war and stated further that "militant forms" of protest should not be excluded or discouraged.

"LBJ's Useless War"

In late July, 1966, the DCA was distributing a leaflet which protested "LBJ's useless war" in Vietnam. The leaflet alleged that the war in Vietnam is a racist war being waged by black soldiers against colored people. The leaflet also contained a charge that those in Washington who are directing the war and ordering bombings in Vietnam are criminals.

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## SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY POLICY ON VIETNAM

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was formed in 1938 and is a militantly revolutionary party based upon the theories of Marx, Engels, and Lenin as interpreted by the late Leon Trotsky. Its national membership is estimated at less than 500.

### Withdraw Troops

In the elections of 1964, the SWP ran Clifton DeBerry and Edward Shaw for President and Vice President of the United States. Shaw is the SWP National Organizational Secretary. DeBerry is the son-in-law of SWP National Secretary Farrell Dobbs. In its political campaign, the SWP advocated, among other things, withdrawal of United States troops from South Vietnam. DeBerry received a little over 33,000 votes.

### "Contact Work"

Members of the SWP and its youth affiliate, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), attended a closed membership meeting of the New York SWP Local on April 8, 1965. At this meeting, both SWP and YSA members were urged to participate in the April 17, 1965, March on Washington to end the war in Vietnam sponsored by the Students for a Democratic Society. It was stated that the main purpose of their participating was "to make YSA and SWP intervention, to do contact work, and to sell copies of 'The Militant'" (SWP newspaper) "and the 'Young Socialist'" (YSA publication). At this meeting, it was stressed that SWP members participating in the march should concentrate on selling these publications so that YSA members would be free to do "contact work" among the students.

### Detroit Committee

By memorandum dated March 16, 1966, Jan Garrett, Detroit SWP Organizer, detailed for SWP members only a two-page case study of the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Garrett stated in this memorandum that the YSA had originally proposed the creation of a united front committee to support the April 17, 1965, March on Washington. As a result of this proposal, Detroit members of the YSA, "a couple of SDS members," and a "couple of Stalinists," formed the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

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### Press Campaign

The following is a sampling of headlines which appeared during 1965 in "The Militant," the SWP newspaper: "Johnson Presses Vietnam War in Defiance of World Opinion"; "Johnson's Bombings Keep World at Brink in Vietnam"; "Johnson's Trigger-Happy Aggression Brings U. S. to New Brink in Vietnam"; and "Why Are the People Denied a Voice on Crucial Issue of War in Vietnam? Should One Man Endanger Lives of All Mankind?" The SWP also uses "The Militant" to try to exploit antiwar sentiment by promoting the slogan, "Bring the Troops Home Now." Copies of "The Militant" have been handed out freely during Vietnam demonstrations.

### Principal Task

SWP National Committee member Joseph Hansen, who had been on foreign assignment for the SWP as an "observer" of developments in the international Trotskyist movement, made a report at the 21st National Convention of the SWP held in September, 1965. Hansen maintained that, if the Soviet Union was really a revolutionary country, it could have made the United States think twice about increasing its support to South Vietnam. Hansen also asserted that little revolutionary Cuba took the correct revolutionary position when Fidel Castro called on all "socialists" to bury their differences and support the "Vietnam freedom fighters." At this same National Convention, Dobbs stated that the principal task of the SWP in the year ahead was to give full support to the "antiwar movement" led by the youth. Dobbs also said that the SWP would continue to support existing antiwar groups and would organize others where none existed.

### Very Fortunate

Farrell Dobbs spoke at a closed membership meeting of the Detroit Local of the SWP which was held on October 10, 1965. The SWP was very fortunate, Dobbs said, to have a situation such as Vietnam, because the members could take full advantage of it to introduce the SWP line. Dobbs added that the importance being placed by the SWP national office on the demand for immediate withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam was evidenced by the steps that had been taken in regard to the four-day National Antiwar Convention to be held in Washington

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from November 25 through November 28, 1965, under the sponsorship of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Dobbs then listed these steps: (1) a comrade was being moved to Washington to facilitate communications with all SWP locals and YSA members; (2) a steering committee composed of SWP and YSA members had been designated to attend the convention; and (3) SWP comrades had been established in the Madison, Wisconsin, national headquarters of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

#### YSA Newsletter

At the National Antiwar Convention held in Washington in November, 1965, the YSA tried to promote the SWP line that the antiwar movement should be based on the single issue of immediate withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam rather than multi-issues, including promotion of negotiations. When the YSA position was defeated at the convention, YSA members and other militants disassociated themselves from the dominant position of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Since that time, the YSA has printed in Boston and distributed nationally the "Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter." At the present time, the YSA regards Vietnam demonstrations as forums to sell its literature, make contacts, and recruit members.

#### Primary Area of Work

By letter dated February 10, 1966, Edward Shaw set out policy on behalf of the SWP Secretariat. In this letter, Shaw stated that the antiwar movement--opposition to United States presence in Vietnam--is the primary area of work at the present time.

#### "Fort Hood Three"

At a July, 1966, meeting of the SWP, it was decided that the defense of the "Fort Hood Three"--three United States Army soldiers who were court-martialed and found guilty on charges of disobeying an officer's orders to embark on military aircraft for Vietnam--was now the most important issue on the SWP's agenda.

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## PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY POLICY ON VIETNAM

Of the militant Marxist-Leninist organizations in the United States whose policies closely adhere to those of Communist China, probably the most important is the Progressive Labor Party. Progressive Labor groups were formed as early as January, 1962, by dissident elements of the CPUSA, led by Milton Rosen and Mortimer Scheer, both of whom held positions in the New York District of the CPUSA before they were expelled for factionalism in December, 1961. At an initial national convention, held in New York City in April, 1965, Progressive Labor Party (PLP) was the name selected by the members of the Progressive Labor Movement.

Headquarters of the PLP is in New York City. In fact, most of the members of the PLP are located in New York State and in California. Estimates of total PLP membership vary from 160 to 500. Principal PLP publications are "Progressive Labor," "Challenge," and "Spark."

### Special Edition

The February 9, 1965, issue of "Challenge" was a special four-page edition containing a Progressive Labor Movement statement on Vietnam. This issue had a press run of 60,000 copies. The statement blamed the Vietnam war on "President Johnson's government," said the war was an excuse to send poor Negroes and Puerto Ricans out of the United States to be killed, and called for demonstrations by people and organizations in the United States to show that they would not support "President Johnson's war."

### Immediate Withdrawal

During the PLP's four-day convention in April, 1965, a resolution which would have called for the impeachment of President Johnson was defeated. However, a press release issued after the convention stated that one of the resolutions adopted condemned "United States aggression in Southeast Asia." It also called upon all workers, students, intellectuals, and others to demand immediate withdrawal of all United States Army personnel from South Vietnam. In addition, the resolution urged all United States citizens to protest the bombing of North and South Vietnam.

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### Press Campaign

The following are a few examples of headlines that have appeared in PLP publications: "PL Protests U. S. Aggression"; "U. S. in Vietnam Aiming at China"; "U. S. Government Guilty"; "GIs in Vietnam Say: 'Get the Hell Out'"; "Documented U. S. Atrocities in Vietnam"; "LBJ Lie Machine."

### Peace Efforts Termed "Phony"

In an article by PLP President Milton Rosen in the February 15, 1966, issue of "Challenge," he referred to efforts by the United States to achieve peace in Vietnam and stated that the attempt of President Johnson to blackmail the Vietnamese people into abandoning their fight for freedom had collapsed. Further, he said that President Johnson's "peace offensive" was "phony" and the resumption of the bombing of North Vietnam underlined the deceit of the rulers in Washington. Rosen also stated that the Vietnamese were winning the war and that opposition to United States action in Vietnam was developing in this country.

### Selected Statements

From time to time, PLP leaders have made oral statements critical of United States participation in the war in Vietnam. For example, William Epton, PLP Vice President and Chairman of the PLP's Harlem Branch, has been quoted as saying that he strongly opposes the war in Vietnam and has urged his brothers and sisters not to fight against the people in Vietnam, because the fight for freedom and liberation is right here in this country. At a May 21, 1965, anti-Vietnam demonstration at the University of California at Berkeley, PLP National Student Organizer Levi Laub claimed that United States policy in Vietnam is based on the need for expanding markets and foreign investments. On January 20, 1966, PLP Organizational Secretary Edward Lemansky spoke at the campus of the University of Washington at Seattle. In an attack on United States policy on Vietnam, he stated, "We must destroy this Government and build a new system."

### Youth Group Defunct

The PLP's youth front group, the May 2nd Movement (M2M), is defunct. However, the M2M's spirit of protest is perpetuated by the PLP. The M2M was established in March, 1964,

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to plan and execute a demonstration in New York City on May 2, 1964, demanding withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam. "Free Student," a publication of the M2M, contained an article in its third issue in which it was stated that the M2M was formed to fight against a politics of default by organizing student protest and revolt against the United States Government's "savage war" on the people of Vietnam.

### Vigorous Opposition

At the apex of its existence, the M2M vigorously opposed the war in Vietnam, joined in a number of campus protests, and sought to stir up student grievances. During the 1965-1966 academic year, M2M endeavored to (1) form an alliance between students and workers, (2) conduct an anti-Armed Forces induction campaign, and (3) send medical and material aid to the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam.

### "Get Out of Vietnam Now"

The PLP held a "student conference" in New York City in early September, 1966. It was decided at this conference that a vital task for the coming period will be the destruction of the barriers that separate workers and students and isolate the student-based antiwar movement. In addition, it was decided that, on the campuses, priority must be given to building a "Get Out of Vietnam Now" movement, because the issues of Vietnam and the draft can "unite the student, workers, and black movements" and bring "students into direct confrontation with the university administration and sometimes with the government."

### Student-Worker Alliance

In a report explaining the decisions made at this conference, it was stated that students are being transformed from "intellectuals" into cannon fodder for Vietnam and are following in the footsteps of black and white working youth. This, therefore, should be the approach to antiwar activity on the campuses. At the same time, it was said, there is a need for working-class action against the war in Vietnam, because the development of a student-worker alliance is crucial to a strong movement against "imperialist aggression" in Vietnam.

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## WORKERS WORLD PARTY POLICY ON VIETNAM

The Workers World Party (WWP) is a small but very militant pro-Peking organization. It was formed in 1959 by a group of former SWP members headed by Sam Ballan. Its headquarters and many of its fewer than 100 members are in New York City. Its youth affiliate, Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), was formed in the Summer of 1962 to bring college and high school students into the periphery of WWP activities. The publication of the WWP is "Workers World" and that of the YAWF is "The Partisan."

### Press Campaign

Issues of the "Workers World" since the Gulf of Tonkin incident in August, 1964, have contained articles critical of United States policy in Vietnam. The following are typical headlines: "Sneak Attack"; "Stop the War Against Viet Nam"; "Johnson Plots Sneak Attack on China!"; "More GI's Die As LBJ Steps Up War; Bring Them Home Now!"; "U. S. Pushing For A Wider War In Asia; Now Seeks To Provoke China"; and "L.B.J., Like Hitler, Uses Poison Gas; Wages Racist War Against Viet Nam."

### Liberation Front Supported

The September 16, 1965, issue of "Workers World" reported that WWP Chairman Sam Ballan set the tone for a Labor Day weekend conference by praising WWP cadres for their outstanding work and reaffirming WWP support for the "forgotten fighters of the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam." It was also reported that Ballan said, "The statement of the Defense Minister of People's China calling for the isolation and defeat of U. S. imperialism has our enthusiastic and unqualified support."

### At Every Opportunity

The March, 1966, issue of "The Partisan" contained an article entitled "Why and How to Organize Rapid Demonstrations." It was stated in this article that the United States

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war "against Asia" will be a prolonged one. Therefore, the members of the antiwar movement must realize that the struggle against the war must be an extended one. It was further stated that it would not be possible to organize the masses into large antiwar demonstrations if they cannot first be mobilized into limited struggles against the war in Vietnam. The article concluded with the statement that flexibility was needed in order to direct antiwar consciousness into action at every opportunity.

#### Demonstrations in New York City

Between May 21 and July 30, 1966, the YAWF sponsored ten anti-Vietnam demonstrations in New York City. Two of these demonstrations consisted of picket lines near the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. On one occasion, President Johnson was scheduled to attend a function at this hotel. On the other occasion, Vice President Humphrey was to be at the same hotel.

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### MAJOR DEMONSTRATIONS

Several of the hundreds of demonstrations in the United States to protest this country's involvement in the war in Vietnam could be said to have reached major proportions. There follows a brief resume of some of the large demonstrations.

#### March on Washington April 17, 1965

##### Sponsored by SDS

The Students for a Democratic Society claimed to be the sole sponsor of the March on Washington to end the war in Vietnam, which was held on April 17, 1965, the day before Easter. However, participating organizations included practically every subversive organization in the United States, such as the DCA, PLP, M2M, SWP, YSA, WWP, and YAWF. Among the participating pacifist organizations were Women Strike for Peace, Committee for Non-Violent Action, War Resisters League, and Student Peace Union.

##### 15,000 Participants

In addition to representatives of the sponsoring and participating organizations, members of the CPUSA were observed among the estimated 15,000 who participated in the March. The participants listened to speeches by Bob Parris, Field Secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; publisher I. F. Stone, who was reportedly a CPUSA member in the 1930's; Yale Professor Staughton Lynd; Senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska; and former SDS President Paul Potter, who said he would rather see a communist Vietnam than a Vietnam in ruins. Approximately 200 of the participants attempted to present a petition to Congress, which was accepted by the Deputy Chief of the United States Capitol Police.

##### CPUSA Comments

At a meeting of the CPUSA National Committee held from April 23 through April 25, 1965, Gus Hall stated that individual communists had participated in the March on Washington, which he described as an "unforgettable event." Michael Zagarell claimed that the CPUSA played a decisive

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role in the March even though the Party was not there in name. Arnold Johnson, who participated in the March, praised it and claimed that Party people from all over the country were in Washington for the event. Credit was due, Johnson added, to the stimulus given to the March by the DuBois Clubs.

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WASHINGTON, D. C. MAY 13, 1965

### National Teach-In

A national teach-in, under the sponsorship of the Inter-University Committee for a Public Hearing on Vietnam, was held on May 15, 1965, at the Sheraton-Park Hotel, Washington, D. C. The Inter-University Committee for a Public Hearing on Vietnam is a loose-knit organization of educators from colleges and universities throughout the United States. In 1965, its National Secretary was Anatole Rapoport, University of Michigan professor, who has admitted that he was a CPUSA member while a student at the University of Chicago from November, 1938, until December, 1941. Rapoport was faculty sponsor of the DCA campus chapter at the University of Michigan in the Spring of 1966.

### Proceedings Broadcast

Discussions and speeches at this teach-in were broadcast to numerous colleges and universities throughout the United States which were holding teach-ins to support the national teach-in. Some 1,700 people attended the sessions at the Sheraton-Park Hotel. The first speaker was Professor Hans Morgenthau of the University of Chicago. Morgenthau stated, "If we succeed in our present policy, South Vietnam will become a colony of the United States." Another speaker was Isaac Deutscher of London, England, who describes himself as a Marxist and who was expelled from the Communist Party because of his opposition to Stalin.

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Washington Summer Action Project  
August 6 through 9, 1965

Sponsored by CNVA

In late June, 1965, Abraham J. Muste, Chairman of the Committee for Non-Violent Action (CNVA), informed CPUSA Public Relations Director Arnold Johnson that preparations were being made for a period of activity in Washington, D. C., from August 6 through 9, 1965, which would involve "civil rights people." This gathering was referred to variously as the Washington Summer Action Project and as an Assembly of Unrepresented People to Declare Peace. It was sponsored by CNVA. Participating organizations included DCA, SWP, YSA, PLP, M2M, and SNCC.

Prominent Communists Present

The size of the Washington Summer Action Project did not live up to the advance billing of its organizers. While they expected 6,000 participants, the total was nearer 600. The CPUSA requested its east coast districts to send only 20 representatives. Michael Zagarell allegedly stated that the CPUSA and the DCA were not supporting this demonstration because the leadership of the demonstration had been taken away from the DCA. Nevertheless, CPUSA National Committee members Gilbert Green, George Meyers, James Jackson, and Zagarell were observed among the participants. On August 6, Jackson was distributing copies of "The Worker," an east coast communist newspaper, in Lafayette Park across from the White House.

White House Sit-Ins

While this project was deficient in the number of participants, it provided an abundance of action. Speakers in Lafayette Park on August 6, included Muste; Staughton Lynd; Bradford Lyttle, representing the New England CNVA; and Harry Boyte, an assistant to Martin Luther King. In his remarks, Boyte stated that his son would refuse to serve in the Armed Forces when drafted. On the afternoon of August 6, demonstrators led by Muste, Lyttle, and folk singer Joan Baez requested a meeting with President Johnson. When their request was denied, about 70 demonstrators staged a sit-in near the

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White House. On August 7, about 24 individuals staged an all-night sit-in near the White House. Ten of these demonstrators were arrested on August 8, after they sat down in Pennsylvania Avenue near the White House. Also on August 8, a group of 80 people, led by Donna Allen of Women Strike for Peace, picketed in front of the White House.

### Many Arrests

The climax came on August 9, with a march to the Capitol led by Lynd, Parris, and David Dellinger, an editor of the CNVA publication, "Liberation." When the demonstrators were stopped by policemen as they attempted to enter the Capitol Grounds, between 200 and 300 of them sat down on the spot. Two American Nazi Party members were arrested after they hit several demonstrators and reporters with red paint. Four demonstrators, who attempted to break through police lines, were arrested. More than 250 demonstrators, including SWP, YSA, and DCA members, and sons and daughters of former CPUSA members, were arrested for disorderly conduct after they ignored a police order to disperse. Dellinger, who was described as the "ring leader" in the attempt to have the demonstrators enter the Capitol Grounds, pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 45 days in jail.

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International Days of Protest  
October 15 and 16, 1965

Vietnam Day Committee

October 15 and 16, 1965, were designated as "International Days of Protest Against American Military Intervention" by the Vietnam Day Committee (VDC) of Berkeley, California. The VDC originated as an ad hoc organization to promote demonstrations against United States policy in Vietnam. It was the main force behind efforts to halt troop trains proceeding to the Oakland Army Terminal in Oakland, California, during August, 1965. Names for a mailing list used by the VDC Steering Committee were obtained from the SWP, YSA, DCA, PLP, M2M, SDS, SNCC, and the "National Guardian," a New York weekly newspaper which has been described as "a virtual propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

VDC Leaders and Aim

Among the VDC cochairmen were University of California professors Stephen Smale and Paul E. Ivory. Smale is a former member of the Labor Youth League, a defunct CPUSA youth organization. It has been said of Ivory that he generally supports communist causes. Another cochairman was Jerry Rubin, who went to Cuba in 1964, disregarding State Department regulations. Rubin also conducted a workshop on Vietnam during the Summer Action Project in Washington, D. C. The VDC was one of the sponsors of a rally, march, and sit-in held at the University of California at Berkeley on July 29, 1965. Principal speakers on this occasion included Bettina Aptheker and Mario Savio, who had previously been leaders of the Free Speech Movement at this University. In his remarks, Savio stated that the aim of the VDC on October 15 and 16 was to put President Johnson on trial.

Activities in California

On October 15, 1965, the VDC held a teach-in at the University of California at Berkeley. Some 3,000 persons in attendance listened to speakers criticize United States policy in Vietnam and call for the impeachment of President Johnson. After the teach-in, 2,500 demonstrators marched toward the

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Oakland Army Terminal. By the time the marchers reached the Oakland city limits, where they were stopped by the police, their total had swelled to 8,000. Some of the demonstrators spent the night at the Berkeley Civic Center Plaza. On October 16, nearly 3,000 marchers started toward Oakland but were prevented by authorities from marching through Oakland. Between 700 and 800 people participated in a parade in Hollywood and Los Angeles on October 15. A bus driven by current CPUSA National Committee member Robert Duggan accompanied the marchers. A paper peace dove, constructed by DCA members, was fastened to the top of the bus.

#### Fifth Avenue Parade

On October 16, 1965, approximately 12,000 individuals paraded down Fifth Avenue in New York City under the slogan, "Stop the War in Vietnam Now!" The parade was sponsored by the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, one of whose chairmen was Abraham J. Muste. Prior to the parade, Mike Stein, Organizational Secretary of the CPUSA's New York District, stated that the Party had good influence in the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee and "should really be able to do something here, because some of us work on the committee." At a rally held after the parade, David Dellinger asked the audience to salute Dave Miller, who had burned his draft card in a demonstration on October 15. Dellinger also announced that Robert Thompson (CPUSA District Organizer in New York), whom he described as a sponsor of the parade, had died that morning. Several CPUSA National Committee members and a large number of CPUSA, SWP, and WWP members participated in the parade and rally.

#### Other Activities

On October 15 and 16, 1965, other demonstrations were held in over 30 cities throughout the United States. For example, SDS members sponsored a "death march" from the University of Texas campus to the Capitol Building in Austin. In Salem, Oregon, approximately 300 people attended a rally sponsored by the Portland Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which included CPUSA members. Representatives of the CPUSA, DCA, SWP, and YSA spoke at an outdoor rally on the University of Pennsylvania campus. Other demonstrations were held on the campuses of Pennsylvania State University, Johns Hopkins University, University of Bridgeport, Yale University, Wayne State University, University of Michigan, Roosevelt University, and the University of Chicago.

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National Peace Convention  
and  
March on Washington for Peace in Vietnam  
November, 1965

Peace Convention

A call for a National Peace Convention to be held in Washington, D. C., during the 1965 Thanksgiving weekend was issued by Frank Emspak, Chairman of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NCCEWV). Announced purpose of the convention was to lay a foundation for the construction of a broad, militant, antiwar movement involving all civil rights organizations and all peace groups on a national scale. At a meeting of leading CPUSA functionaries, Arnold Johnson stated that the Party should make plans in advance to influence the peace convention.

March Coordinator

Meanwhile, a flyer was issued by the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) announcing that it was sponsoring a march on Washington for peace in Vietnam. The flyer stated that the march would be held on November 27, 1965, and would start at the White House and end at the Washington Monument, where an outdoor meeting would be held. SANE's political action director, Sanford Gottlieb, was named march coordinator. On a number of occasions since 1959, Gottlieb has been in contact with officials of the Soviet Embassy and with officials of the Embassies of various Soviet-bloc countries. (S) During August and September, 1964, Gottlieb was one of four SANE members who toured the Soviet Union and met with the Soviet Peace Commission. In the Summer of 1965, he met with representatives of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front in Paris and Algiers on behalf of SANE.

Convention Activities

The National Peace Convention, also known as the National Antiwar Convention, was held as scheduled from November 25 through November 28, 1965, with time out to permit participation in the march on November 27. Some 1,500 people attended various phases of the convention. These included

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CPUSA National Committee members Simon Gerson, Gilbert Green, Arnold Johnson, James West, and Michael Zagarell. Participating organizations included the DCA, SWP, YSA, WWP, YAWF, PLP, M2M, Trade Unionists for Peace, SDS, and CNVA. Hugh Fowler, then DCA national chairman, conducted an antidraft workshop. Among those involved in a panel discussion were Staughton Lynd, Jerry Rubin, Frank Emspak, Donna Allen, Dave Dellinger, and "National Guardian" editor Irving Berlin.

20,000 in March

Approximately 20,000 persons participated in the November 27 march. Participating organizations included the DCA, SWP, YSA, WWP, YAWF, and the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Speakers at the Sylvan Theatre rally included noted pediatrician and SANE Cochairman Dr. Benjamin Spock, Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party, Mrs. Martin Luther King, and SDS President Carl Oglesby. At least 43 CPUSA members, 33 WWP members, and 56 SWP members from New York State participated in the march. During the march, literature was distributed by various organizations, including the CPUSA.

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International Days of Protest  
March 25 and 26, 1966

New Sponsor

The National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NCCEWV) replaced the Vietnam Day Committee as the sponsor of the second in the series of International Days of Protest. These demonstrations took place on March 25 and 26, 1966.

SDS Active

The SDS, which had decided in January, 1966, to coordinate its activities on Vietnam with the NCCEWV, was very active in the demonstrations. For example, SDS sponsored a "speak-out" at Harvard University on March 25, which attracted 500 individuals. SDS, SWP, and YSA members coordinated a march on March 26 from Cambridge to Boston, Massachusetts, which involved some 1,000 demonstrators. SDS leader Thomas Hayden, who accompanied Herbert Aptheker and Staughton Lynd to North Vietnam in December, 1965, spoke to several hundred demonstrators on March 26 in Detroit. Numerous CPUSA and SWP members participated in the Detroit demonstration. On March 27, SDS President Carl Oglesby criticized United States intervention in Vietnam in a speech given to 7,000 people in Rome, Italy.

New York City Parade and Rally

The Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee sponsored a parade and rally in New York City on March 26. Included in the more than 20,000 marchers were over 50 CPUSA members and members of the SWP, PLP, WWP, and YAWF. Among the speakers at the rally in Central Park were Abraham J. Muste, Jerry Rubin, Dave Dellinger, and Donald Duncan, a former member of the United States Army Special Forces in Vietnam.

Other Demonstrations

Demonstrations were held on March 25 and 26 in some 25 states and the District of Columbia. There follow some typical examples: In Chicago, 2,600 demonstrators were led by a unit of the Veterans for Peace, which was organized by CPUSA member Leroy Wolins. In a rally at the University of Wisconsin

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on March 26, Staughton Lynd urged direct action, such as avoiding the draft, to end the war in Vietnam. On March 24, Herbert Aptheker spoke at the University of Wisconsin and compared the use of napalm by the United States to the cremation of Jews by the Nazis. CPUSA member and DCA official Jarvis Tyner spoke to 650 at Independence Hall in Philadelphia. CPUSA, SWP, PLP, and WWP members were among 600 participants in a demonstration on March 26 at Seattle. Dorothy Healey, Chairman of the CPUSA's Southern California District, was the featured speaker at a teach-in in Los Angeles on March 25 attended by 3,000. On the same day, 6,000 attended a protest rally at the University of California at Berkeley.

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Voters' Pledge Campaign, Convention, and March  
May 14 and 15, 1966

Sponsored by SANE

The Voters' Pledge Campaign was initiated during 1966 by SANE with the assistance of the American Friends Service Committee; Women Strike for Peace; and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which is self-described as a women's peace organization, international in scope, having as its primary objective the attainment of world peace through multilateral disarmament. Coordinator of the campaign was Sanford Gottlieb. The cochairmen were Norman Thomas and the Reverend William Sloane Coffin, Yale University Chaplain. The campaign was officially sponsored by 90 prominent Americans from the fields of science, religion, art, and education. Included among these were Dr. Benjamin Spock and Mrs. Martin Luther King.

Purpose of Campaign

The campaign was designed to obtain one million signatures of people pledging to vote for peace candidates in the 1966 elections. Climax of the campaign was a convention and march held in Washington, D. C., on May 14 and 15, 1966.

The Convention

At the convention, disappointment was expressed when Gottlieb announced that only 73,000 signatures had been obtained on pledge cards distributed throughout the United States. CPUSA National Committee member James Jackson, "The Worker" correspondent Mike Davidow, "National Guardian" reporter James Smith, and several current and former CPUSA members attended the convention. For example, Aaron Wool, a member of the Trade Union Commission of the Party's New York District, attended the convention as a delegate from the Trade Unionists for Peace. Issues of "The Worker," "The Militant," "Progressive Labor," and the "National Guardian" were either sold or given away at the convention.

The March

The marchers, carrying placards which condemned United States participation in the war in Vietnam, assembled at

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17th Street and Constitution Avenue on May 15, marched in front of the White House, and proceeded to the Sylvan Theatre. They then listened to speeches by Gottlieb, Norman Thomas, I. F. Stone, Dr. Benjamin Spock, SANE official H. Stuart Hughes, and SNCC member Julian Bond, who was refused a seat in the Georgia Legislature. It is estimated that 8,000 persons participated in the march. Included among these were Arnold Johnson and numerous current and former CPUSA members who traveled in three special trains from New York City. Participants from Washington, D. C., included the CPUSA chairman, YSA members, and former CPUSA members. Also in the march were CPUSA members from Baltimore.

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International Days of Protest  
August 6 through 9, 1966

Another Sponsor

The third in the series of International Days of Protest was held from August 6 through August 9, 1966, to memorialize the victims of atomic bombs exploded in Japan and to protest against United States policy toward Vietnam. Sponsor of this demonstration was the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee. Announced slogans for these days of protest included the following: "No More Hiroshimas - Stop the War in Vietnam Now"; "1776 Self Determination USA - 1966 Self Determination for the Vietnamese"; "1945 Hiroshima Atom Bomb - 1966 Vietnam Napalm"; and "Bring the Troops Home Now."

New York Parade and Rally

On Saturday, August 6, some 5,000 demonstrators from various areas of New York City converged on Times Square and marched to 48th Street between Park and Madison Avenues for a rally. Some marchers carried Viet Cong flags and others carried American flags with the stars obliterated by skulls and dollar signs. CPUSA, SWP, and PLP literature was distributed during the march. Demonstrators included CPUSA, DCA, WWP, and PLP members. Speakers at the rally, all of whom were critical of United States policy in Vietnam, included Abraham J. Muste; Dave Dellinger; WWP member Mae Mallory; a SNCC representative; and Lincoln Lynch, Associate Director of the Congress of Racial Equality, a civil rights group. Herbert Aptheker and two PLP members were introduced as "peace candidates" at the rally.

Carmichael Featured

At a demonstration in Cleveland, SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael was the featured speaker. He was introduced by former CPUSA member Sidney Peck. The audience, which included numerous SWP and CPUSA members, was also addressed by two SWP members.

Other Demonstrations

There were many other demonstrations from coast to coast during these International Days of Protest. At Denver,

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for example, 250 demonstrators heard United States policy in Vietnam criticized by a DCA member, an SWP candidate for the United States Senate, and a Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party candidate for the United States Senate. CPUSA and SWP literature was distributed at the rally. In Washington, D. C., Pat Cawood, local YSA leader, led a rally at Dupont Circle attended by 200. Sanford Gottlieb spoke at a rally following a Hiroshima Day Peace Walk in Atlanta.

### International Ramifications

During this series of International Days of Protest, supporting demonstrations against United States presence in Vietnam were held in other countries in response to requests from the sponsoring organizations in this country. For example, the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee sent a letter to Japan requesting the Youth Committee to Oppose War (Hansen Linkai) to protest United States actions in Vietnam during the period from August 6 through August 9, 1966. In response to this request, Hansen Linkai held a rally and distributed 1,500 copies of a protest handbill at Hiroshima on August 6, 1966.

Similar demonstrations were held in Tokyo on March 25 and 26, 1966, and the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, sponsor of the second in this series of International Days of Protest, was credited in a speech as the inspiration for this protest activity in Japan. Concerning this Committee, its Chairman, Frank Emspak, met in Budapest, Hungary, on March 20, 1966, with representatives of the Viet Cong and obtained from them their conditions for an end to the war.

The sponsor of the first in this series of International Days of Protest--the Vietnam Day Committee--also solicited support in foreign countries. As a result of a letter it sent to the Belgian Union for the Defense of the Peace, for example, various demonstrations were held in Belgium on October 15 and 16, 1965.

### "Second Front"

In a November 10, 1966, dispatch from Tokyo, United Press International reported that "Nhan Dan," official North Vietnamese propaganda organ, had described the protest movement of American people against the war in Vietnam as Hanoi's "second front against the U. S. imperialists." The dispatch also quoted "Nhan Dan" as "admiring" American youths who tore up their draft cards and American soldiers who went to prison to avoid fighting against the Vietnamese.

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Demonstrations against House Committee Hearings  
August, 1966

Defense Committee Formed

In connection with proposed legislation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives (HCUA), scheduled hearings beginning on August 16, 1966, and subpoenaed several persons who have been active in protests against United States policy toward Vietnam. Soon thereafter, the National Committee to Defend the Civil Liberties of the Anti-War Group was formed in Washington, D. C., to organize demonstrations against the hearings. Among the organizations sponsoring this so-called defense committee were the SWP, YSA, PLP, DCA, SDS, and Women Strike for Peace. The defense committee was headed by William Higgs, former attorney for SNCC.

The Hearings

On August 16, approximately 200 demonstrators gathered outside the hearing room. During the day, 17 were arrested for causing disturbances. Among these 17 were three PLP members and five members of either the WWP or its youth group, YAWF. PLP member Richard Mark Rhoads was an uncooperative witness on August 17. He described the United States as the most hated government in the world. On the same day, Arthur Kinoy, Vice President of the National Lawyers Guild, a communist front group, was arrested when he refused to sit down at the hearing. Kinoy has long associated with the CPUSA "legal brain trust." In addition, 25 persons, including three WWP members, one YAWF member, and three PLP members, were arrested for causing disturbances. When Kinoy was arrested, other attorneys for the subpoenaed witnesses walked out of the hearing.

On August 18, YSA member Stuart Allan McRae, a subpoenaed witness, volunteered to appear at the hearing. However, he merely read a statement that was highly critical of the HCUA. When other witnesses stated that they were not represented by counsel, they were advised that their subpoenas would be continued.

The hearings reconvened on August 19. Six demonstrators were arrested when they objected to the testimony of a representative of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Of these six, two are WWP members and three are YAWF members. The "testimony" of three PLP

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members consisted of criticism of the Committee on Un-American Activities. One of these, Steve Cherkoss, was arrested for refusing to leave the witness stand after he was dismissed.

When it was announced on August 19, that the hearings were concluded and the subpoenaed witnesses were excused, Jerry Rubin, dressed in a Revolutionary War uniform, objected. He was escorted from the hearing room and subsequently arrested for distributing literature.

#### Demonstrations

During these hearings, demonstrations in opposition to them were held not only in Washington, D. C., but also in Chicago, New York City, San Francisco, St. Louis, Ann Arbor, and Portland, Oregon.

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Mass Mobilization for Peace  
November, 1966

November 8th Mobilization Committee

The November 8th Mobilization Committee was an ad hoc group formed at Cleveland for the purpose of planning a mass mobilization for peace during the days in November, 1966, immediately preceding the elections. Chairman of the Mobilization Committee was Abraham J. Muste. CPUSA and SWP members were among the Committee's sponsors. In addition, the CPUSA National Board agreed to give full cooperation to this Committee.

Times Square Rally

Muste was one of the speakers at a rally held in Times Square, New York City, on November 5, 1966. Numerous CPUSA, SWP, YSA, and WWP members were among the 8,000 participants in this rally, which was sponsored by the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee. At the rally, Judy White, SWP candidate for Governor of New York State, and Herbert Aptheker, candidate for United States Congress, were introduced to the crowd. Signs carried by the participants included the following: "Defeat the U. S. Imperialists - Victory for NLF" and "Free the Fort Hood 3."

Pennsylvania Demonstrations

A march through Philadelphia to City Hall on November 5, 1966, was led by a YSA member. Among the some 450 marchers were numerous members of the CPUSA, DCA, PLP, and Women Strike for Peace. On November 4, approximately 1,500 individuals, including several CPUSA members, attended a meeting in Pittsburgh sponsored by the Pittsburgh Committee to End the War in Vietnam. All speakers at the meeting demanded an end to the war in Vietnam.

Cleveland Meeting and March

Dr. Benjamin Spock and Lincoln Lynch, a Congress of Racial Equality official, were the principal speakers at a meeting held in Cleveland on November 5. Both demanded an end to the fighting in Vietnam as a prelude to negotiations. The meeting was followed by a march in which numerous CPUSA, SWP, YSA, and WWP members participated. Among the sponsoring

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organizations for these events in Cleveland were SANE and the SWP-controlled Cleveland Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

#### Activities at Harvard University

On November 6, SWP member Linda Sheppard chaired a protest rally at Harvard University attended by 100. YSA and SDS representatives distributed literature at this rally. SDS also sponsored a demonstration on November 7, during a visit to Harvard by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara. The Secretary's car was blocked and the demonstrators attempted to shout down the Secretary's answers to questions asked him at the scene.

#### Other Activities

Several similar demonstrations were held throughout the United States during the days preceding election day. For example, Claude Lightfoot urged that "peace candidates" be supported at a pre-election meeting attended by approximately 1,000 in Chicago. Also in Chicago, Earl Silbar, an SDS member and son of a former CPUSA member, was the principal speaker at a teach-in on November 7 at Roosevelt University. CPUSA member Frank Batterson, who was seeking election to the United States Congress, was the principal speaker at a meeting in Seattle. At the urging of a YSA member, some 250 demonstrators formed a picket line on November 5 at the Washington, D. C., residence of Secretary of Defense McNamara.

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